OUR FATHERS FAITH AND OURS

A COMPARISON
BETWEEN
PROTESTANTISM AND ROMANISM

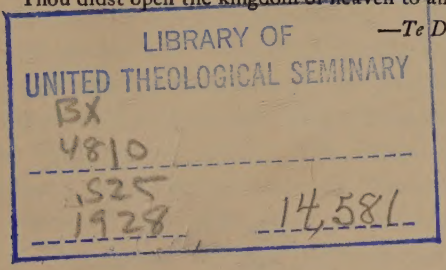
BY

DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.

RECENTLY PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, PITTSBURGH. NOW LECTURER ON AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK

After the way they call a sect, so serve I the God of our fathers.—St. Paul. Acts 24: 14.

After thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death
Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.
—*Te Deum.*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NEW YORK — LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1928

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INTRODUCTION

THE object of this book is to state the causes which led to the division of Western christendom in the sixteenth century and the distinctive differences of its two parts, to trace these differences back to their historical beginnings, and follow them through their development in the Middle Ages and in modern times, and to test them in the light of Scripture, history and reason.

The spirit of Protestantism today is to avoid polemical controversy in matters of religious concern. Protestants, however, in the subjects which were disputed four hundred years ago, cannot afford to be ill-informed without ignoring the teachings of the New Testament, to which their spiritual ancestors bowed as their ultimate guide.

Roman Catholics are forbidden by the canon law—1325, 3—to enter into discussions with non-Catholics especially public discussions—*præsertim publicas disputationes*—without the consent of the Roman see or, if the case be urgent, without the consent of lower ecclesiastical authority. If the fundamental idea of this rule be to provide against discussions conducted by unskilled disputants or in a belligerent spirit, the rule has its merit. The canon law, however, has not interfered with the practice of Roman Catholic spokesmen to discredit the principles of Protestantism and the services of Protestant leaders through public discourse and printed page.

Sermons preached at the special services called "missions," so far as the author's personal experience goes, are for the most part intended to lay bare the alleged doctrinal errors of Protestantism and the lax moral teachings ascribed

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
JAN 4 - 1967

to Protestant ethics. The controversial works of Milner, Balmes and Archbishop Spalding have been followed by the more recent volumes of Bruno, Byrne, Cardinal Gibbons and other writers. These writings are made widely accessible by their low cost or distributed without cost as was Bruno's work at the Columbian Exposition and, as is Cardinal Gibbons' *Faith of our Fathers*, on favorable occasions. Leaflets intended to enlighten Protestants are freely distributed, a method of propaganda, which in Luther's time was charged against Luther as one of his diabolical habits. The columns of Roman Catholic periodicals in the United States, it might almost seem, have as their main object to emphasize the alleged errors of Protestantism and its failures.[1]

To these forces must be added the more important encyclicals issuing from Rome and read as news throughout the world, which almost invariably have one or more clauses intended to make known as divine the appointment of the Roman pontiff and the excelling virtues of the Roman system.

So far as the writer knows, there is, to say the least, no recent single work produced on American soil accessible to readers which gives a clear statement of the differences between the Protestant and Roman systems from a Protestant standpoint. For the treatment of the Roman system, he has based his work upon original authorities such as

[1] Still another method to which resort has recently been made to spread distinctive Roman teachings among Protestants and the public at large is the use of the daily press, a method proper enough so only the truth is not perverted. For example, one of the advertisements in a prolonged series which appeared in the Pittsburgh papers, 1921, contained the statement printed in bold type that "the founder of the Red Cross, St. Camillus of Lellis, was a Catholic." Scarcely could a statement be more adapted to deceive the unwary. Camillus, who 400 years ago established a benevolent society in Rome whose members wore a red cross, would have been a prophet indeed if he knew anything about the real Red Cross Society founded in 1860, with a woman, Clara Barton, as its most eminent representative. To have made the society a little more venerable the advertisement should have carried its origin back into the Middle Ages when some of the Crusaders wore red crosses.

papal utterances and the decrees of councils. He could not have prepared it, if he had not made a prolonged study of the Middle Ages—in which the dogmatic and papal system of the Roman church is rooted—a study incorporated in several volumes. In order to give an adequate presentation he has had before him the statements of Cardinal Bellarmine and other scholars and also modern works by Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Gilmour and other writers accustomed to our present civilization. He has chosen to depend not only on the Council of Trent, for example, but also on the catechism issued by the authority of Pius X. If he has drawn upon German scholars —Pastor, Grisar, Denifle and Paulus, he also has given attention to living American writers as Dr. Guilday, Ryan and O'Hare. If he has had regard to the opinions of scholars and ecclesiastics who have come out from the obedience of the Roman pontiff, as Döllinger, Reusch, Koch, Schnitzler, Hoensbroech, Loisy, Tyrrell, McCabe and Barrett, as well as Lord Acton of England, he has also had regard to the testimonies of persons who have gone from Protestantism to the Roman communion, such as Cardinal Newman, Manning and Benson, and, in our own country, Bishops Ives and Kinsman and Father Hecker.

In the statement of the Protestant system, he has taken as authority the writings of the Reformers and the Protestant confessions, from the Augsburg, 1530, to the Westminster confession, 1648. He has not been ignorant of the wide divergence of the party, known as Anglo-Catholic, whose opinions differ so widely from the principles for which the leaders of the English Reformation, Tyndale, Hooper, Latimer, and Cranmer lived and died, and Jewel wrote.

Protestantism is not static. Protestants of our day are in full sympathy with the determinative teachings of the Protestant Reformation and the social principles which have come to development on the soil of Protestant lands but, at the same time, they have made advances in their interpretation of God's purpose as, for example, the salvation of infants and a merciful hope of the dead.

For the so-called reunion of christendom, the author feels no zeal, except as it means a cordial recognition by Christians, one of the other, and a cooperation of groups in the social work which Christ gave the example of doing. He sees no good reason, if Christ is exalted as Lord and Savior, why Christian groups, if they so choose, should not live under separate ecclesiastical governments and employ separate forms of worship, even as men live in different countries and different cities, pursuing their own methods but living in amity one with another.

As the love of the truth becomes our inspiring motive, the less will Christians be concerned to revive the church as it was in the fourth century or in the sixteenth century and to follow what Augustine or Thomas Aquinas or Luther or Calvin taught, or Leo X and Leo XIII said. They will be concerned, Roman Catholic and Protestant, to know the constitution of the Christian church as Christ intended it should be and the Apostles seem to have taught.

John Wyclif, who has been called a heretic for many things he did and said, deserves a hearing today for the noble religious motto when he said, "The highest philosopher —yea wisdom itself—is Christ, our God. In following him and learning from him we are philosophers."—*Summus philosophus, immo ipsa sophia, est Christus, deus noster, quem sequendo et discendo sumus philosophi.* de ver. 1, 32.

Union Theological Seminary,
January 23, 1928.

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Our Fathers Faith and Ours

FIRST PART

HISTORICAL

CHAPTER I

THE TWO CLEAVAGES OF CHRISTENDOM

You are all fellow pilgrims and carry with you God and the temple and Christ and holiness.—Ignatius, Ep. to the Ephesians.

FOR four centuries and more, Protestantism and Romanism have flourished side by side, each professing to be the legitimate exponent of Christ's teachings and the guardian of his incarnation, resurrection and atonement. The controversy which has gone on between them is the most important and far-reaching religious controversy which has arisen within the bounds of christendom, since the dispute between Judaic and Gentile Christianity. It has been more determined than the struggles in the ancient church over the deity of Christ and his person. It has lasted longer than the Crusades which drew upon the vital forces of Europe for two hundred years. It has at times been as vehemently fought as the conflict between the pope and the emperor which lasted through the larger part of the Middle Ages. An agreement between the two systems seems to be no nearer today than it was four centuries ago, although the temper of the two parties has softened. The interests of truth demand that the differences and agreements be candidly stated again and again in the hope that errors may be abandoned and true religion as it came from Christ and was perpetuated by the Apostles be taught and believed. All agree that Christ himself is the content of Christianity and that in proportion as he is exalted, will true religion prevail. Nowhere are bitterness of spirit and aspersion of motives more blameworthy than when religious differences are discussed and nowhere can it be more proper

to use forbearance in stating the truth than when the two systems of Western christendom are being compared. The comparison is then most justified when it is cordially recognized that high piety has existed in both bodies, Protestant and Roman Catholic, and when the design is to emphasize their agreement.

§ 1. **The Greek and Roman cleavage.**—Of the two abiding divisions in the Christian world, the division of the Eastern and Latin churches antedated the Protestant Reformation seven centuries and was practically completed in 867. Long before that date, the factors making for division had been working. Constantinople and Rome were contending centers of Christian influence and authority from the time the city on the Bosphorus was made by Constantine the seat of the Roman empire. Rome, the old capital, and the residence of the Roman bishop, found some compensation for the loss of the imperial residence and the senate in the conversion of the vigorous Celtic and Germanic peoples of Northern and Western Europe and their submission to its spiritual jurisdiction, but it was unwilling to grant to the new capital of the Roman Empire established by Constantine equal spiritual authority with itself. The importance of New Rome as an ecclesiastical centre was shown by the meeting within its walls or in its vicinity of the first seven œcumenical councils from 325 to 787. Before the division occurred, violent controversies took place between the two ecclesiastical centres over the worship of images and over the question whether Christ has two wills or only one,—both questions ultimately settled in favor of the Roman contention. By the theory at the close of the fourth century, the patriarchal system of church government was in force, dividing the Christian world into five jurisdictions. The churches of the East regarded the five patriarchs of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Constantinople as having equal authority, each supreme in his own territory. The bishop of Rome, disdaining this claim as born of unheard of pride, asserted as his by divine appointment a primacy in

the universal church. This assumption of authority led to the cleavage of the Christian world. At last, the Roman pontiff, Nicolas, venturing to examine into the ecclesiastical affairs of Rome's Eastern rival and to decide who was its rightful patriarch, excommunicated the patriarch Photius, and Photius in turn excommunicated Nicolas,—equals casting out equals, as the Greeks have claimed. During the Crusades, the separation was widened. Formal attempts to reunite the two parts, made at the councils of Lyons, 1274, and Ferrara, 1439, were fruitless. The breach still remains unhealed. Since the war of 1914, friendly advances have been made by Roman pontiffs, calling the Greek church to papal obedience. In an encyclical, August 5th, 1921, Benedict XV asked for help for the Russians, pronouncing them "our distant children who, though separated from us by barriers which long centuries have raised, are all the nearer to our paternal heart, the greater their misfortunes." In 1918, a college of Oriental languages and rites was established in Rome, with the avowed purpose of bringing the Greek churches to the acceptance of the Western ritual and in 1920 a friendly sign was given when the Eastern prelate, Ephraem of Edessa, was placed by Benedict XV at the side of Chrysostom, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas as one of the doctors of the church.

§ 2. **The cleavage of Western christendom.**—If the ecclesiastical division which occurred in the sixteenth century be compared with the earlier division between the East and the West, it will be found that the two have little in common beyond the fact of being cleavages of christendom. They differed in origin, in geographical alignment and in the doctrinal and ritual differences which gave them birth. The division of the East and West was over a question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and was furthered by municipal rivalry between Rome on the Tiber and new Rome on the Bosphorus. The division of the sixteenth century was due to alleged corruptions in doctrine, ritual and practice which had been admitted into the Western church. For centuries Greek

Christianity was treated as a schism, though pronounced also a heresy by Leo X, 1520. From the start, Protestantism was condemned as a heresy as well as a schism. The Greek schism followed upon a long series of conflicts between the Roman bishops and the Byzantine emperors. The Protestant heresy was of sudden origin and unconnected with political differences. The Roman and Greek churches have been separated by precise geographical boundaries: Romanism and Protestantism have existed side by side on the same territory and divided peoples speaking the same languages. The superior importance of the Protestant remonstrance is apparent from the intellectual and civil movements which have taken place within Western Europe and America, and from the notable changes in the department of civil government and in social institutions which have developed in these regions. In the case of both divisions, the underlying and immediate cause of division was the claim of "the great metropolis and see of Rome," to be the seat of supreme earthly dominion over all christendom.

§ 3. **The names "Romanist" and "Protestant."**—The use of the term Romanists for Roman Catholics implies no disparagement; the name Protestant has a high heritage. The venerable word Christian, first used at Antioch—Acts 11: 26—is claimed by both communions and belongs to them both. It designates that which they have in common. Christ is the author of their religion and Christ is the ground of their trust. The other names given in the New Testament to the followers of Christ were gradually superseded,—disciples, believers, saints, brethren and friends. In the earliest years of the second century "Christians" was the term by which they were known in the Roman world. It was used by Tacitus in describing the persecution of Nero. Pliny used it in his letter to the emperor Trajan and Trajan's edict made it a capital offense to be a "Christian." It was also used a number of times by one of the earliest Christian writers, Ignatius, who spoke of those who are "really Chris-

tians and not so in name only" and of the "Christians in Ephesus" and used the word "Christianity." Gradually, within church circles, the expression, "the faithful," came into use and was used largely by Schoolmen and in papal documents. It goes back to such Apostolic expressions as, "the faithful in Christ Jesus,"—Eph. 1:1—and comes from the Greek word for faith. After the fourth century the word was also used to distinguish full church communicants from the catechumens, the service intended for church communicants being called the "mass of the faithful."

During the Middle Ages, it came to be a custom for the names Roman and Romanist to be used among the peoples of Northern Europe as synonymous with Christian. A "Christian" and a "Roman" were the same person. On the other hand, the terms were used to indicate Italian ecclesiastics appointed by the pope to English livings. When Matthew Paris, writing about 1250, called Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, "the crusher and despiser of the Romans," he had in mind Italian prelates reaping English incomes. At the Council of Trent, the words "Christian" and "Catholic" were used interchangeably, as also in Paul III's bull convening the council. The council used the two words interchangeably to qualify truth, people, religion, commonwealth, nations, kings and princes, faith and the church. It called the Roman Church *ecclesia romana*—the Holy Roman Church, the Holy Church and the Catholic Church. The expression Roman church has been used continually by popes.

As early as 1519, the adherents of the old way were called by the Reformers, Roman Catholics, Romanists or Papists. In the Scotch Confession the Roman church was called the "papistical kirk." The XXXIX Articles speak of "Romish doctrines" and the Westminster Confession of "popish ceremonies" and "popish doctrines." As for the Protestants, the earliest names with which Luther and his followers were labelled by their opponents were heretics, Hussites, and Bohemians. An English letter of 1520 says

that "of late there was heretycs which did take Luther's opinyons." These names quickly gave way to the names, Lutherans and Zwinglians and, later, Calvinists. Alexander, the papal legate to the court of Charles V, spoke of the "rascal Lutherans," and called their leaders the "arch-Lutherans." A year later, the Archbishop of Mainz, writing to Leo X, spoke of "the multitude of Lutherans." Pope Adrian VI, 1521–23, following the usage which had become common, condemned "the Lutherans" for heaping up grievous insults against God and his holy religion. "It is now all one to call him a Lutheran or to call him a heretic," wrote Sir Thomas More in his *Dialogue on Images*, "those two being in manner equivalent. Of all heretics which ever sprang up in Christ's church, the very worst and most beastly are the Lutherans." In the invitation sent to the Protestants to attend the Council of Trent, they were called "adherents of the Augsburg Confession," and so they were also called a hundred years later in the Treaty of Westphalia.

Among the Protestants themselves, the favorite earlier designation was Evangelicals, a designation current in Italy after 1525. Erasmus used it, and Bullinger in his comparison of the old and new doctrines defined Evangelicals as those who followed the pure Gospel—*evangelium*. For the churches following the Lutheran type of the Reformation, the name "Lutheran" became fixed in spite of Luther's protest. The title "the Reformed Church" became fixed for the followers of Calvin and Zwingli in France, Holland and other countries. The Westminster Assembly was called to conform the English statements of doctrine and practice to the model of the "best Reformed churches abroad." The word "Protestant" is derived from the "protest" offered by the evangelical minority of the Diet of Spires, 1529, to the action of the Catholic majority. Nine years earlier, 1520, Luther had used the word "Protestation" as the heading of a document in which he called upon the emperor for protection against the false charges made against himself and his followers. The action at the diet virtually con-

demned all the religious innovations which had been made in Germany, and excluded the Zwinglians from toleration. It was regarded by the Protestant members, John of Saxony, the Duke of Brandenburg and other princes, together with the delegates of fourteen imperial cities, as a breech of the agreement made at the previous Diet of Spires, 1526. That assembly had granted to both parties the right to hold such religious teachings as they might hope to answer for before God and the emperor. But more, it was looked upon as a violation of the rights of conscience and the authority of the Scriptures. The document signed by the minority ran, "we protest and hold your resolution null and void and we desire in matters of religion so to live and administer our governments as we trust to answer before God and his imperial majesty. For the sake of our consciences we are bound before all things to have regard for our Lord God, and in matters which concern God's honor and our souls' salvation and eternal life, each one must stand and give account for himself." The name "Protestant" is open to the objection that it seems to imply a system of negations and it has furnished the Roman Catholics with a plausible cause of arraignment. If understood, the historic origin of the name entitles it to be held in honor. Protestantism did not protest against Christianity, but against the corruptions abroad in the Christian church of the sixteenth century.

Papal documents and controversialists, such as Cardinal Bellarmine, have usually called the adherents of "the new way" Lutherans or Calvinists, thus emphasizing the alleged human and nefarious origin of Protestantism. The term Protestant was used by the Council of Trent at least once in its official utterances. In recent times, Pius IX condemned Protestantism as "no form of the Christian religion." One of his successors, Leo XIII, pronounced Protestants enemies of the Christian name.

In this volume, the terms Romanists and Roman Catholics will be used interchangeably and such words as

popish and papists—used by old Protestant writers—will be given no place, as open to the charge of being invidious. Protestants and Romanists are parts of the Christian church.

§ 4. **Attempts to reconcile the two systems.**—From the first, no effort was made from Rome by the road of discussion and persuasion to stop the Lutheran revolt. Claiming to be the head of christendom, the pope did not choose to discuss; he commanded. Religious peace was possible only through submission by the dissenting element. Protestants have never met Roman Catholics in a general council as did the Greeks. Attempts to reconcile the two systems by the method of consultation were made at the instance of Charles V, a good Roman Catholic, and without the active participation of the pope. These attempts, made while all the Reformers, except Zwingli, were still alive, found expression in the three so-called Colloquies held 1540–1542 at Worms and Regensburg. Charles was concerned for the unity of the church and fully as much for the unity of his empire. At these meetings, Calvin, Melanchthon and other Reformers represented Protestantism and John Eck, Cochlæus, Cardinals Campeggio and Morone and others represented the Roman side. Luther refused to attend on the ground that to do so would be a waste of time and energy. The invitation issued to Protestant leaders to attend the Council of Trent was either flatly refused as by Luther, or by others rejected after they learned that they were to be given no vote.

In after years, propositions in favor of reconciliation were made by such eminent men as Cardinal Richelieu, Grotius, Bossuet and Leibnitz, but they resulted in no closer approach of the two communions. In 1868, Protestant bodies were notified of the impending Vatican Council and invited by Pius IX to enter the Roman fold. In many documents issuing from the Vatican, Leo XIII emphasized the doctrine of the unity of the church, meaning the Roman church, and laid down as the single method of reconciliation and Christian cooperation complete submission to the

Roman pontiff. Protestants will never consent to be treated as sectaries outside the true church. Professing devotion to Christ they, as well as all other Christians, have valid right to the benefits of the Gospel. Leaning with an intelligent understanding upon the Scriptures, they hold themselves to be in possession of truths which the Roman church either explicitly denies or replaces by error.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENTS OF PROTESTANT AND ROMAN BELIEFS

The first law of history is to dread uttering falsehood, the next not to fear stating the truth, lastly the historian's writings should be open to no suspicion of partiality and animosity.—Leo XIII, *Works*, II: 20.

IN seeking for the distinctive beliefs and rites of the Roman and Protestant communions, a discrimination must be made between documents authoritative by official adoption and doctrinal and controversial writings by individual writers such as the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine and Chillingworth. For the Roman Catholic, papal decrees and œcumenical creeds are of final obligation: for the Protestant, creeds are of obligation, only as far as they are in agreement with the teachings of Scripture. In the first instance the Protestant creeds were intended to serve an apologetic purpose, setting forth the principles which had led to the renunciation of the Roman pontiff and the system for which he stood. The undue exaltation of their authority, or symbololatry, came over from Romanism during the polemical period of the seventeenth century and contradicts the genius of the Reformation which emphasizes freedom of judgment, with the Scriptures as the sufficient religious guide.

§ 1. **Common authorities.**—The authorities which the two communions hold in common are the Bible, the Apostles Creed, the Nicene Creed and the statement of Chalcedon. Both teach that the Bible is the infallible record of God's revelation to man with the distinction, that in the Roman Catholic system tradition is made a coordinate authority with the Bible. The Apostles' Creed, though it was not

put together by the Apostles, goes back in most of its articles to the second century and perhaps earlier, and of all religious statements of human origin it is the one most esteemed throughout Western christendom. The Second Helvetic Confession speaks of it as containing the "true faith" and the Westminster Shorter Catechism printed it in full. Its articles were explained by Luther and Calvin in their catechisms and by the Heidelberg Catechism. The Nicene Creed, formulated at the first of the œcumenical councils, 325, and supplemented at the Council of Constantinople, 381, states in theological terms the doctrines of the deity of Christ and the Trinity. The local synod of Toledo, 589, added to the Nicene statement "the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*" and in this form the creed is accepted in Western christendom. The Greek Church omits the expression "and the Son," deriving the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. The Council of Trent opened its decrees by reprinting the Nicene Creed and the Augsburg Confession pronounced its articles true. The statement of Chalcedon, adopted at the Council of Chalcedon, 451, in intensely metaphysical terms, defines Christ as having combined the two natures, divine and human, in a single person.

To these documents, followed by Protestant and Roman Catholics alike, should be added the Te Deum, opening with the words "We praise thee, O God," once ascribed to Ambrose of Milan, an outburst of Christian faith and piety unexcelled in the literature of the Christian church as a statement of doctrine as well as manual of Christian experience. The Athanasian Creed, dating from the fifth century, used in the Roman Church, was held in high esteem by Luther and other Protestant Reformers. The XXXIX Articles of the Anglican Church adopted it as worthy to be received with the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds. It was excluded in the revised form adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church and has no authoritative standing with most Protestants. It is a repetitious, metaphysical panegy-

ric of the Trinity and announces that those who do not accept its very words cannot be saved.

§ 2. The distinctive Roman authorities are:—(1) Papal bulls, (2) the Tridentine standards, (3) the Vatican standards and (4) the Canon Law. Papal utterances, whether issued before the Reformation or since, so far as they bear on doctrine or morals, are infallible and dare not be disputed without incurring ecclesiastical censure. Among them are Martin V's bull condemning Wyclif and Huss, Leo X's bull condemning Luther, 1520, Pius V's bull, 1567, condemning the LXXIX Propositions of Michael Baius, Innocent X's bull, 1653, condemning the five errors of Cornelius Jansen, Innocent XI's bull, 1679, condemning Probabilism, Clement XI's bull *unigenitus*, 1713, condemning errors of Quesnel, and other deliverances down to the Syllabus of 1864 and Pius X's decrees against Modernism, 1907–1910. Here also belong the decrees of œcumenical councils as far as they have had papal approval. The more important councils of the Middle Ages are the Fourth Lateran, or twelfth œcumenical, 1215, which defined the dogma of transubstantiation, and the Council of Ferrara, 1439, the first œcumenical council to state authoritatively the dogma of the seven sacraments and other mediæval dogmas.

The Tridentine standards, three in number, are the Decrees and Canons of Trent, the Tridentine Profession of Faith and the Roman Catechism. These documents state the distinctive tenets of Romanism over against Protestantism. The Council of Trent, 1545–1563, meeting in the city of Trent in the Tyrol and reckoned as the nineteenth œcumenical council, was convened by Paul III at the urgent demand of Charles V who had promised the German Protestants to secure a general council to pass upon the religious differences of the age. The overwhelming majority of the prelates were Italians and Spaniards, with the Jesuits exercising a powerful and sometimes deciding influence. From every standpoint, the Council of Trent is one of the most important assemblies ever held in christendom.

It confirmed the system which had grown up during the Middle Ages and not only opposed Protestantism by doctrinal statements but thrust Protestant dissenters out of the bosom of the church with the terrible use of the anathema. On the other hand, it decreed the abolition of various ecclesiastical abuses within the Roman communion and introduced wholesome reforms bearing on indulgences, the education and morals of the clergy, the monastic orders and the practice of pluralism.

The Decrees and Canons of Trent passed by the vote of the council were confirmed by Pius IV, 1564, the pope reserving to himself the exclusive right to interpret them. Among their more important definitions are the definitions of tradition, justification and the efficacy of the seven sacraments. The canons, about 150 in number, condemn the errors held in opposition to these definitions, each canon closing with an anathema pronounced upon those who may hold the errors. To the definition of justification, no less than 33 canons are added. To give an example of the condemnations one of the canons on matrimony runs that "if anyone saith that it is not better and more blessed to remain in virginity or in celibacy than to be united in matrimony, let him be anathema."

The Tridentine Profession of Faith—*forma professionis orthodoxæ fidei*—grew out of a suggestion made at the Council of Trent and was prepared by a commission of cardinals appointed by Pius IV, 1564. It is also called the Creed of Pius IV, and by a double bull was imposed on all priests, professors and teachers, that is upon the "teaching church." After giving the Nicene Creed, the document, in twelve articles, states the distinctive tenets of the Roman Church, such as the seven sacraments, the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of saints, the vicarial office of the Roman bishop. To these articles was added, 1877, by Pius IX a profession of belief in the immaculate conception and in "the primacy and infallibility" of the Roman bishop.

The Roman Catechism, the third Tridentine, standard also issued by Pius IV, is not, as the title might suggest, a manual for children with questions and answers, but an elaborate exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the sacraments, the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer for the use of priests. It omits some of the distinctive tenets of Romanism, such as indulgences, but treats of others not decided by the Council of Trent such as the pope's authority and the *limbus patrum*, the temporary abode of the Old Testament worthies before Christ's death.

The Vatican standards, also three in number and issued during the pontificate of Pius IX, 1846–1878, are: the decree of the immaculate conception, the Syllabus of Errors, and the Dogmatic Decrees of the Vatican Council. The decree announcing the immaculate conception of Mary was declared by Pius, 1854, in the presence of 200 cardinals, bishops and other dignitaries. The Syllabus condemned 80 modern errors, so-called, such as religious liberty, the Protestant Bible societies and the separation of church and state.[1] It was addressed to all bishops in the form of an authoritative decree and was substantially confirmed by Leo XIII in his encyclicals of November 1, 1885, June 1, 1888, and February, 1890, and also by Pius X.

The Decrees of the Vatican Council, 1870, reckoned as the twentieth œcumenical council, consist of two parts. In the first rationalism, materialism and atheism are condemned and the relation of revelation to the natural reason defined. Eighteen anathemas are launched against the heresies involved and "Holy Mother Church" is declared to be the supreme teacher and guide of all Christians. In the second and more important part, the primacy of St. Peter is affirmed and the dogma of papal infallibility defined. At least four anathemas are pronounced against those who deny these latter dogmas.

The code of Canon Law, prepared by the authority of Pius X and issued by Benedict XV, 1917, contains definitions of Catholic doctrine and rules of Catholic practice. It takes

the place of the code prepared by Gratian, professor of canon law at Bologna in the eleventh century. Gratian's compilation which, according to Döllinger, is "filled through and through with forgery and error," *Papstthum*, p. 55, with the additions made to it by Gregory IX, 1234, and later popes was, together with Leo X's bull, cast by Luther into the flames, 1520. The code issued by Benedict XV was made by papal bull, the binding law of the church, and anyone attempting to change it was threatened with the wrath of Almighty God and the Apostles Peter and Paul. To the documents as thus enumerated, the student must go who would make sure what the authoritative teachings of the Roman church are.

§ 3. **Protestant authorities.**—The distinctive tenets and practices of Protestantism are set forth in the confessions of the Reformation period from the Augsburg Confession, 1530, to the Westminster Confession, 1647; in the declarations made in more recent periods by the Wesleyans, Congregationalists and other denominations and in revisions as of the Anglican Articles and the Westminster Confession. These confessions, although they were produced in different countries, agree in all major particulars as in the doctrines of the final authority of Scripture and justification by faith and in the rejection of the distinctive definitions of the Tridentine and Vatican decrees. The confessions of the Reformation period are divided into two classes representing the Lutheran and the Reformed or Calvinistic types. Only the more important confessions can be given here.

The two leading Lutheran standards are the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord. The Augsburg Confession, chiefly the work of Melanchthon, was prepared to serve as the official statement of the new views. During its reading at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, the emperor, Charles V, fell asleep, a privilege he also took a few weeks later when a paper refuting the confession was read by Eck. The document sets forth such abuses as the worship of saints and the sale of indulgences, and presents the Protes-

tant doctrines of justification by faith and the ultimate authority of Scripture. It directs no anathemas against Romanists but condemns the Anabaptists for their denial of infant baptism and their attitude towards civil government, putting them in a class with the Arians and other heretics. Calvin expressed his approbation of the confession by signing it. In contrast to the calm tone of this document are the Schmalkald Articles, which Luther prepared in 1537 in answer to the call issued by Paul III for a council to meet in Mantua. They are strongly polemical, denouncing the mass as the most horrible of delusions and the pope as the very anti-christ. The Formula of Concord, 1577, composed after the deaths of Luther and Melanchthon, had for its purpose the establishment of doctrinal peace among Lutheran parties. After the manner of the Council of Trent, the document first sets forth in affirmative statements the true doctrine and then in elaborate articles the corresponding errors, but without adding the anathemas.

The Reformed symbols agree with the Lutheran symbols except in the definition of the Lord's Supper and the denial of the ubiquity of Christ's body. The following are the leading Reformed symbols: The First and Second Helvetic Confessions, 1536 and 1566, which originated in Zürich under Bullinger. The former was translated by the Scotch martyr, George Wishart, the latter was officially approved not only in Switzerland but in Scotland. Like other confessions of the Calvinistic and Zwinglian type, they made violations of the first table of the Decalogue as well as of the second table punishable by the civil magistrate.

The Gallican Confession, the creed of the Reformed Church of France, was drawn up by Calvin and one of his pupils and adopted by the Synod of Paris, 1559. The Belgic Confession, 1561, written by Guido de Brès, who suffered martyrdom in Brussels, was adopted by synods in Belgium and Holland and has been pronounced by Philip Schaff as next to the Westminster Confession, the best symbolic statement of the Calvinistic system.

The Heidelberg Catechism, 1563, was prepared by two pupils of Melanchthon and Calvin and gets its name from the city where it was issued. It was adopted by the Scotch Assembly and has been declared by the Presbyterian Assembly of the United States to be "a valuable Scriptural compendium of doctrine and duty." It is the chief doctrinal standard of the Reformed Church in the United States. Calvinism in its severest form was set forth in the Canons of the Synod of Dort, 1619, and became the creed of the church in Holland and its daughter church in the United States.

The first Scotch Confession, 1560, prepared by John Knox and a committee appointed by the Scotch parliament, is sternly Calvinistic and vigorously anti-Roman. It says much about "the inventions of the papistical kirk," and charges that the papists "had perniciously taught and damnably believed in transubstantiation." In 1647, it was superseded as the official confession of the church in Scotland by the Westminster Confession. This Confession of Faith, produced by the Westminster Assembly of Divines meeting in London, 1643–1648, although adopted by the English parliament as law in England was never accepted outside of Puritan circles. It has been the standard of English-speaking Presbyterian communions throughout the world and for "substance of doctrine" was adopted by the Congregationalists at the Cambridge Synod, 1648, the first ecclesiastical statement officially written in North America. In a revision made by the Northern Presbyterian church in 1902 the statement that "the popish sacrifice of the mass is most abominably injurious to Christ's only sacrifice," was left unchanged but the old-time denunciation of the pope as "that anti-Christ, that man of sin and son of perdition," was struck out.

The XXXIX Articles of Religion, 1562, and the Book of Common Prayer, 1559, are the formulas of the Anglican Church and, with some modification, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. The Book of Com-

mon Prayer occupies a middle position in ritual and church government between Romanism and Protestantism. It was enforced by the Act of Uniformity, 1559, which imposed rigid civil penalties for those refusing to use the book and split up English Protestantism between the Anglican and the Puritan parties. The XXXIX Articles are strictly Protestant, condemning purgatory and transubstantiation and other Roman doctrines, making the distinction between the visible and the invisible church and affirming the errancy of the historic churches.

§ 4. **Catechisms.**—Certain catechisms in the form of questions and answers have held the place of partial or fully authoritative statements in the Protestant and Roman churches. In the Roman church such catechisms, as the catechisms of Canisius, Cardinal Bellarmine, and Pius X, have been commended by papal order. Peter Canisius, a Jesuit, whose catechisms were the first issued within the bounds of the Roman communion, 1534–1566, was declared a doctor of the church, 1925. Cardinal Bellarmine's manual, 1603, was pronounced by Clement VIII an authoritative exposition of the Tridentine catechism. The catechism of Pius X—*catechismo della dottrina cristiana*—contains 433 questions and answers and was issued 1912 by "the authority of Pius X." By a recent act of the Italian government its use has been made obligatory in the primary schools of Italy. The Catechism of Christian Doctrine prepared by direction of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1885, is the manual used in the Roman church in the United States. It is issued in six forms which carry the official approval of Cardinals McCloskey, Gibbons and Hayes.

The Protestant Church was the first to issue a catechism, in 1528. Luther's larger and a shorter catechisms, prepared in 1529, are still in use in the Lutheran churches. The next most important Protestant catechisms are the Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster shorter and larger catechisms produced by the Westminster Assembly and adopted in Scotland and by the American Presbyterian churches.

These catechisms had been preceded by the catechism prepared by Calvin, containing nearly four hundred questions and answers. The most notable catechism produced on American soil was the Rev. John Cotton's "Milk for Babes, drawn from the breasts of both Testaments." It attained a place in early New England second only to the Westminster Shorter Catechism and was printed in the New England Primer.

Unofficial expositions of Romanism and Protestantism.—For four centuries the teachings of the two communions have been expounded in innumerable theological treatises and made the subject of many writings, avowedly controversial. The value of these writings is in proportion to their agreement with the official standards of the two bodies. Those which appeared from 1517 to comparatively recent times were pervaded with a polemical spirit, often acrimonious and adapted to fire the passions rather than to convince the intellect, to widen the breach of separation rather than to close it. During most recent times, a modification of the polemical spirit has been made manifest by leading writers. On the other hand, the flame of controversial heat continues to burst forth in the writings of others. Although it is not possible to mark clearly the stages of the controversy by exact dates, four periods may be distinguished,—the period of the Reformers to 1570, the period of Bellarmine and Chillingworth, 1570–1650, the period with Bossuet in the center, 1750, and the period of the nineteenth century in which the names of Milner, Cardinal Wiseman, Möhler, Döllinger, Balmes, Archbishop Spalding and Cardinal Gibbons are prominent. The two early works on the history of the Christian church, written during the sixteenth century, both of them most learned and voluminous, were controversial in intent,—the *Magdeburg Centuries* written by Protestants, 1559–1574, and the volumes of Cardinal Baronius, 1583–1607. The following are the leading controversialists, Protestant and Roman, as they belong to the several periods.

§5. Controversy during the Reformation period, 1517-1570. —On the Protestant side, Luther, Calvin and other Reformers stated exhaustively the principles of Protestantism. Among Luther's chief controversial works are his *Address to the German Nobles*, *The Babylonish Captivity*, his *Papacy at Rome*, his treatise on *Good Works* and his tract on monastic vows written 1521. To these are to be added as of first importance the Reformer's debate with Eck at Leipzig and the reasons he gave for burning the papal bull, 1520.

Calvin's chief controversial works were his *Institutes*, 1536, called forth by the persecutions of the Protestants in Paris, and addressed to the French king, Francis I, his *Reply to Cardinal Sadolet*, *Antidote to the Articles issued by the theological faculty of Paris*, and his *Necessity of a Reformation in the Church*. The *Institutes*, which the English Cardinal Allen pronounced "that most blasphemous book," was once used as a text-book in the English universities. The *Reply to Sadolet* was called forth by the cardinal's appeal to the Genevans to repudiate the new system. The *Treatise on the Reformation of the Church* presented at the Diet of Spires, 1544, treated the subject under three heads. 1. The evils in the Church. 2. The remedies offered by the Reformers. 3. The necessity of applying them at once. Zwingli in his sixty-seven Conclusions, 1523, gave a clear statement of most of the differences between the two churches, as did Bullinger in his little work, *The Contrast of the Evangelical and Romish Teachings*, 1551. The most elaborate work prepared on the Protestant side was issued by Martin Chemnitz in answer to the Decrees of Trent, 1565–1573.

In England, the four leading Protestant writers were the three martyrs, Tyndale, d. 1536, Bishop Hooper, d. 1555, and Latimer, and Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, d. 1571. Among Tyndale's works were the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and the *Obedience of a Christian Man*, which stirred the pen of Sir Thomas More. Bishop Hooper, d. 1555, who was not a skilled writer, "out of deep conviction" wrote a

Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith and *Lectures on the Creed.* Bishop Latimer's sermons, especially the sermons preached before convocation and on the Plow abound in popular and forceful presentation of Protestantism. Bishop Jewel's *Apology of the Anglican Church*, 1562, has been a literary bulwark of English Protestantism. He issued a challenge offering to renounce Protestantism in case any one would confirm twenty-seven propositions which he denied to the authors of the first six centuries, such as that there were no private masses, that Christ was not offered as a sacrifice on the altar and that the cup was not denied to the laity. The *Apology* is a temperate statement of the Protestant position. After reminding his readers that the prophets and martyrs had been counted as "no better than the vilest filth, the offsprings and laughing-games of the whole world," Jewel took up the charges that the Reformers had forsaken the true faith, broken the unity of the true church, "fetched again from hell the old and many-a-day condemned heresies" and had separated themselves from the obedience of the pope, not for religion's sake but from a desire of contention and strife. He then showed that the Protestants were restorers of the true Christian faith by re-announcing the teachings of the Apostles and of the early Fathers. "The Holy Scripture is abroad," he said, "and that would be his weapon." The pope is stigmatized as a forerunner of anti-christ and the king of pride. The power of the keys is not a power to hear private confessions but to teach and to preach. The Protestants, though divided into sects, he insisted, were agreed in all the essentials. Writing of Jewel's death, Thomas Fuller quaintly remarked, "It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying and died praying."

On the Roman side, the chief controversialists were Eck in Germany, Sir Thomas More in England and Cardinal Sadolet in Switzerland. Sir Thomas More placed the Roman system under a perpetual debt by his literary de-

fense of its positions as well as by his martyrdom. His chief religious works were his *Response* in which he defended Henry VIII against Luther, his *Dialogue on Images*, his *Supplication of Souls in Purgatory*, and his *Confutation of Tyndale*. By their clear and vigorous style and the author's political eminence, these works are of perennial interest. The position which More took was that the Lutheran sect was "the whole heap of all heresies gathered together." The new views he charged with being novelties and Luther with being mendacious, rebellious and in league with the devil. "These heretics," More observed, "set at naught the common opinion and beliefs and persuasion of almost all the world and, as they be very unreasonable, make little force of reason and ever ask for Scripture as though they believed Holy Scripture." Luther, Zwingli, Bucer and Tyndale he pronounced "the smoke of Satan and the servants of the devil."

Cardinal Sadolet, 1477–1547, a man distinguished for humanistic studies, spoke of Calvin, Farel and other Reformers of Geneva, as "crafty men, the enemies of Christian unity and peace, who had turned the Genevans aside from the true way, by sowing the wicked seeds of strife and sedition." He pronounced the faith which "those inventors of novelties had preached" a sentiment divorced from love and Christian duty. The true Catholic church being the body which had existed for 1500 years, cannot err but, even if it should err, those who follow their ancestors in acknowledging her guidance would not be condemned before the judgment seat. The men of the new order, he wrote, rent the garment of Christ and the sects into which they were divided proved that the truth cannot be with them. If in these writings, belonging to the period of the first fifty years after the outbreak of the Reformation, all the arguments for the new way were clearly stated so were all the objections from the side of the old way as clearly set forth. Later treatises, Protestant and Roman, do little more than reiterate the earlier positions.

§ 6. The controversy in the second period, 1570-1650.—All the Roman Catholic writers of the seventeenth century were overtopped by Cardinal Bellarmine of Italy. In England, the leading controversalists on the Roman side were Sanders and Stapleton. Jewel's *Apology* aroused vigorous opposition among the Recusants at Louvain and Douai—from Thomas Harding, to Cardinal Allen and others. Harding's first *Reply* took up in order Jewel's twenty-seven propositions and was met by Jewel who found in Harding's work 255 untrue statements. Nicholas Sanders—or Sander—d. 1581, was a priest and professor at Louvain. From 1573, he spent more or less time at the court of Madrid encouraging Philip II's enterprise against Elizabeth. He accompanied the Spanish expedition to Ireland, 1579, declaring that the Romanist troops "were fighting by the authority of the head of the church." Like almost all the Recusants, he turned Jesuit and defended with his pen as well as by other activities Pius V's deposition of Elizabeth. His most elaborate polemic treatises were the *Visible Monarchy of the Church* and the *Rocke of the Church*. His mind was expressed in the words: "The state of Christendom dependeth upon the stout assaylinge of England." The Reformation he derived from the impulses of natural depravity. In a work on the Anglican schism he repeated, if he did not originate, the story that Anne Boleyn was Henry VIII's own daughter. For these and other alleged legends, Sanders was popularly known in England as Doctor Slanders. Thomas Fuller accused him with "having surfeited on improbable lies, by him first forged on the nativity of Queen Elizabeth."

Thomas Stapleton, called by Wood "the most learned Roman Catholic of all times," professor in Douai and in Louvain, was called for counsel by Pius V in the matter of Elizabeth's dethronement. His writings made fast and loose charges against the characters of Luther and Melanchthon and offended still more by their attempts to besmirch Calvin's person and record. To these two weighty English defenders of Rome must be added William Allen, whose

writings excel in virulence and are also noteworthy because Allen was for more than three centuries the only Englishman to be cardinal. He was the leader of leaders in the measures of the Vatican and Philip II against Elizabeth and Protestant England. In his conception of a sovereign's rights, he followed Pius V and wrote "Let no man marvel that in the case of heresie the soverigne loseth his superioritie and right over his people and kingdom which cannot be a lawful Christian state and commonwealth without due obedience to Christ's and the church's laws." Of Allen's *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland*, issued before the sailing of the Armada, Dr. Lingard said that it was "perhaps the most virulent libel ever written," and the cardinal's charge against Elizabeth he declared "most abominable, namely that she does not marry because she cannot confine herself to one man" as also the charge that the "new clergy were of the very refuse of the worst sort of mortal men." Allen compared Elizabeth to Nero.

Cardinal Bellarmine, 1542–1621, by his elaborate, painstaking and skilful treatise, remains the foremost and most influential Roman theologian who has written during the last three hundred years in refutation of the Protestant tenets. He was the first Jesuit to teach at Louvain. On two occasions he was a candidate for the tiara. What Thomas Aquinas is in the departments of Roman theology, Bellarmine is in the defense of the Roman system. After long delay, he was pronounced Venerable by Pius XI, May 3, 1923. His famous controversial work written in Latin, *Disputations on the Controversies of the Christian Faith against the Heretics of this Age* was prepared while he was lecturing in the Roman College, 1576–1589. It is an armory of arguments against the views of Wyclif, Huss, Luther, Calvin, Chemnitz and other church reformers whom he quotes at length and also a storehouse of accusations against their motives and persons and the alleged evils following from the Protestant rebellion. Like the Schoolmen, his intention is to be exhaustive and like them in

industry, he is indefatigable. He deals with his subject in four books. The opening book treats of the Scriptures, Christ and the Roman pontiff, the second of the church and clergy, the third of the sacraments, and the last of sin, grace and justification. Strange to say, Sixtus V, to whom the first volume was dedicated, placed it on the Index for the alleged half-way position the author took in regard to the pope's authority in temporal matters,—treatment reported by Bellarmine himself in his autobiography. Like his predecessor Thomas Aquinas, the cardinal excelled in his method of presentation.[2] Cotton Mather called him "the last Goliah of the Philistines."

The most able of the many replies made to these and other Roman Catholic writers were written by Whitaker, *On the Scriptures*, 1588, and by Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way of Salvation*, 1637. Whitaker, professor of divinity at Cambridge, directed his work specifically against Stapleton and Bellarmine. He wrote to Cecil, "in Bellarmine we have at last the very marrow of papistry." With erudition and dialectical skill, he treated the Bible under six heads, the canon, the versions, its authority, perspicuity, interpretation and perfection.

William Chillingworth, 1602–1644, who was a convert to Romanism, in attempting to write out his reasons for being a Roman Catholic, revised his views and returned to the Protestant faith. His classic work was called forth by a controversy with a Jesuit of Oxford, as to whether Protestants can be saved. He defined Protestantism as "that in which Luther, Calvin, the English church and all Protestant Confessions agree to be the perfect rule of the Bible," and used repeatedly the famous expression, "the Bible, I say, the Bible is the only religion of Protestants." The Roman doctrine, so Chillingworth declared, makes "all men subjects unto kings and leaves them servants unto Christ no further than it pleases the pope." He denied the church's infallibility, made a clear distinction between the fundamentals and non-fundamentals in religion, insisted upon the right

of private judgment and free inquiry, favored a liberal subscription of the XXXIX Articles, and declared that for anyone to subscribe to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed would be to subscribe to his own damnation.

The seventeenth century in England and in Germany was an age of bitter religious dispute, not only between Protestants and Roman Catholics but between Anglicans and Puritans and between Lutherans and the Reformed party. Writer after writer in England took up the Roman controversy. Bellarmine's *Notes of the Church* called forth replies from Bishop Patrick, Archbishop Tenison, William Sherlock and a number of other eminent English divines. Of Twisse, prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, Bishop Hall said that he "was a man so eminent in divinity that the Jesuits shrank from his strength." Hall set forth his views in the work, *The Old Religion and Safeguards against Romanism*, 1628, as did Isaac Barrow, 1630–1677, in his *Papal Monarchy and the Unity of the Church*, and Jeremy Taylor 1613–1667, in his *Discourses of Papacy*. Richard Baxter wrote against the Tridentine system and Archbishop Tillotson and Bishop Bull, 1634–1710, against the corruptions in the Church of Rome.

§ 7. The controversy, 1650-1800.—Here we are transferred to France with Bossuet, 1627–1704, and Bayle as the prominent names. To "obsequious rhetoric," to use the expression of Lord Acton, a vigorous style and extensive knowledge of church history Bishop Bossuet added a mastery of the art of the disputant. Before Louis XIV, whom he hailed as "a second Constantine, the new Theodosius, the new Charlemagne," he exclaimed that to have confirmed the faith and exterminated heretics, "that is the worthy work of thy reign, thy real character." He pronounced the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, outlawing the Huguenots, the king's finest achievement "by which heresy is no more." As Bellarmine's work was fitted for the student, so the writings of the French court-preacher were adapted to reach the man of culture and they were probably

more successful than any other controversial writings have been in winning Protestants from their faith, except perhaps the writings of Wiseman, Newman and Gibbons. Among the converts won by Bossuet were Marshal Turenne and the historian, Gibbon, who, however, later renounced the Roman system. He spoke of Bossuet "as master of all the weapons of controversy." Bossuet acknowledged the corruptions existing at the outbreak of the Reformation, but he defended the position that religion must needs have on earth a supreme exponent of truth, the pope. Revolt against this authority leads to atheism and social disorders. In the preface to his *Variations of the Protestant Churches*, Bossuet expressed confidence that his presentation was adapted to make Protestants feel only contempt for the name "Protestant."

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, controversial literature, issuing from the Protestant side, displayed little of the vigor of the preceding century. There was no gunpowder plot or attack from without by Recusants, foreign prince or pontiff to arouse the fears of the English public, although the hostility was kept wide awake by the attempts to reseat the Stuarts on the throne and showed itself in the Gordon riots towards the close of the eighteenth century. The policy of religious toleration was gradually relaxing the laws put upon Roman Catholics and the Catholic Relief bill was passed in 1791, after a petition had been signed by fifteen hundred English Catholics denying the infallibility of the pope. The leading representative of the Roman faith in England in the eighteenth century was Dr. Challoner, 1691–1781, appointed vicar apostolic. He is best known by his revision of the Rheims version of the Bible. His controversial works were written in a relatively temperate spirit.

§ 8. **The controversy, 1800-1925.**—During the nineteenth century all disabilities were removed from English Roman Catholics by parliamentary act. In the United States equal legal rights in matters of religion prevailed. The

controversy against Protestantism was pushed with fresh zeal and carried on not only by able antagonists brought up in the Roman communion, but by a large and influential body of converts from the Church of England. Anglican Protestantism was shaken to its base by the Oxford movement led by John Henry Newman and Edward Manning and suffered a loss such as Protestantism had nowhere suffered before except in Bohemia. To three Roman Catholic writers belongs the credit for the rise of the Roman Catholic movement in the English church, Dr. John Milner, Lingard, the historian, and Cardinal Wiseman. Milner, 1752–1818, appointed Vicar Apostolic of England, was called by Newman, the English Athanasius. His work, *The End of Religious Controversy*, was a sensation. The Rev. John Lingard in his *History of England*, 1819–1830, gave out for the first time an attractive historical statement, written from the Roman standpoint. Wiseman, 1802–1865, the first cardinal on English soil since Wolsey and Pole, by his wisdom and skill, mediated between the Oxford Anglo-Catholic school and the Roman communion. Transferred from the English college in Rome of which he was the head to London, he aroused much attention by his lectures on the Principles, Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church. An article published by him in the *Catholic Review*, 1840, Newman pronounced the "first real hit from Romanism." Wiseman's funeral sermon was preached by Manning, formerly an archdeacon in the Anglican church, who succeeded to the archbishopric of Westminster and later was made cardinal.

The Roman Catholic propaganda, starting at Oxford, backed itself on the study of the Christian Fathers and was carried on through the Oxford tracts and other writings. Richard Hurrell Froude, who died early, Newman's warm friend, called for the Protestantizing and un-Miltonizing of "the Church of England." Of Froude, Newman said, "he hated the Reformation and hated the Reformers more and more and that Lutheranism and Calvinism became to him

heresies repugnant to Scripture and anathematized by East and West." The church and its unity became the dominating ideas with Newman and in 1845 he passed over to the Roman communion. By the clear and seductive style and confident assertion of his sermons, his *Grammar of Assent*, his *Essay on Miracles*, the *Development of Doctrine*, and other works, Newman wielded a sweeping influence over many of the younger English clergy. His *Apology for my Life*, depicting his inward struggles in breaking with the Church of England and passing over to Rome is one of the most engaging volumes in English autobiographical literature.

In Germany, a new era was opened in the history of the controversy by Möhler, Roman Catholic professor in Tübingen, in his *Symbolism or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants*, upon the basis of the historic creeds, which appeared 1832. The work created a sensation in theological circles not equalled since the days of Bossuet. The author, who was severe on the popes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, acknowledged that at the time of its rise, Protestantism was in part justified by much that was defective and blameworthy in the church's practice and that, in setting aside abuses, its influence had been partly good. Möhler's work called forth vigorous replies from his colleague, Baur, 1834, and other noted German theologians. After Möhler's death in 1838, at the early age of 42, Dr. Döllinger, through his *History of the Reformation*, 1846–1848, became the leading German advocate of Roman Catholicism. Recently, Janssen, in his *History of the German People*, has sought to make good the propositions that the forces of modern progress had begun to show themselves before Luther's appearance and that Protestantism was a great misfortune by interrupting an alleged process of reform going on in Europe, and by splitting the church. Most recently Denifle and Grisar, eminent historical students, in their elaborate Lives of Luther, have again sought to deal a body blow to Protestantism by assailing Luther's

motives and habits. Nicholas Paulus has sought to rescue indulgences and other practices on the ground that the Reformers were protesting against abuses, not the real doctrines of the church.

In Italy, the theological lectures, *Prælectiones*, of Giovanni Perrone, professor in the Jesuit college in Rome, gave a fresh statement of Roman doctrines and advocated the dogma of infallibility. The work of the Spainard, Balmes, d. 1848, has had a wide circulation. Perrone treated Protestantism as a plague destroying the bodily health, at the very mention of which one should shrink back as if from an attempt on one's life. Balmes' work is a fulsome panegyric of the papacy, abounds in perversions of history and is misleading by the omission of facts, which it was convenient for a Roman controversialist to forget.

In the interest of Protestantism the more notable recent works issued abroad have been Hase's *Polemics* written in an excellent spirit, Littledale's *Plain Reasons for Not Joining the Church of Rome*, and Salmon's *The Infallibility of the Church*. Among former Roman Catholics of Europe who have assailed the doctrines and practices of the Roman church, was Count von Hoensbroech, d. 1923, who, after having been a Jesuit sixteen years exposed in numerous works the Jesuit order and the Ultramontane party as their teachings pertain to the state, to reason and to the rights of the individual in religion. In another place, the so-called Modernists will be spoken of who have been forced out of the Roman communion.

§ 9. **The United States.**—In the very earliest period of New England, the sound of the Roman Catholic controversy was heard. In 1631, Richard Brown, the elder of the Watertown congregation, together with his pastor, Mr. Phillips, dared to express, as Governor Winthrop informs us, "the opinion that the churches of Rome were true churches." The Watertown and Boston congregations agreed that Mr. Brown was in error but, in spite of this decision, the offender persisted in his opinion about the

"Romish church" and, adding other error, was discharged from his office as elder. Captain Johnson in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, was unrestrained in his language, putting the pope and the Turk in a class. To him as to the other early New England Puritans, Rome was synonymous with Babylon and the pope with anti-christ. Governor Bradford spoke of the Roman ceremonies as "popish trash," as "relics of that man of sin" and as "popish and anti-Christian stuffe, the plague of England to this day." By the law of Massachusetts, 1647, Jesuits entering the colony were to be banished and, if they returned, put to death. Fortunately, it did not become necessary to enforce the law. It should not be forgotten that Father Druillets, envoy of the Canadian governor, was courteously entertained in Boston, Plymouth and Salem. In the North, French Protestants were debarred from entering New France and in the far South the Spanish inquisition was established.

Living one hundred years after the enactment of the Massachusetts law, Jonathan Edwards showed no abatement of the earlier intolerance. In his *History of Redemption*, which gives but ten pages out of its three hundred and ninety to the Middle Ages, he coupled the pope with Mohammed, and declared "that it is provided that that man of sin, anti-Christ, should set himself up in the temple or visible Church of God, pretending to be vested with divine power as head of the church, and that all this has exactly come to pass in the Church of Rome." In his *Humble Inquiry* he denied "that Romanists are properly and regularly qualified for the Lord's Supper." For him, the papacy was the masterpiece of all the contrivances of the devil against the kingdom of Christ. Edwards found a strong argument that the Scriptures are the Word of God—"in the alleged literal fulfilment of passages in Daniel and the Book of Revelation in the pope and the Church of Rome." Among the more famous treatments of the subject during the later Colonial period was the sermon of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston on *Papal Idolatry*, 1765, and a sermon

preached by Rev. Hugh Jones of Virginia and published, 1745, under the title *A Protest against Papacy.* The first minister of New England to be converted to Romanism was John Thayer about 1782, who served as a priest in Boston and other places. His controversy with the Rev. Georges Leslie of New Hampshire was published in Philadelphia, 1795.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century a serious popular revolt directed against the alleged political designs of the American hierarchy to overthrow American institutions manifested itself in the Order of United Americans and the Know-nothing movement followed by acts of violence by mobs in Philadelphia, Charleston and other cities. Fifty years later, the same feeling was embodied in the Ku-Klux Klan which sought and acquired political influence in different states. Literary discussion took the form of series of letters between individual opponents, tracts and larger treatises. Perhaps the discussion which aroused most attention was the series of letters between Kirwan and Archbishop Hughes of New York and between Dr. Hopkins, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Vermont, and Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore. Kirwan, whose real name was Nicholas Murray, a clergyman of Elizabeth, New Jersey, was born a Roman Catholic in Ireland and became a Protestant after reaching this country. His first series of letters attacking alleged religious abuses in Ireland countenanced by the hierarchy appeared in the *New York Observer*, 1847. A second series called forth a reply from Dr. Hughes in ten communications issued in the *Freeman's Journal* and later in six letters directly addressed to Kirwan. Dr. Hughes had before been drawn into controversy with Dr. John Breckinridge of Princeton. Kirwan addressed still another series of letters to Roger B. Taney, a Roman Catholic and Chief Justice of the United States, describing what the writer had seen on a visit in Rome, 1852. Whatever may be said of Kirwan's accuracy as a reporter, he proved a poor prophet when he predicted that

"popery was then a fallen tree whose branches were withered and that the time would soon be here when the historian will write the Church of Rome was but is not." On the other hand, Protestants are bold enough to expect that Professor Grisar and recent writers in Roman Catholic periodicals who predict that Protestantism in Europe and America is a dying cause, will prove equally unreliable.

The controversy was also carried on by Brownlee, *Popery an Enemy to Civil and Religious Liberty*, 1836, Lyman Beecher, *Plea from the West*, 1835, Nevins, *Thoughts on Popery*, 1836, Edward Beecher, *The Papal Conspiracy Exposed*, and other writers. Dr. Philip Schaff's, *Principle of Protestantism*, delivered first as an inaugural address, 1844, and intended to advocate the tenets of the Protestant Reformers, brought upon the author a trial for heresy. No treatment from the Protestant standpoint has been on a higher plane than the essays of Dr. Channing.

The leading American disputants defending Romanism have been Archbishop Spalding and Cardinal Gibbons. Dr. Martin J. Spalding, 1810–1872, Bishop of Louisville and later Archbishop of Baltimore, in his *History of the Protestant Reformation*, furnished the most elaborate discussion from the Roman Catholic side yet produced on American soil. The four propositions which the writer sought to prove are:— 1. That Luther and the other Reformers were not men such as God would have chosen to reform the church. 2. Their motives were such as God would not sanction. 3. No reform in religion and morals was effected by the Reformation. 4. Its influence has been baneful upon society, free government and civilization. The Middle Ages are pronounced by the author to have been pre-eminently ages of faith. In its inception and development, the Reformation was the working out of the three great concupiscences, the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life. Luther, a humble monk before 1517, fell like Lucifer and gave way to the basest passions. As for the other Reformers, so the bishop asserted, "they were by unquestionable evi-

dence no whit better than Luther." One of the many inaccurate surmises of the volumes was that Anne Boleyn was Henry VIII's daughter—Vol. 2 : 484 sq.

The popular work of Cardinal Gibbons, d. 1921, *The Faith of our Fathers*, first appeared in 1876, and has been circulated in no less than 2,000,000 copies. Its object, so the author states, is to bring home the "truth of Catholicity to Protestants." Disarmed by its easy style, its kindly spirit and its plausible statements of certain Roman Catholic practices and events of history, the Protestant reader, if he is not on his guard, is in danger of being led to the conviction that the Protestant conception of the Roman system has been wholly as well as culpably wrong. Not that Cardinal Gibbons diverges from any of the Roman dogmas. He does not. He advocates papal infallibility, for which he voted at Rome, and even the pope's temporal power, but he is so skilful in his presentation that these and other dogmas do not seem to be what they are stated to be in the Tridentine and Vatican Decrees. For example, in treating of the Bible, the cardinal emphasizes that the church during the Middle Ages was the custodian of the book, and he so deals with this fact,—which no one questions,—as to make the unwary reader feel that the Roman church was then and has always been in favor of the Bible being in the hands of the people. When the sacrament of marriage is under discussion, the subject of divorce is treated in a way to make it seem that Protestantism is responsible for that evil and that Roman Catholic countries are far superior to Protestant lands in chastity and marital fidelity. In treating of popular rights, the author emphasizes the part Catholic barons had in preparing *magna charta* and the support given to it by Archbishop Langton, but he passes over the facts that Innocent III issued at least three bulls nullifying the charter in part or in whole, as well as the pope's league with John against the barons and his suspension of Archbishop Langton. The cardinal makes the unsafe statement that the church has "never in a decree advocated torture or

death for conscience' sake." Certainly, Innocent IV authorized torture and, if John Huss and thousands of others did not die for conscience' sake, who, it may be asked, was ever moved by conscience?

Among the American converts who have defended Romanism with their pens and on the platform, the more notable have been Levi S. Ives, once Protestant Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina, in his *Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism*, Orestes A. Brownson and Father Isaac T. Hecker of the Paulist Fathers. Among converts advocating the Protestant side of the controversy have been Father Chiniquy, 1809–99, originally of Quebec, in his *Autobiography* and other writings, and the Barnabite A. Gavazzi of Italy, 1809–89, who delivered lectures in the United States.

As a mine of information and of argument for the Roman side of the controversy, Cardinal Bellarmine's treatise remains unapproached. Likewise, the Protestant statements of the sixteenth century from the pens of Luther, Calvin, Jewel and other Reformers have been unequalled since in biblical knowledge, vigor of expression and evidences drawn from history. Since the days of the Reformers and the cardinal, the new dogmas of the immaculate conception and papal infallibility and the more recent papal attacks upon the freedom of modern biblical study have raised up new barriers between the two communions. In the discussion of these and other differences, it should be possible for a Protestant writer, without underestimating their importance, to avoid the state of mind of Andreas Musculus shown in his work, 1557, setting forth no less than twenty-seven agreements between the papal and Mohammedan systems, or Conyers Middleton who two centuries later, 1729, sought to prove the "exact conformity between Popery and Paganism" and that "the religion of the present Romans is derived entirely from that of their heathen ancestors."

CHAPTER III

THE NEED OF A REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Evangelizatio verbi est precisior quam ministratio alicujus ecclesiastici sacramenti.

The preaching of the Word is above the ministration of any church sacrament.—Wyclif, *op. ev.*, I: 375.

THE Protestant movement of the sixteenth century was not like a continent unheralded by islands. While the full doctrinal and ritual system of the Middle Ages was being constructed, signs of discontent appeared in different parts of Europe and a solemn and protracted effort was made to carry out a scheme for the betterment of the state of Western christendom. The attempt to better conditions was led in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by groups of religious men not excelled in earnestness of moral purpose in any period of the church's history. At the time Protestantism arose, the need of reformation in the church had reached its culmination in the corruptions of the Vatican. The attempt to rescue the church from its low spiritual and moral condition ended in utter failure until Luther appeared.

The ideal of the Middle Ages was a religious empire governed from Rome and embracing the world. It included a code whose laws were intended to control all human acts, and a religious ritual binding all Christians to a single form of worship. It exalted the priesthood and disparaged the rights of the common man before God. The system made the priest a sovereign over life. It was sufficient for the people to obey. It is not just to say that all individualism was crushed by this theory which put in the place of a

divine message a system made by man. The Middle Ages witnessed some of the noblest events,—the rise of scholasticism, the establishment of the universities, the construction of the cathedrals. However, it is true that all movements were judged by their adaptation to advance the authority of the Roman pontiff and the hierarchy. Every movement that threatened that authority was fought by all means, spiritual and political.

This binding system, which knew no law but its own will was resisted at first by the mediæval emperors in the interest of the independence of the civil realm and, from the year 1200, by widespread popular dissent, showing itself in the rise of Christian sects and in writings conceived in the interest of human liberty and sanctioned by the teachings of the *Gospels* and the Apostles. A third movement of resistance came from the men of the Renaissance whose furtherance of culture loosened the shackles with which priestly power had bound the mind of Europe. In spite of these opposing elements, the system held on unchanged. At last, came the Protestant Reformation embodying the aspirations after intellectual freedom and the recovery of Apostolic teaching in a movement which proved to be permanent.

§ 1. **The greater mediæval abuses.**—The three major evils developed by the mediæval church were papal assumption, the sacramental system and the papal inquisition. By the theory of papal supereminence, the Roman pontiff was taught to be the vicegerent of God and his voice tantamount to the law of God. An individual resisting his decree defied God. Christian salvation hung upon obedience to him. The theory of Gregory VII and his successors not only gave to the supreme pontiff the rule of the whole church but the control of the civil power, and he was made responsible to give an account to God for all the kingdoms and princedoms of the Christian world. What popes asserted they carried out as far as they were able. Henry IV was brought to humiliating submission by Gregory VII at Canossa, 1076. The brave Frederick Barbarossa knelt before Alexander III

at the Peace of Venice, 1177. John of England was forced to yield up his kingly prerogative to Innocent III. The imperial house of the Hohenstaufen was brought to ruin by Innocent's successors who pronounced the heirs of Frederick II "the poisonous brood of a dragon of poisonous race"—fit only for extermination from this world and misery in the future.

The sacramental system, the second imposing construction of the Middle Ages, placed grace in a series of ritual acts, which received their virtue from the administration of the priest. It was his prerogative to withhold or assume the gift of eternal life.

The inquisition, the third of the greater ecclesiastical constructions and evils of the Middle Ages, was made the church's official policy by Innocent III. It treated dissent from the ecclesiastical system as the worst of crimes for which imprisonment or death in this world and perdition in the world to come were the just punishments.

§ 2. The bull "unam sanctam."—The mediæval theory of ecclesiastical power and personal dependence upon the priesthood found a succinct summing-up in the bull of Boniface VIII, the *unam sanctam*, issued 1302. By its intolerable arrogance, which was unbacked by moral power in the author, the deliverance marked a crisis in the history of papal dominion and was followed by an era of strenuous controversy over the extent of the papal power. Boniface did not discern the change which European thought was undergoing. The time was over when at a word from the Vatican, armies would spring forth to crush religious unrest. Europe seemed ready for a spiritual leader. It did not welcome an arbitrary edict. When Boniface was elected to the papal throne, the papacy was at the height of its power. At his death, it was humbled to the dust. Considered from the standpoint of human rights, no more ominous utterance has ever gone forth from the Vatican than Boniface's bull, except the Vatican decree of papal infallibility. Boniface made three claims:—1. The Christian church is a single

organism under the government of the Bishop of Rome to whom the Greeks who are "not of Christ's sheep" owe allegiance—to be in the new Noah's ark, which is the refuge of salvation. 2. The pope exercises authority over both realms, the spiritual and the civil. With the spiritual sword, he metes out spiritual punishments: the civil sword must be unsheathed when the pope commands. 3. It is altogether necessary for every man, in order to be saved, to be subject to the Roman pontiff—*subesse romano pontifici omnino esse de necessitate salutis.*

This deliverance proved to be a veritable bomb and unloosed vigorous forces of discontent. Assaults against the pope's alleged prerogative were made from Rome to Paris and from Oxford to Prague,—assaults such as the papacy had never before been called upon to resist. Philip IV of France, for whom the bull was meant to be a rebuke, proved himself a match for the pontiff. With the French parliament behind him, he denounced the fulmination as a piece of pride. Asserting the independence of the civil power, he told the pope that the church is composed of laymen as well as clerics and appealed to a legitimate pope and a general council. The humiliation of Boniface was complete when he was seized by French soldiers at Anagni. Released and returning to the Vatican, he died in despair or, as his Spanish physician reported, out of his mind.[1]

§ 3. The Avignon exile and the papal schism, 1305-1417. —Boniface being dead, christendom was left without a pope for a number of months. At last Philip had a French archbishop elected pope. Under the name of Clement V, he was crowned on French soil and settled down in Avignon as the papal residence and there the popes continued to reside for more than seventy years. This period called the Babylonish captivity of the papacy was followed by the papal schism lasting forty years, when two pontiffs, each claiming to be the rightful successor of St. Peter, ruled contemporaneously, the one on the banks of the Tiber, the other on the Rhone. By these events the theory was shaken whereby

Rome was the divinely appointed centre of ecclesiastical dominion. The events also established in the minds of some the conviction that christendom might get along very well without a pope. The latter idea was strengthened by the moral corruption of the Avignon court which became the reproach of christendom. The papal palace was turned into the chief counting-house of Europe. The greed of its army of secretaries and its unabashed traffic in church emoluments became the leading subject of complaint of the age. Simony, once so strongly denounced by Gregory VII, became the conspicuous sin of christendom. Writing of the first Avignon pontiff, Clement V, and his successor, Pastor says that luxury and fast living prevailed in the papal court in an alarming degree. The pope, not only exercised the right to fill all ecclesiastical positions, but went much further and established the system of reservations and expectations by which applicants received appointments in succession to bishoprics and other church dignities while the incumbents were still living. From all parts of Western Europe litigants carried their cases to Avignon and opened a bottomless source for financial exactions by the papal household. In his *Lament of the Church*, Alvarus Pelayo, a contemporary bishop who knew well what he was writing about, reported that, whenever he entered the papal chambers, he found tables covered with gold coins and a host of clerks busy counting and weighing them. Petrarch, who visited Avignon called it the Western Babylon and ascribed to life there "everything fearful which had ever existed or been imagined by a disordered mind." The city was the Monte Carlo of the age.

If possible, the papal schism which began in 1378 proved to be an even greater misfortune than the Avignon exile. Pastor has called it the greatest calamity which could be thought of for the church. The seamless coat of Christ seemed to be rent in twain. Contemporary writers lamented that the church could no longer say, "My dove is one." Europe was divided between the two papal obedi-

ences, as they were called. Each pontiff had his own set of cardinals and each fulminated curses against the other as a usurper. Simony went on at both papal residences. Of Boniface IX, of the Roman line, a contemporary said that he was an insatiable gulf—*vorago insatiabilis*. Another writer of the day, Adam of Usk, declared that "though gorged through simony, Boniface to his dying day was never satisfied."

§ 4. **Attempts at church reform.**—The scandals centering in the papal office called forth from a large part of Western christendom voices demanding reforms in the church. For a century and more church reform was an absorbing topic—reform in the head and members—*in capite et membris*—that is from the pope down. The theological treatments of a preceding age, written by Schoolmen gave way to resolutions passed by universities and timely tracts calling for the removal of pressing church abuses. Such titles as the *Ruin of the Church* and the *Necessity of Reform* give some idea of their purpose. The question was not whether the church was distressed with disease, but how the disease might be cured.

After appeal had been made in vain to the rival pontiffs to heal the schism and rectify the evil conditions, the remedy agreed upon by the leading authorities of Europe and the cardinals of the two papal obediences was a general council. To this reasonable plan the two prelates each claiming to be the head of christendom, refused their assent. It is probable that no church councils ever met burdened with such a sense of pure purpose and with higher hopes than the three councils of the early half of the fifteenth century which met in Pisa, Constance and Basel and are known in history as the Reformatory Councils. They healed the papal schism but as an instrument to institute reforms they were a failure. The Council of Pisa, 1409, deposed the rival popes in Rome and Avignon as "notorious heretics and schismatics, offenders against the unity of the church," and elected in their stead Alexander V. Thus christendom witnessed the

spectacle of three pontiffs, each claiming to be the rightful successor of St. Peter, for both the Roman and Avignon claimants refused to give up. Measures for the reform of church abuses, the council postponed to a future council.

The meeting at Constance, 1414–18, one of the most memorable gatherings that ever assembled on European soil, is famous for three things. It solemnly asserted the superiority of general councils over the pope. It burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague. It healed the papal schism. Although the council lasted four years, it made no headway with the puzzling problem of correcting church abuses, a task which it likewise left to a future council. The third reformatory council, meeting at Basel 1431, had the pope against it and at Ferrara, whither it was transferred by Eugene IV church reform was not a topic of discussion. Thus all high hopes of ridding the church of the evils with which it was cursed though shared by the leading churchmen of Europe, and calling forth three notable church assemblies were wholly blasted.

§ 5. **Anti-papal writings.**—From another quarter, the pens of advanced writers, the authority of the papacy was weakened. Two series of vigorous tracts were started as a result of the conflict of Bonifiace VIII with Philip IV. The first attacked the civil and the spiritual claims of the papacy. Among their writers was Dante, who in his Monarchy, assailed the pope's claim to temporal authority and insisted that the emperor had his office by independent right from God and that Constantine in conferring, as was alleged, temporal power on Sylvester, was acting without authority. Of the group which assailed the spiritual functions of the papacy, Marsiglius of Padua and Wyclif were the most prominent. Marsiglius, one of the most famous pamphleteers in history, asserted in his *Defender of the Peace*, many of the positions taken later by the Protestant Reformers, so that Döllinger felt justified in calling him a full-grown Calvin before Calvin. He asserted that the authority committed to Peter was no greater than the authority committed

to the other Apostles, that the pope holds his office not of divine appointment but only as he is recognized by the state, that the Scriptures are the final authority, that laymen should sit in church councils and that the function of binding and loosing is declarative not judicial. As Frederick II compared Gregory IX to the rider on the red horse of the Apocalypse who destroyed peace from the earth, so Marsiglius called the reigning pontiff, John XXII, "the great dragon, the old serpent." Wyclif, as will later be seen was equally bold, and went, if possible, further than the Italian. These new and fruitful ideas were resented in Rome, one and all, and called forth the severest papal penalties upon those who dared to announce them.

§ 6. Pietism in the North.—The reforms which councils failed to set on foot were realized in a measure in the regions along the Rhine, from Switzerland to the English channel. The movement, known as German or Dominican Mysticism, sprang up as a root out of dry ground and partly from lay circles. It made no attack upon prevailing church institutions but, by laying stress upon personal religion and good living, exalted daily piety to the relative disparagement of the sacraments and priestly power. It dignified all legitimate occupations, making the fidelity of the shoemaker as honorable as the fidelity of the prelate. In his sermons, Meister Eckart, one of the leaders of the movement, dwelt upon such themes as the sonship of believers, the blindness of the natural man and the immediate illumination of the Spirit. John Tauler preached much on conversion—*kehr*—and daily piety. Gerhard Groote and others in Holland sought to help the needy by philanthropic measures. These pietistic groups used the vulgar tongue in their sermons, and copied manuscripts. Their most far-reaching influence was exerted by the schools which they taught and founded. The final fruitage of their activity was the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis and the volume known as the *German Theology* exalting faith in Christ as the sufficient way of salvation. This latter book was

put on the Index as pernicious 1621. Luther, who was much influenced by the volume, pronounced it a deep well of religious wisdom, and likened it to cool waters brought up from the bed of Jordan by some Nathaniel. These German mystics showed the way of true religion and undefiled and, although they affected the contemporary church little, they prepared the soil for the German Reformation.

§ 7. **Doctrinal reformers.**—The low spiritual state of the church called forth another group, doctrinal reformers, who went further than the Reformatory Councils which sought to introduce reforms in administration by constitutional methods and further than the mystics who contented themselves with works of practical piety. These men made a deliberate attack upon mediæval definitions and dogmas and distinguished between the Scriptures and ecclesiastical interpretations. They belonged to different parts of Europe, Wyclif to England, Huss to Bohemia, Wessel and John of Wesel to Holland. To their number Savonarola of Florence also belongs. Some of these reformers were imprisoned: others like Huss, Jerome of Prague and Savonarola, were burned. Wyclif died a natural death but, by order of the Council of Constance, his bones were dug up and reduced to ashes.

John Wyclif, 1320–1384, perhaps the most eminent figure in the religious history of England, is deservedly called the Morning Star of the Reformation. As a patriot, he spoke out against the yearly mulct of 1,000 marks imposed by Innocent III on King John. As a religious leader, he censured the monks for their ignorance and idleness and the deception they practiced on the people. Leaning upon the New Testament as the supreme source of religious truth, he set aside transsubstantiation and other current church doctrines and practices which he called "novelties" recently foisted upon the church. He insisted on the right of every layman to have the Scriptures in his own tongue. As for the pope, Luther was scarcely more severe than was

the Oxford publicist and professor. Wyclif denounced the pontiff as the worst of cut-purses, calling upon him to set aside his wordly pomp and vain glory and return to the simplicity of the Apostles. Soon after his death, his teachings called forth the English act for burning heretics, 1402.

In Bohemia, Wyclif came to be known as the fifth evangelist. His spirit was imbibed by John Huss of Prague. Teacher never had a more devoted pupil. Like the Englishman, Huss was a patriot as well as a religious reformer, and, like him also, a university professor as well as a preacher. His writings make him the chief author among the Czechs. He rebuked the clergy for their sins. He exposed the fraud of sacred relics. He preached against the sale of indulgences. He continued to uphold Wyclif after Wyclif's writings had been openly burned by the archbishop of Prague. When summoned to go to Rome, he refused to obey. At Sigismund's suggestion and with the promise of safe-conduct, he went to Constance where he expected the teaching of Scripture to be treated as paramount authority. He was thrown into prison, his bible taken from him and he was sentenced by the council to death with not a single voice being lifted up in his defense. After being classed with the worst heretics and his soul committed to the devil, he was turned over to the civil power and burned. In giving his last testimony before the council in the cathedral, he expressed the wish that his soul might be where the soul of Wyclif was. With his English master, he defined the church as the body of the elect, asserting that the Roman Church is a "particular" communion and not the whole body of believers. His testimony to the lordship of conscience has seldom been equalled by mortal man. When asked to recant, he refused, saying, "Lest I sin against conscience and God's truth." After becoming acquainted with Huss's treatise *On the Church*, Luther wrote to Leo X, 1520, "I say it to thy face, Most Holy Vicar of God, that all the articles of John Huss, condemned at Constance, are true and Christian." Later he bore testimony

that if ever the sun shone on a Christian man and martyr, it was John Huss.

The movement in Florence, led by Savonarola, in favor of political change and moral ideals, brought Savonarola to the flames. The reigning pontiff, Alexander VI, saw in the friar only a disturber of the peace and a rebellious priest and wrote that, though he were another John the Baptist, yet he should be put to death. With his dying breath, 1498, and defying pontifical authority when the bishop of Vasona uttered the words, "I separate thee from the church militant and triumphant," Savonarola replied, "No, not from the church triumphant." These men, Wyclif, Huss and Savonarola, known as the Reformers before the Reformation bore the worthy testimony that the authority of Scripture is superior to all human authority in the church, a testimony to which at a more favorable time, the world was ready to listen.

§ 8. The last popes of the Middle Ages.—Not the least influential witness to the need of a reformation in the church was the corruption of the papal court during the last half century of the Middle Ages. It might seem as if it was the divine purpose to make it manifest by the ungodly lives of the last mediæval popes that the kingdom of God on earth will survive in spite of the defiance which the leaders in the church may show to its laws. From 1470–1517 the corruption in the Vatican and among the cardinals surpassed the corruption of the Avignon period at least in the open practice of worldliness, frivolity and extravagence and excelled it in sensualism. This moral condition of the papacy continued for two generations after 1517. The devotion of this succession of pontiffs to pleasure and worldly aims was so flagrant that the Roman Catholic historian, Pastor, has dared to compare them to the unworthy emperors of the early Christian centuries. Church dignities and livings seemed to exist for the very purpose of enabling the supreme pontiff of christendom to fill his exchequer. Every ecclesiastical office had its price. It

seemed as if popes looked upon their authority primarily as offering an opportunity to enrich their nephews and relatives with church titles or with estates and civil offices. The following examples are sufficient. Sixtus IV appointed three of his nephews cardinals, as also his great nephew, Rafaeli Riario, at seventeen. Alexander VI, who had appointed his son, Cæsar Borgia, archbishop of Valencia at sixteen, made him a cardinal at eighteen. Paul III, 1534–1549, admitted to the sacred college, his grandsons, Alexander Farnese at fourteen and Guido Sforza at sixteen and a nephew at sixteen. The red hat and the mitre were sold to the highest bidders. With no regard for spiritual qualifications, princes claimed the highest honors of the church for their sons. John de' Medici, afterwards Leo X, was made cardinal at thirteen. Hippolyte of Este, his illegitimate cousin, at fifteen, John of Aragon at fourteen, a son of the king of Poland at nineteen, a child of the king of Portugal at seven. An illegitimate son of Ferdinand of Spain was archbishop of Saragossa at six. In all their history pluralism and absenteeism as well as simony, have had no period so flourishing as the period between Sixtus IV and Paul IV. Pastor, quoting Leo's *Regesta*, speaks of fifty-five livings going to a single benifice-hunter. During the fifteenth century, one boy of ten and another of seventeen filled the see of Geneva. In France, John, son of the Duke of Loraine, appointed bishop-coadjutor of Metz at five, and entering the full tenure of the office seven years later, united in himself one after the other the bishoprics of Toul and Terouanne, Valence and Die, Verdun, Alby, Macon, Agen and Nantes. To these were added in succession the archbishoprics of Narbonne, Rheims and Lyons. In Germany, there were cases of as many as twenty livings being held by a single ecclesiastic. Of the two hundred and twenty-eight German bishops ruling between 1400 and 1517, all but thirteen were noblemen. In England, the appointment of Italians to high positions had long been a cause of loud complaint. The popular estimate of them was given by

Latimer, in 1549, when he said, "These Romish hats never brought good to England."

Cardinals living in Rome did not attempt to shield their mistresses from the public gaze. The passion of gaming involved them in the loss or gain of enormous sums in a single night. Popes looked on at salacious comedies performed in the Vatican. Their children were married in its chambers and cardinals mingled with the ladies who were invited to brilliant entertainments which popes arranged. Sons of popes were dispensed by their fathers from their priestly vows that they might marry. St. Peter's square was turned into a bull ring where the pope's son, Cæsar Borgia, clad as a metador, fought as in the festival 1492 to commemorate the deliverance of Spain from the Moors. Scandals such as these were vouched for by contemporary officials of the Vatican such as Infessura, Platina and Burchard, afterwards a bishop.

The dark career of moral depravity resting upon Alexander VI, pontiff during the very last years of the fifteenth century, 1492–1502, has forced Pastor to say that the "demon of sensuality continued to rule him to the end of his life."[2] At least seven of his children were legitimated either by his predecessor or by himself. The letters of Vanozza, the mother of five of these children, are extant. Lucretia, Alexander's daughter and the belle of the papal city, was married in succession to three husbands. Her third nuptials were celebrated with brilliant ceremonies in the Vatican in the presence of cardinals and one hundred and fifty ladies who continued until five in the morning dancing and looking on at comedies. Four cardinals accompanied Cæsar Borgia, then dispensed from holy orders, on his way from Rome to wed his bride in France. Alexander's immediate successor, Pius III, the father of a numerous family, quickly gave way to Julius II, known as the warrior pope. Julius' three daughters started no scandals in the Vatican such as had occurred under Alexander. Julius, however, was not above appointing four of his nephews cardinals.

He was more of a soldier than a priest and wore a coat of mail in the camp. A play brought out on the stage of Paris, 1514, a short time after the pontiff's death, represented him at the gate of heaven excluded from entering by the porter, St. Peter. Julius remonstrated, telling of the wealth of Rome, his wars and the multitude of appointments which had been at his command. When Peter demanded that he tell some of his acts as vicar of Christ and got no reply, the apostle pronounced the pontiff a subverter of the church and called him the Emperor Julian, the Apostate, come back from hell.[3]

In the reign of Leo X, 1513–1521, Luther began his career. The Vatican was the seat of hilarity and good living. The young pope revealed his conception of the papal office in a letter to his brother, in which he wrote, "God has given us the papacy. Let us enjoy it." Leo was a good fellow. He was easy-going. He had a good time, went about the Vatican in his hunting boots, spent days together at his hunting lodge and looked on at comedies acted in the Vatican. In spite of the revenues derived from papal patronage and the lease of commercial privileges in the city of Rome, he was forced to pawn the papal tiara to meet the expenditures his tastes involved. When Leo died, the papal treasury was in debt 800,000 ducats. His pontificate, a felicity to himself, was a disaster to Roman christendom. The papacy had come to be for Christianity a dead weight. Sarpi, in his history of the Council of Trent, remarks that "Leo would have been a perfect pope if he had united with his other qualities some knowledge of the affairs of religion and a greater inclination to piety, for neither of which did he manifest much concern." Was not the occasion imperative when Luther could write to Leo, "It is clearer than the day that the Roman Church, once the most holy of all, has become the most licentious den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the kingdom of sin, death and hell, so that even anti-christ, if he should come, could think of nothing to add to this wickedness."

Leo's successor, Adrian VI, 1521–23, came to the papal throne with a mind bent on attempting better things but succeeded only in calling forth the jibes and ridicule of the Romans. Under his successors, Clement VII, Paul III and Julius III, the shameful conditions were revived. In fact, so much had the papal office come to be regarded as a worldly prize that the Emperor Maximilian made the proposition to join it to the imperial crown.

§ 9. **Clerical abuses.**—With such scandals going on in Rome, the capital of the Christian world, no general movement in the direction of reforms could be expected among the clergy of Europe. No single moral reform had been sponsored by the Vatican for years and anyone proposing reforms like the admirable Cardinal of Cusa was repressed, or imprisoned and burnt. In Italy, few or none of the priests could read. In the country where the Renaissance started, it brought no improvement to clerical morals. On the contrary, that movement was accompanied by a paganizing of society. Its culture flourished in a swamp of moral confusion, and revived atheism. Boccaccio and Aretino laughed at celibacy and mocked religious exercises. The *Facetiæ*, or Stories, of Poggio, who died 1459, secretary to eight popes, and the stories of Henry Bebel, 1497, professor in Tübingen, are so full of obscenities, that probably the lowest magazines of today would decline to print them.

In the North, where there was a movement toward better things, the ignorance and idleness of the clergy were such as to call forth the ridicule of Erasmus and von Hutten. In Rome, so the latter reported, he had seen the same archbishop's pall sold twice on the same day. Three things, he said, were set for sale in the holy city—Christ, church-livings and women—and three things gave the Romelings pain—peace among the princes, the growing intelligence of the people and the disclosure of pious frauds. Official complaints against the morals and exactions of Rome were set forth by German diets, from 1461 to 1523. In 1502 and 1510, they resolved that monies collected from the sale of indul-

gences should not go out of Germany. The real enemy of Christianity, declared the diet of 1518, was not the Turk but "the hound of hell in Rome." The diet of 1522 and other diets lamented the shamelessness of German priests in corrupting women and the diet of 1523, in enumerating in one hundred articles the abuses under which religion in Germany was staggering, instanced clerical concubinage as allowed by the bishops for money. To so great a height had this evil reached that, in Switzerland, certain parishes obliged priests to marry as a protection to their families. In the diocese of Constance, the income in 1502 from a tax of 4 gulden for each child born to a priest amounted to 7,500 gulden. In the diocese of Bamberg, a tax of 5 gulden was levied for every such child and, in 1512, it amounted to 1500 gulden. In 1505, at the first session of the German diet, the dancing was opened by the Archbishop of Cologne and an abbess, with nuns from St. Ursula and St. Mary taking part, while the Emperor Maximilian looked on. Priests, like Zwingli, who joined the Reformers, had lived in concubinage, or, like Bullinger and Leo Jud, were the sons of priests. The Catholic historian, Janssen, speaks of the profligacy at German cathedrals and the ignorance of the canons as proverbial, and appealed to the decrees of synods as leaving no doubt that the greater part of the German clergy broke their vow of celibacy without scruple.

In England, conditions were scarcely better. Cardinal Wolsey set the example of violating the law of chastity. The almost incredible ignorance of the clergy is attested by the report of a visitation made by Bishop Hooper in 1551. Of three hundred and eleven clergymen examined, one hundred and sixty-eight in his diocese were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, forty could not tell where the Lord's Prayer was found and thirty-one could not give its author. In his sermon at Stamford, Latimer said that he made it his habit to recite the Lord's Prayer before and after every sermon, as he found so many people who did not know it. The *Beggar's Petition*, written on the eve of the English

Reformation, accused the English clergy of having no other serious occupation than the destruction of family peace by the corruption of women. Tyndale is authority for the statement that clergymen had concubines not only by paying money for the privilege to the archdeacons but also through licenses received from the pope. In Scotland, prelates openly married their daughters to the sons of noblemen. Cardinal Beaton had seven bastards. In 1546 his eldest daughter was married to the Earl of Crawford. Illegitimacy was no obstacle to holding ecclesiastical places. James IV's illegitimate son was made archbishop of St. Andrews at sixteen. Five illegitimate sons of James V were put at the head of as many Scotch abbeys. Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews was the illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran and openly acknowledged his children.[4]

§ 10. **Superstition and witchcraft.**—To these conditions making a vigorous reform in christendom imperative were added popular superstition and the encouragement given to it from the popes down. The credulous in Germany and England flocked to shrines where were set to view St. Anne's skull at Dürren, the bleeding host at Wylsnack, the clothes of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury and the nodding image of our Lady and congealed milk from her breasts at Walsingham. Rome took the lead in crediting the wildest falsehoods and sponsoring them. In 1462, St. Andrew's head was added to the other relics of St. Peter's, its arrival being welcomed with brilliant ceremonies, and a eulogy delivered by Pius II congratulating the dumb skull upon being finally delivered from the hands of the Turk and finding a resting place at the side of the Apostle's brother, Peter. If possible, more brilliant ceremonies were instituted at Rome for the reception of the Holy Lance, the pretended weapon with which Longinus had pierced the Saviour's side. The sacred relic had come from no less a personage than the Sultan Bajazet, and it made little difference that the true lance was claimed by both of the two cities of Nürnberg and Paris.

Drawing close to the future abode of Luther, we are introduced to the notable reliquaries of the North, the 5,005 relics at Wittenberg made when Luther was twenty years old, and the still larger collection of 8,933 relics at Halle belonging to the Archbishop of Mainz. Among the treasures in Wittenberg were a finger of St. Anne, "the blessed grandmother," and also her right hand, milk from the virgin's breast, a thorn from the crown of thorns, and hay from the manger at Bethlehem. An account, written in 1507, gives a detailed report of the exposition and the open-mouthed amazement with which a student looked at the sacred objects. Little wonder that he exclaimed that, if his forefathers had been living they would have thought that Rome itself had been transferred to the German village.[5]

As for witchcraft, it is sufficient at this place to say that, as the Middle Ages were coming to an end, the belief in malefic influence proceeding from the league of men and women with demons was bringing thousands of victims to the flames. The belief took the form of a panic when Innocent VIII, in the generation just before the Reformation began, ordered the inquisitors of Germany to exercise their office in putting to death persons suspected of being bewitched by alliance with the evil one.

If the history of the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, be properly studied, they are found to offer the spectacle of a perversion of true religion for which leading churchmen, such as Gerson and d'Ailli and independent theological thinkers, sought a remedy in vain, the one group by reforms in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, the other by a sheer return to the New Testament as the church's authoritative code. If Israel at times of decline had its prophets calling for repentance in dust and ashes and for national reform, so had the church during these two centuries.

Like the Hebrew prophets, the churchmen of the fifteenth century were utterly defeated. Papal administration won and moral passion was vanquished. The demand for a

return to the original principles of the Gospel was treated as a demand for the abolition of slavery might have been treated by the Roman senate in the first century after Christ. Pontiffs, who assumed to be the heads of christendom, had not even the form of godliness. The night was dark. No help was in sight. While in other departments, from the discovery of new lands to the printing press, the forces of progress were active, religion seemed to be destined to remain paralyzed, its leaders unable to bring about a change to a new order or positively unwilling to attempt to bring about such a change. The need was great. What popes did not attempt to do and eminent church leaders and councils were unable to do, a single individual, Martin Luther, did.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

Haeresim non tam novitas quam veritas revincit. It is not so much novelty as truth which refutes heresy. Tertullian, *de virg. vel.*

THE Protestant Reformation came at the nick of time—a time when a betterment in Western christendom seemed to be hopeless and there was no sign that the previous efforts to reform the church would be repeated. It cleared away dogmas and religious rules with which the church had become freighted down like a ship covered with barnacles after a long passage. When help came, it came not from the Roman pontiff and the Vatican, not from a council of prelates but from a German monk and an obscure village in the North. And it came like a bolt from a clear sky.

§ 1. **The Reformation defined.**—As a religious movement, the outbreak of Protestantism was the most memorable event that has occurred since the days of the Apostles. The year, 1517, when Luther posted up his Theses, is a dividing line in history. Certain early attempts to explain the movement are now considered wholly erroneous. It was not a conflict starting with jealouses between two orders, the Augustinians and the Dominicans, as Cochlæus, 1550, represented. Nor was it a wild revolt conceived in the brain of a German monk while drunk, as Leo X at first pronounced it to be. Scarcely less erroneous have been other attempts accounting for it on other than religious grounds. The Reformation was not conceived in a purpose to release Germany from the exactions of the Italians, although the complaint against these exactions was loud and well justified.

It was not a boastful exaltation of reason above piety or an attempt to liberate the reason from the bondage of authority. It was not a revolt of the laity against ecclesiasticism provoked, as Mr. Froude chose to say, "by the audacious immorality of the secular and religious clergy and the tyranny and extortion of ecclesiastical rule." It certainly was not in its original purpose an economic movement. Still less was it a political movement.[1]

The charge now common among Roman Catholic controversialists that the Reformation was the result of a religious misapprehension by Luther and other Reformers or an outbreak of self-will and crass ambition, are explanations contradicted by the experimental knowledge they had of their time, by their open lives and their readiness to suffer death for their views as also by the full acceptance which one-half of Europe gave to the new movement.

The Reformation was a protest against doctrinal and practical evils in the church and a re-proclamation of the Gospel. It was a return to the precepts of original Christianity. No new truth was contributed to the New Testament by Luther and Calvin any more than new lands were contributed to the earth by Columbus and the Cabots. The Italian navigators sailed to the West and reported territories which they found. Nothing more. The Reformers opened an old book and reported what they found in it. More they did not attempt to do.

§ 2. **The religious motive.**—The impulse, which gave the Reformation birth, was wholly religious. Social and economic unrest there was in the sixteenth century as there is in the twentieth. Social speculations, not all Utopian, and economic changes were engaging the thought of the age. Social and economic betterment followed the preaching of the new religious order but, in the first instance and all through, the Reformers had as their controlling aim to announce the plain way whereby a man may secure the saving favor of God and execute His will. How different was the mind of Erasmus representing the spirit of intel-

lectual enlightenment! When the eminent scholar came to understand that the new religious order threatened violence, the overthrow of old customs, he discreetly passed by on the other side and wrote, "I abominate tumult more than anything else. I am not so insane as to do anything against the vicar of Christ and I am unwilling to cross even a bishop." The contention that the Reformers were actuated by any other purpose than to better religious conditions, is to charge half the population of Europe with having been duped.

§ 3. **Spread of the Reformation.**—Like the Fathers of the early centuries and the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages, the Reformers constitute a group by themselves. They were united in a common purpose, though they belonged to different nations and spoke different languages. To Luther it was given to lead the Reformation. Starting in Wittenberg, the movement spread to Switzerland, where it had Zürich and Geneva as its chief centers. In Denmark, Sweden and Norway, the new system completely displaced the old. In Hungary, it divided the population. In Holland, after the most bitter persecution, it triumphed. In England, bloody scenes were enacted before the new views were established by the persistence of the popular will and the defeat of the Armada. In Scotland, the people and parliament eagerly joined in following John Knox. In France, the Reformation promised well, but met with disfavor from the king who started active persecution by having twenty-four heretics burned in Paris within six months, six of them before his own eyes. Fifty years later by the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, the Protestant party was well-nigh annihilated. Of the Frenchmen who followed the new way, Calvin carried on his work in exile from his native land. In Spain and Italy, the methods of the inquisition crushed the seeds of the rising faith. The extensive spread of the uprising shows how widely religious dissatisfaction prevailed. It is unreasonable to think that such a general interest could have been whipped up by a few men called in some quarters religious adventurers or spiritual bandits.

§ 4. The independence of the Reformers.—The Protestant Reformers were to a large degree independent one of the other. There was no collusion among them. No group of malcontents plotted a plan of procedure behind a table. Luther never saw Calvin or Cranmer. Zwingli never met Knox or Latimer. There was no compact to start a new religious régime, no conspiracy to overthrow the old institutions. The XCV Theses were quickly made known in Paris, England and Scotland, but this was not the result of a secret understanding. When Luther's writings were carried to England, "in vats full," a constituency was ready to welcome the principles which they set forth. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament grew out of the same desire to give the Scriptures to the people as did Luther's translation five years before. There is some ground for the contention that the Reformation might have started in Zürich, if it had not started in Wittenberg. The date of Calvin's conversion to the new views in 1533 was too belated to admit of the fancy that Calvin entered into a conspiracy with Luther. At the time of his conversion, the Lutheran Reformation was already sixteen years old and its principles had already had formal statement in the Augsburg Confession.

Moreover, the Reformation of the sixteenth century was independent of previous reform movements. Luther did not start upon his career of reform with a ready-made system imported from others who had preceded him. The protest of the Reformers was the result of a gradual process by which they came to perceive as error what they once accepted as true, just as a man who after a dream has opened his eyes and looking about gradually perceives what is around about him. When Luther posted up his Theses, he thought that he was in complete accord with the church. As late as 1520, he acknowledged the papacy and sought to rescue it from violent hands, likening Leo X to a sheep among wolves. Luther would never have been a Reformer if he had followed the advice given him in the convent by John Nathin: "Brother Martin, let the Bible

alone, read the old teachers. They give the marrow of the Bible. Reading the Bible is the way to unrest." The Reformers learned their views from the New Testament not from the works of Marsiglius of Padua, Wyclif, Huss or Wessel. It is doubtful whether Luther was acquainted with Wyclif's works, and not until he was well on his career did he come to defend John Huss and to know Wessel. As a student at Erfurt, he quickly put aside a copy of Huss's sermons which he found in the library as though the book were too black with heresies for the sun to be allowed to shine on it. Not till more than ten years later did he defend articles for which Huss was condemned at Constance. Leo X was right when he wrote in 1520 that Luther's opinions revived the heresies of Wyclif and the Bohemians, but he was mistaken in ascribing to Luther a premeditated attempt to "resuscitate them." Smith, *Cor.*, 1: 334. However, by that time Luther had come to the point where he was ready openly to declare that Huss was right and wrote to Leo, "I do not say that some of John Huss's articles are true, I now say that all of them are true."

§ 5. Equipment of the Reformers.—The Protestant Reformers, when they spoke, spoke not as theorists. They spoke of conditions in the midst of which they had been brought up. They were trained in the popular piety of the day. They knew what was going on from daily observation. When they entered upon the new movement, they were no more engaged in an academical debate than was Mr. Lincoln when he set his pen to the Proclamation of Emancipation. No one of them fought as one that beateth the air. Religious practice was an every day spectacle before their eyes. Whether the changes they advocated are to be justified or not, of this there can be no question with friend or foe, that the Reformers from Luther to John Knox knew what was being taught in their day and the religious ceremonies that were being practiced. They knew what the man on the street was thinking, what sort of lives the priests were living, what precepts the monk was obeying, what teachings the

universities were teaching. No more did Samuel Adams, Otis and Patrick Henry speak of what they knew, than did these leaders of the sixteenth century when they spoke of the religious conditions and beliefs of their day. Moreover, they had the best school training the age could give. They studied under accredited teachers at Erfurt, Vienna, Basel, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge. They were read in the theology of the mediæval age. They resurrected, it may almost be said, St. Augustine with his writings.

More, the Reformers were fitted for their work by their acquaintance with the new knowledge. They welcomed the learning of their own time. They profited by correspondence with Erasmus. With one or two exceptions, they took up the new studies and learned Hebrew and Greek as helps to unlock the Scriptures. The use of the two languages in which the biblical books were written was opposed by many priests of the age who treated as dangerous and heretical any departure from the Latin Vulgate. Obscurantists they were. For them the old ways and traditional studies could not be improved upon. The Schoolmen and the Fathers knew all that was worth knowing. Tyndale reports that "the Scotists, the children of darkness raged in every pulpit against Greek and Hebrew. When Erasmus' Greek New Testament appeared, Zwingli with his own hand copied from it Paul's epistles and the epistle to the Hebrews. Œcolampadius was a noted classical scholar as was Melanchthon. Calvin's *Commentaries* set the example of critical exposition on the biblical books. Beza issued a Greek text of the New Testament which was used for centuries in the schools.

Had the leaders of the Reformation not been up-to-date men, there would have been no Reformation. For nearly 1,000 years, no Western churchman knew Greek and Hebrew. Gregory the Great knew no Greek. Anselm knew no Greek. St. Bernard knew no Greek. Thomas Aquinas knew no Greek. Wyclif knew no Greek. But Luther did and Calvin did, Zwingli and Bucer did, and Bullinger and Beza did. The Reformers were likewise men of great industry

over their books. Cochlæus, after seeing Luther at Worms, 1521, wrote that cares and studies had made him so thin that all the bones in his body could be counted. Calvin was so tireless as a student that one wonders how he found time to carry on his arduous studies and immense correspondence and at the same moment take part in the civil affairs of Geneva. These men had all the scholarly apparatus required for carrying on a campaign in the field of religion. They were students of the Scriptures, they left behind them a large library,—translations of the Scriptures, commentaries, treatises on systematic theology, polemic works, devotional writings, sermons, catechisms, hymn books and historical works. Their volumes fill shelves as large as the library of the mediæval writers and more varied. Moreover, the Reformers lived in no monastic retreats. They lived in the public gaze. All men knew who they were and what they were saying.

§ 6. The Reformation a personal experience.—The Reformation was not a scholastic system wrought out in the brain. It was a personal experience before it was a historic movement. It was at first a spiritual conviction, not an intellectual scheme, a matter of conscience, not of ambitious purpose. "If I had a hundred heads" Luther could write from Worms, "they should all be cut off before I would yield up my conscience." The Reformation was a discovery, not an invention. Luther proclaimed the new era because the new era first dawned in him. The New Testament was his text-book, an open mind was his approach to it. His conviction that a man is justified by faith alone developed gradually in the process of study. Nevertheless, Luther became conscious of this truth by a flash. In later years, so he said, the meaning of the passage that, "The just shall live by faith," burst upon him suddenly. For parallels to Luther's experience we need not go to St. Paul. Sir William Hamilton, after working upon the quaternions, for fifteen years, had the solution flash into his mind while walking across Brougham Bridge, October 16th, 1843. So it was

with Anselm in the case of the ontological argument for God's existence. The argument was the result of a long process going on in Anselem's mind and of prayer, and yet its solution came as a revelation, when in the darkness of the night its outlines suddenly stood before the Schoolman's intellect in clear statement.

Calvin's religious experience was also remarkable and prepared him for his work. He did not enter a convent like Luther and have its advantages but he had all the advantages of severe study and eminent teachers at three universities, and a father who occupied one of the higher ecclesiastical positions. He ascribed his change to the new views to a sudden conversion—*subita conversio*. In one of the two brief accounts of it, which he has left, he says that after trying by all the ways of the Catholic faith to reach peace, he failed and that finally the Gospel like a sudden ray of light, showed him the deep abyss of error he was in, and frightened and with tears he took God's way. The Reformation was no academic adventure.

§ 7. **The principles of the Reformation.**—The leading principles of the Reformation are usually represented as two,—the formal principle by which Scripture is the supreme seat of religious authority and the material principle by which justification is by faith. These two bear a relation to one another such as the plant bears to the vase that holds it. The Scriptures the Reformers held are the standard by which church traditions and dogmas are to be tested. Writing to the elector Frederick, as early as 1519, Luther exalted their authority above everything except God, declaring that he was "ready in all humility to honor the Roman church and to prefer nothing to her in heaven or earth, save God alone and His Word." Six months later writing to the elector, he added that, "we should put more faith in one man who has the Bible on his side than in the pope and a whole council without the Bible." At Leipzig in 1519 and two years later at Worms the issue was clearly defined as an issue between church usages and the sacred book. Aleander, after the

Diet of Worms, wrote that Luther refused to submit to the decrees of the Council of Constance except as they were founded on its authority. In his famous letter to the emperor defending his position, Luther declared that he was ready to accept the emperor's judgment or the judgment of any council, provided only that the Word of God, was kept open and free.[2] Already in 1520 he ascribed the disturbance that was going on in the world to "the Word of God."

As for justification by faith, Luther pronounced it the article of articles, the article by which the church stands or falls. Salvation is by free grace alone through faith in Christ. In his letter to Sadolet, Calvin defined it as the chief and most searching subject at issue between the two parties. In the acceptance of these two principles all the Reformers were agreed .

§ 8. The worth of man and the world.—Another principle which has been treated as a distinctive feature of the Reformers' teaching is the dignity of the individual man. That teaching emphasized the priesthood of all believers and their right of immediate access to God and the throne of grace. The mediæval priesthood had clogged up such access by sacramental prescriptions as leaves in the fall clog the flow of streams. The Reformation made every man a priest. Moreover, it assured him that the world and temporal benefits are given for use and enjoyment and not to be shunned. Religion is not abstention from things that are good. In the Middle Ages, the most religious were those who fled from the world, renouncing society, the home and the usual satisfactions of life. In an isolated and painful existence was placed the ideal existence. A subject much written upon was the disdain with which the world should be looked upon, even by Innocent III. The Reformation set aside asceticism as a performance appointed by rule. It taught that the man with his plow and the maid with her broom do more service than the monk living apart from his fellows and practicing austerities. It broke the fetters of the celibate rule and exalted the virtues of home life, toil in the

field and mart, and taught the right use of property. It once more announced the words that "every creature of God is good and nothing to be despised if it be received with thanksgiving." The Reformers did not usher in a millennium but they encouraged the people of Europe to think along new lines. They gave to human interests and the riches of nature an importance which mediævalism spurned. In that sense they turned the world upside down.

§ 9. **Conditions favorable to the Reformation.**—When the Reformation came, the movement was favored by four agencies, the Renaissance, the issue of the Greek Testament in print, the invention of the printing press and the impulse given by the new enterprise in commerce and exploration. Everything seemed to have been made ready to advance its spread.

The Renaissance broke the bonds of Scholasticism and started free inquiry on its career. In the new era opened by Dante and Petrarch, the world and man were rediscovered. Men opened their eyes and looked and saw a new heavens and a new earth. The human achievements of history were acclaimed as proper objects of study and admiration. The Middle Ages knew only two careers, the career of the soldier and the career of the monk. To these were added the careers of the man of letters, the student of nature and of history and the career of the explorer of oceans and continents. Papal edicts once issued against the study of the classics were ignored. Manuscripts of the classics were brought to light. Statues were rescued from the dust and slime where the invaders from the North had cast them. The Coliseum and other ancient structures again were looked upon as monuments of human skill not as quarries of stone. Latin lost its monopoly as the sole medium for the author. Knowledge was no longer confined to ecclesiastics. Laymen began to use the pen. The spirit of free investigation breathed upon Italy. Only the breath of religious revival was not felt. Savonarola preached repentance but was put to death. Culture brought no

regeneration. Moral obligations were relaxed. Paganism seemed to threaten Italian society, "No one," says Burckhardt, "counted for a cultured person who did not cherish some erroneous views about Christianity." The Babylonian chalice did not contain the waters of life.[3]

In Northern Europe, intellectual revival was not disassociated from religion. The North had no Dante or Petrarch, but it had John Tauler and Thomas à Kempis. The study of the Scriptures was carried on with intense interest. The pursuit of Greek and Hebrew under the leadership of Erasmus and Reuchlin was taken up as a means of getting at their meaning. In England, Grocyn and Colet taught Greek and lectured on the Greek epistles of Paul. In 1516, the Greek New Testament was issued by Erasmus, and from a religious standpoint, marked the crowning contribution of Humanism to religious truth. The book appeared just in time to be used by the Reformers. The rapid and increased circulation of thought, made possible by Gutenberg's invention about 1450, was mediated by the printing presses of Mainz, Cologne, Venice and other cities and the cases of type became mightier than drilled armies. Communications carried by word of mouth gave way to messages written in ink. Luther's New Testament and tracts, and the writings of other Reformers were scattered in thousands of copies. If they had been accessible in manuscript copies only, at best a few convents would have had them.

If these influences were favorable to the spread of the Reformation, so also was the modern spirit of commerce and exploration. It was no mere coincidence that religious investigation and geographical discovery started in the same age. New worlds were on the horizon. The mariner during the Crusades had sailed for the ports of the East. He now looked towards the West. Columbus found a new world. New maps were traced, and on one of the very earliest maps of the Western world, it was called the Land of the Holy Cross—*terra sanctae crucis*. The Bible like a new continent

was opened to readers in every tongue. Curiosity and the search for truth alike led on both the biblical student and the mariner. It was a marvelous era. New things were in the air. New voices were speaking. Was religion the only department in which no advance, no new enlightenment were possible? Of that marvelous era, Ulrich von Hutten exclaimed, "Studies flourish, the spirits are awaking, it is a joy to live." And Luther, a keen observer, wrote, "If you read all the annals of the past, you will find no century like this since the birth of Christ. Such building and planning, such good living and dressing, such enterprise in commerce, such a stir in all the arts, has not been since Christ came into the world. And how numerous are the sharp and intelligent people who leave nothing hidden and unturned! Now-a-days a boy of twenty years knows more than used to be known by twenty doctors of divinity." At the time these words were written 1522, Luther had broken with Leo X and Charles V.

If in that crisp atmosphere of study and discovery, the religious mind of Europe had remained static, one of two things would have been proved, either that the religious conditions stood in no need of change or that the religious teachers were unwilling to study the New Testament afresh. In either case, mediævalism was doomed to be the final expression of Christianity. It is not a modern imagination that the authorities who controlled the church from Rome in the year 1517 when Luther issued his Theses, saw no need of a religious awakening and dreamed of no plans for it. Far from giving any sign for the future, they brought up from the ecclesiastical past the mediæval theory of the papacy, and resorted to the mediæval institution of the inquisition. At the last of the mediæval councils, known as the Fifth Lateran, the theory of papal power as represented by the two swords was reasserted by Cardinal Cajetan and the Venetian, Marcello, addressed the reigning pope Julius II as another God on earth—*alter deus in terris*. Before the council adjourned, 1517, the very bull of Boniface VIII,—*unam sanctam*—was expressly ratified by Leo X in the bull

pastor æternus. Leo in confirming the teaching of his predecessor chose to pervert two passages taken from the Old Testament, and made disobedience of the pope punishable with death. The Renaissance with its culture and commerce with its discoveries did not offer all the world was waiting for. It was waiting for the message of the reopened Gospels and Rome was blind. Better than he knew, did the Bishop of Isernia speak, in his address bringing the Fifth Lateran to a close, "The Gospel is the fountain of all wisdom, of all virtue, of all that is divine and worthy of admiration. The Gospel, I say, the Gospel!" When Luther, a few months later, sent forth his first message beginning with the words, "Our Lord and Master," he reopened the Gospel and made its message a living power.

CHAPTER V

MARTIN LUTHER, THE LEADER OF THE REFORMATION

In theologia scholastica ego Christum amiseram; in Paulo reperi. In the scholastic theology I lost Christ, in Paul I found him.—Luther, Weimar ed., II: 414.

THE origin and meaning of the Protestant Reformation cannot be adequately understood without knowing the events of Luther's life and the opposition made to his teaching. Most of the lasting movements in history have centered in a commanding personality. The chapters of the Reformation open with Luther in the convent at Erfurt and in his study at Wittenberg searching the New Testament under the guidance of Augustine. With the XCV Theses, its principles found their first public expression. Then followed the rejection of all authority in matters of religion when it contradicted the authority of the Scriptures. Opposition, ridicule, invective, threats, legal proscription served only to deepen Luther's convictions and strengthen his purpose. In his *Problem of Life*, Eucken remarked that "the renovation of debased religion could only triumph if a sovereign personality appeared—Luther—in whom all the spiritual currents that swept through the Reformation became flesh and blood."

§ 1. The Man and the Reformer.—If a man is to be judged by the influence he has exercised over the permanent opinions and destinies of the Christian world, then Luther is the most notable figure since St. Paul. Announcing his death to the students of Wittenberg, Melanchthon put him in a class with Isaiah and St. Paul, Augustine and St. Bernard. Luther was a professor of distinction, a moving preacher, a clear and pungent writer, a master of German style. More

than all, he was a religious genius. In comparison with him, Napoleon seems small. The French commander brought Europe to his feet and left to it a burden of woe. The German reformer stirred his own age and started a movement which a large part of christendom has followed.

Of few historic characters have judgments been so discordant. In this respect, Cromwell is like him. To Protestants, Luther was a herald of liberty of thought, a man sent from God, the restorer of primitive Christian teachings which had been supplemented or perverted by human interpretations. To Roman Catholics, if we take the extreme view prevalent among them, he was a violent rebel against authority, an agent of Satan who made a breach in christendom and led his fellowmen into deadly religious paths. He was excommunicated and made an outlaw by the state. According to Leo X., "he vomited forth his errors in the gall of unrighteous hatred of the Holy Spirit,"—Smith 1 : 274. Luther was far from being a saint. He admitted his human frailties. He had little of that passive virtue which has been a recommendation for canonization in the Roman church. He was a man of war, when the times called for war, a man among men, altogether a most human personality. His mission was to accomplish by battle what by other means it had been found impossible to do. But this was not the whole of the man Luther. He exalted the home, he played with his children, he wrestled in prayer at the bedside of his little daughter, Lena, as she was dying. He sought not office nor the emoluments which go with office. He had the attention of princes and did not truckle to them. Celebrity did not lift him up. To the end, he was a man of the people. He was never ashamed of his peasant origin. With pride he said, "I am a peasant, my father and my forefathers were genuine peasants." The father was proud of his son and, although risen to a place of eminence, the son rendered filial respect to the father and was proud of him.

§ 2. **Preparation for his work.**—Luther's equipment for his mission was singularly ample. To unusual natural endow-

ments, he added diligent study and a practical knowledge of the religious conditions of his age. From beginning to end, his life was full of dramatic scenes so that the biographer, who studies conciseness, finds himself almost brought to despair by the large body of remarkable events and striking utterances which are offered in the Reformer's career. Born neither among the aristocratic class, nor in helpless poverty, Luther had in his parents examples of industry, sturdy purpose and piety. His mother taught him the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the usual devotions of the church. His father gave the example of a hardy will but also of a high temper. The boy had the best advantages school and university could offer. At Erfurt, his talents were the pride of the university. Against his father's vehement protest, he turned aside from the study of law and took the monastic vow. He had been impressed by the sudden wounding of a friend and by a storm which broke as he was walking in a forest at midnight, when he cried out, "Help, St. Anne, and I will become a monk." St. Anne was the patron saint of copper miners, the class to which Luther's father belonged.

Once within the walls of the Augustinian convent in Erfurt, Luther made serious with his calling. The Middle Ages had declared the convent the prime seat of earthly saintliness, the sure way to reach heaven. Anselm had written that there was no other way so safe and St. Bernard was not satisfied until he had persuaded his brothers and sister to take the vow. The vow had come to be regarded as equivalent to a second baptism, restoring the monk to a state of innocency. According to the popular opinion, no one pursuing a lay-calling might ever hope to reach the meritorious holiness of the monastic profession. With zeal, Luther devoted himself to the conventual rules. He wore down his body with asceticisms so that in after years, speaking of the struggle through which he passed, he said, if ever monk had got to heaven by monkery, he would have gotten there. Help came to him from the head of the Augustinian order in Germany, John of Staupitz, a representative of the

old school of German mystics. He bade the young novice look away from himself to Christ and to remember that Christ does not terrify, but consoles. It was Paul who led and overpowered him. The Apostle's words, "The just shall live by faith," as Luther said, became to him the gate of paradise.

§ 3. **Luther's promotion.**—The young monk secured the confidence of his religious superiors. The pathway of ecclesiastical honors was opened to him. In 1511, he was sent with another delegate to Rome to represent the Augustinian order of Germany, in a case that was pending. On catching the first view of the city, he fell prostrate on the ground exclaiming, "Hail to thee, Holy Rome!" Entering its gates, he ran from altar to altar, saying mass and making petitions that his grandfather might be delivered from purgatory and wishing that he had a chance to pray his parents out of the same uncomfortable realm. He climbed the *santa scala*, hoping to secure the papal indulgence offered to those who climb its twenty-eight steps on their knees. He was not satisfied and, arriving at the top of the stairway, Luther heard a voice within, saying "the just shall live by faith." Strange things he heard at Roman altars, as the priests hurried through the mass and mumbled its service. What he saw with his own eyes in Rome was for him in his later career of the utmost importance. "I would not take 100,000 gulden for what I saw in Rome," he said, "had I not been there, I might feel that I was doing injustice to the pope, but as we saw so we speak."

§ 4. **The Wittenberg study and lecture-room.**—On his return to Germany, Luther's advancement went on. He was appointed permanent professor in the University of Wittenberg and a district vicar of his order. To the occupants of German convents he was held up as a model of monkish zeal. In 1512, when 29 years old, he received the honor of doctor of divinity. He was a popular preacher. Upon the five years between 1512 and 1517, when Luther lived in the Augustinian convent in Wittenberg, a period once so dark to the

modern student, a flood of light has been thrown by the discoveries of the last quarter of a century. Now we know what the young monk was doing at his desk and what he was giving to his students in the class-room. Books he read and annotated with his own hand have been found. Next followed the discovery of written copies of the lectures which he was delivering. We had known by report that Luther gave lectures on the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans. Now the very lectures he delivered on the Psalms, 1513-1514, are before us in the notes taken down by students. Manuscript copies of his lectures on Titus and Hebrews have been found in the Vatican where, until a few years ago, they had lain hidden ever since General Tilly sent the library of the University of Heidelberg, known as the Palatine Library, as a gift to the pope. Most important of all, Luther's lectures on the Romans, delivered 1515-1516, written by his own hand were discovered in the Berlin Museum."[1]

In these lectures the progress of Luther's mind is exhibited. Noteworthy, first of all, is the choice of sacred books made by the young professor for his study and lectures,—the Psalms and Romans, books in which the soul's communion with God is best set forth and justification in the sight of God is discussed. Psalmist and Paul knew not of the intermediary activity of a priest. Almost to a man, the mediæval theologians had busied themselves with the Song of Solomon, revelling in its tropical descriptions as purposely giving pictures of Christ and the church. Working in a different vein, and especially in his lectures on the Romans, we find the young professor gradually moving away from the metaphysics of the mediæval theology and setting forth the plain meaning of the Gospel. He repudiated Aristotle, the philosophical authority of the Middle Ages as "the accursed heathen philosopher." He turned away from Thomas Aquinas, looked upon as the theological master. The Schoolmen, the young lecturer, using an analogy at that time in common use, called "swine theologians," meaning thereby that they had fed upon the husks of human dialectics

instead of looking into the wisdom of the Scriptures.[2] Moreover, as we follow the lectures, we find Luther leaning more and more upon Augustine as the reliable exponent of the doctrines of human sinfulness and unmerited grace, though at times he also dissents from the judgment of Augustine. And last of all, we find Luther comparing Scripture with Scripture to discover the real meaning of the inspired writers.

Before him on his desk Luther had the New Testament in the original Greek. Reaching the ninth chapter of his lectures on the Romans he evidently had in his hand, Erasmus' Greek edition which had just appeared, and quoted it as "Erasmus." In his comments on the last chapters of the epistle, the reader at times is fairly swept along by the evangelical fervor with which they are pervaded,—"Not through his works does man secure the assurance of righteousness," so Luther wrote; but through the completed work of redemption on the cross. Once for all the sinner is justified by grace, even though he may fall, provided he repents. The Christian man, is at all times a sinner, and a penitent, and righteous,—*semper peccator*, *semper penitens*, *semper justus*.

While these courses of lectures were being prepared, Luther's germinating religious views were being fortified by John Tauler's German sermons and the treatise, called the *German Theology*, both of which Luther pronounced most consonant with biblical teachings. His own writings first to issue from the press were practical homilies on the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and the seven penitential Psalms.

§ 5. **The sale of indulgences.**—Such were the honorable positions to which Luther had been promoted and such the studies he had pursued before the opening day of the Reformation, 1517. With Augustine as a guide, he had made the text of the Bible the consuming subject of his study. The human preparation for his public career as a church leader was his diligent study of the Scriptures; its

first provocation was the sale of indulgences. It would be difficult to find in the history of the church a practice so utterly at variance with the spirit and promises of the Gospel as the wholesale offer of the pardon of sins for a payment of money. That traffic was carried on in the open spaces of central Europe by mandate from the Vatican. It was used freely as a source of revenue wherewith to repair St. Peter's at Rome by Julius II and Leo X. Leo's bull of 1514 allotted plenary pardons for sale in Germany as a modern government might allot an issue of bonds to a banking house. The country was divided up into three parts, one of them being assigned to Albrecht of Mainz. One half of the proceeds was to go to the archbishop and one half to the pope, less the broker's commission. The liberal franchise was granted to enable Albrecht to pay off his debt to the pope for favors received and Leo to carry on the repairs of St. Peter's and meet his private expenditures. Albrecht had paid the pope 30,000 ducats for his three bishoprics with monies borrowed from the Fuggers in Augsburg, the firm that represented the Wall Street of his time. The accounts of the banking house and the negotiations carried on in Rome between Albrecht's agents and the papal household are an open book. The price of ten thousand gold ducats which Albrecht paid for the purchase of the Mainz bishopric was only one half of Leo's first demand. The concession he secured was to be valid for eight years.[3]

The practice of giving indulgences was a development from the penitential system of preceding centuries whereby offenders worked off the penalty of their offenses by following prescriptions laid down by priests and in penitential manuals. During the Crusades the popes assumed the privilege of granting indulgences in the large. In 1095, Urban II promised all taking part in the first crusade full pardon for all their sins, so they died penitent whether on the field of battle or in the tent. During the second crusade, 1146, Eugenius III extended the offer of eternal life to the crusader's parents. Fifty years later, Innocent III went

still further when he offered increase of eternal life to all who contributed in any way to the success of the Crusades. It was a widespread belief that those who died fighting to recover the holy sepulchre went immediately to heaven. They are "manifest martyrs and their names are indelibly inscribed in the book of life," wrote Matthew Paris, about 1250.

The same gracious benefits offered to soldiers of the cross on Syrian soil were extended by papal decree to those who took up the sword against the Cathari in France, and other heretics or against individual rebels who resisted the pope such as the emperor Frederick II and Ladislaus of Naples, or anti-popes such as Anacletus II. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the papal franchises increased enormously. Within four years, 1288-92, Nicholas IV issued no less than four hundred. The Jubilee year, from the first festival appointed by Boniface VIII, 1300, was made the fruitful occasion for the distribution of such favors to pilgrims visiting Rome and at the same time increasing the numbers visiting the city. They were found to be an admirable instrument for promoting public improvements and ecclesiastical undertakings, from the building of roads and bridges to the erection and repair of hospitals and churches. Indulgences during the Middle Ages accomplished somewhat the same purpose as lotteries a hundred years ago in the United States but with this difference. Lotteries were private undertakings; indulgences had the papal seal and conferred spiritual benefits. Dr. Nicolas Paulus has shown the large number of public works and churches constructed during the Middle Ages under the spur of a papal indulgence. The cathedrals of Rheims, Cologne and Paris were helped on in this way as well as St. Peter's. A boundless territory was opened when Sixtus IV, 1476, made indulgences efficient for souls in purgatory.

Long before Luther wrote his theses, Wyclif, Huss and Wessel had lifted their voices against the traffic. In his *Cruciata* and other writings, the English publicist held up

as a fond fantasy the idea that popes are able "to clear men of pain and sin both in this world and the other, so that when they die, they flee to heaven without pain." If the pope, he went on, "destroys punishment, he also destroys sin, for the two go together and sin lasts as long as punishment and no longer." Among the curious indulgences current in England in the fourteenth century was one that all making the pilgrimage to Rome and worshipping the vernicle—Christ's foreskin—should receive a pardon of 12,000 years, *Stacions of the Cross*, quoted by Manning. p. 80. Huss wrote a fiery treatise against the two bulls issued by John XXIII, 1411, proclaiming war upon Ladislaus of Naples and offering the pardon of sins to those who took part in it. Twenty years earlier, at a sale in Prague, the price of pardons was graduated according to the ability of the purchasers to pay.

Protestations, as it proved, against the merchandise were no more able to stem it than birds of passage are able to stop a modern steamer. The iniquity grew. When Luther began his public activity, there was probably no more active business than the barter of pardons. Siebert, a Roman Catholic writer, does not hesitate to say that the very atmosphere of the later Middle Ages was "soaked with the indulgence poison." The liberality with which these benefits were handed out is shown in the little manuals of devotion which were being circulated in Germany in the fifteenth century. A prayer made to St. Anne three times secured a pardon of a thousand years for mortal offences and twenty thousand years for venial misdoings. Eighty thousand years of indulgence, according to the *Soul's Garden*, accrued to those who offered a certain prayer to Mary. This last offering and other offerings of the kind were made upon the basis of bulls issued by Alexander VI and Julius II. With the 8,000 relics at Halle, millions of days of indulgence were associated,—a sort of repetition of the antediluvian geological periods. To be exact, this collection of relics was good for 39,245,120 years and a still further period of 6,540,000

quarantines, a quarantine being a term of forty days. In Holland, according to Motley, the impudence of the traffic almost exceeded belief. A graduated scale was printed giving the prices for which crimes could be atoned. Poisoning was excused for eleven ducats, six livres, incest for thirty-six livres and three ducats, perjury for seven livres and three carlyns. Murder, if not by poison, was cheaper. In England, the commercial idea never made much headway and yet Tyndale remarked that "men quench the terrible fires of hell for three and one-half pence." Erasmus's phrase, "the cheat of pardons and indulgences," expressed a widespread impression, but the traffic went on. In conferring upon Henry VIII the title "defender of the faith," Leo X promised to all readers of Henry's book against Luther an indulgence of ten years and ten periods of forty days.

The popular appetite for pardons went so far that people persuaded themselves that for a price, license might be purchased to commit crime without incurring guilt or penalty. The story ran that Tetzel was imposed upon by a knight who intended to rob the Dominican monk and paid for an indulgence in advance. As Tetzel, after the day's traffic was walking along the road, the knight sprang from his hiding place and seized Tetzel's money-chest. When the monk protested, the knight replied that he had already paid him for a pardon for his act. There is no doubt that such grants were actually made. John of Paltz himself cites such an offer, as Berenger admits,—p. 14.

In these modern days Roman Catholic writers have denied that the church authorities were responsible for the belief that guilt and divine punishment were removed by an indulgence. The denial is vain. The letters of popes and the preaching of agents gave the people every right to believe that indulgences possessed this virtue. Was Luther misrepresenting when he wrote to the Archbishop of Mainz that it was the common belief that the letters issued by Leo X freed from all penalty and guilt? In his Theses issued at Frankfurt on the Oder, Tetzel positively declared that the

pope had the keys to purgatory and that papal letters of indulgence in case the living made confession, "reconciled the dead in purgatory to God." Oldecop, a strict advocate of the old order, who heard Luther lecture in his earliest period, stated that the people "were all day long casting their money into the indulgence chest and were absolved from all their sins and from penalty and guilt." The deliverance from divine penalty was the thing desired. What did the ordinary man care about guilt provided the penalties for guilt were removed? The expressions full and fullest remission of sins—*plena*, *plenissima*, *remissio*—occur constantly in bulls of the Middle Ages as does the expression, from guilt and penalty—*a culpa et pœna*. A number of bulls were mentioned by Wyclif and Huss containing the latter words. In his Manual of Indulgences written in 1502, John of Paltz taught that papal letters remitted guilt and penalty. When Leo X in 1515 promised "full indulgence and the remission of all sin—*plenissimam omnium peccatorum remissionem*—what conclusions were people apt to draw?

§ 6. **The XCV Theses.**—From the days of the Apostles on, no manifesto produced such a widespread and genuine sensation as the propositions which Luther posted up on the church door in Wittenberg, October 31, 1517. Several years before he had preached against it. They were a protest against the indulgence traffic and were intended by the author to be an invitation to discuss the subject publicly in the university. Within a few weeks they were known through Western Europe. In his Instructions laying down the rules for his agents in marketing Leo's gift, Albrecht regulated the prices to be paid by the degree of the purchasers. Kings and princes, archbishops and bishops were to pay at least twenty-five gold Rhenish florins, abbots and deans, and barons and knights with their wives, ten florins. The lowest fixed charge was one florin but, as the kingdom of heaven is meant for poor as well as rich, the Instructions provided for those able to make the meagerest payment and it was suggested that the indigent might fill out

their gifts with prayers and fastings and so secure the full pardon.[4] A lump sum was declared adequate payment for the pardon of parricide, incest and other gross crimes. In their effort to make a successful campaign, some of the salesmen went so far as to promise indulgence for the sin of violating the Virgin. In his Theses, Luther made mention of this promise. Tetzel denied ever having made it, but in his *Frankfurt Theses*, he argued that, inasmuch as the violation of the mother of God, although an impossibility, would be a lesser sin than speaking against Christ himself, it might be forgiven.

Doubt has been expressed whether penance was required as a condition of receiving the benefit of a papal indulgence. The earlier custom of inserting this condition was often neglected in later bulls. Paulus acknowledges that, in cases, the statement was expressly made that repentance and confession were not required. So far as the release of the dead from purgatory is concerned, Albrecht was following the teaching of the church when he promised that money was sufficient to secure it. The popular belief was expressed in the couplet.[5]

> As soon as the coin falls into the chest
> A soul its flight from purgatory takes.

The Theses proved to be more than a challenge to discuss the subject of indulgences. They were in fact a challenge to the whole theory of church authority. They attacked the idea that the pope is able to do more than remove penalties imposed by church officials. God only is able to remove the guilt of sin. They asserted that the real treasury of merits from which grace is dispensed is the Gospel and not the fund of merits—*thesaurus meritorum*—which the mediæval theory invented and put at the disposal of the church and the pope.

Heavy as the blow was which Luther gave to the sale of indulgences and the theory of their efficiency, still heavier was the blow which his words gave to the prevailing theory

that the church, as its will is expressed by the pope, is the supreme authority for Christians. The opening words of the Theses called men to the authority of Christ as supreme. They ran, "Our Lord and Master, when he said repent—*agite pœnitentiam*—meant that one's entire life should be a penitence." The evangelical ring of the words was emphasized by the last propositions "that Christians should be exhorted to follow Christ, the Head, through penance, deaths and hell and so through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of heaven rather than to trust in the feeling of personal security and deliverance through indulgences given for the living and the dead." Without appreciating fully the meaning of his appeal against a well intrenched belief and practice, Luther unsettled by one stroke the mediæval theory of papal supremacy. He was an arch-heretic in the bud. When Leo received the copy of the *Theses* sent him by Archbishop Albrecht and pronounced it the outburst of a drunken German, he was in line with the popular Italian idea of the "barbarians of the North" expressed by Dante in the *Inferno*—17: 22,—who called them "the guzzling Germans."

A formal reply was made to Luther by the chamberlain of the papal palace, the Dominican, Prierias. It received sharp reply from the Wittenberg monk. Men predicted for him a violent death or suggested that he would flee to Bohemia where heretics were in power. Luther was not a man to flee or easily to throw aside a conviction. He refused to heed Leo's summons calling him to repair "straightway to Rome as an obedient child where he would find in the holy father a kind and merciful parent." In view of the treatment Huss had received at Constance, Luther was wary about accepting papal assurances of parental affection. His elector, Frederick the Wise, with a due regard for his subject's rights, insisted upon fair play and that the Wittenberg monk should be heard on German soil. Luther was willing so he wrote, to commit his case "to the plain testimony of Scripture and that, if he were proceeded against simply by the terrors of church authority, Luther's teachings

which had taken deep root everywhere in Germany would lead to a rebellion fatal to the pope's authority." It was arranged that Cajetan, one of the approved theologians of the day should repair to Augsburg, where Luther was summoned to meet him. Luther went, but the papal legate refused to argue. Submission was his peremptory demand. Argument was not to be tolerated. The meeting began and ended with the old time words, "Recant! recant!" Luther returned to his convent unconvinced and undismayed. By this time all eyes were fixed on Rome and Wittenberg.

§ 6. **General councils fallible.**—The issue was clearly defined between Luther and his opponents at the public disputation held in Leipzig, 1519. At that debate Dr. Eck, a skilful disputant as well as a learned man, called forth from Luther the assertion that œcumenical councils may err, for, as he affirmed, the Council at Constance had erred in burning John Huss. Immediately, Eck who felt that he had won his point and shown the Wittenberg professor to be a heretic, exclaimed, "Thou art a Bohemian. If the reverend father believes that a council may err, he is to me a heathen and publican." In their methods of discussion the two disputants were as wide apart as the East and the West. Eck appealed to the canon law and papal bulls; Luther over and over again to the Scriptures, and exclaimed, "Eck, thou fleest the Bible as the devil does the cross." Persons present in Leipzig spoke of Luther's treatment of the Schoolmen as "very scandalous." Others, like Mosellus, reported that Luther was wonderfully learned in the Bible and seemed to carry all its texts in his memory—Smith 1 : 255, 283.

§ 7. **Luther excommunicated and outlawed.**—All men knew that the next act would be a papal bull excommunicating Luther, the weapon which popes had used so often and so effectively to put down resistance to their decrees. Eck had gone to Rome to get it. Before its arrival in Wittenberg, Luther with the intrepidity of a dashing commander, anticipated the bull by issuing three tracts,—the *Address to the German Nobility*, written in German, the *Babylonian*

Captivity, written in Latin, and the *Freedom of a Christian Man*. In the first two he denounced, among other errors opposed to the Scriptures and true Christianity, the exclusion of laymen from church control and the pope's claims to be sole interpreter of the Bible and alone to have the right to call a church council. Luther declared that the pope's government "agreed with that of the Apostles, as well as Lucifer with Christ, hell with heaven, night with day." Kissing the pope's toe and the pomp with which the pope surrounded himself were devices of the devil. Roman greed was the biggest robber that ever walked the earth. Clerical celibacy and masses for the dead should be abolished. Heretics should be combatted with arguments not with fire. The mediæval sacramental system was a bondage into which the church had been delivered by the Schoolmen. At least four of the church sacraments were called unscriptural. In comparison with these two pamphlets, which were the hardest blows ever struck at the papacy, the *Freedom of a Christian Man* was almost like a summer's breeze. Its author, still holding the papal office in respect, presented Christian freedom as freedom in Christ, not apart from Christ. It likened Leo X, to whom it was addressed, to Daniel among the lions and called upon him to put aside the false glory with which the papal office had come to be surrounded, a glory fit only for Judas Iscariot. In spite of its unheard-of boldness, Grisar and other Roman Catholic writers agree in commending the tract as being written in the best vein of the German mystics.

The bull of excommunication—*exsurge Domine*—signed by Leo, June 15th, 1520, called upon God Almighty and upon St. Peter and St. Paul and all the saints to arise and come to the help of the church "against the boar of the woods and the wild beast out of the field," and to fight against the "new Porphyry." Its forty propositions denounced the assertions that purgatory cannot be proved out of the canonical Scriptures, that indulgences are a pious fraud, that the Roman pontiff is not the universal vicar of Christ and that

heretics should not be burned but reasoned with. Leo again summoned the offending monk to Rome declaring, that in case he disobeyed the summons, he was to be cut off "as a withered branch from the vine of Christ and to be punished as a heretic." All Christians were forbidden to read his writings and places which might give him shelter were put under the interdict.

The fulmination was defied by Luther in one of the boldest acts ever done by mortal man. After giving due notice of his purpose and, in the presence of the Wittenberg students and all the professors, except the professor of Hebrew, on December 10, 1520, he cast the papal document into the flames. That evening, in writing to his old friend Staupitz, he asserted that before he burned the bull, he trembled and prayed but after it was burned, he felt more happy over the burning than over any other thing he had done in his life.

Leo X's bull of excommunication was announced to come into force January 3, 1521. It separated Luther from the body of Christ and the pontiff could do no more except to follow the usual course and turn the heretic over to the civil authorities for physical punishment. This he did, as the Council of Constance had turned John Huss over to the Emperor Sigismund. The requirements of his empire caused the emperor Charles V, to hesitate. Aleander, the papal legate to the imperial court, whose office it was to urge Charles to action, writing to Rome of the conditions prevailing in Germany declared that the conflict waged between Gregory VII and Henry IV was as soft as violets and roses compared with the conflict between Leo and the Wittenberg rebel. All Germany, he wrote, was up in arms and was making mockery of the papal bulls. Finally Charles called upon Luther to meet him at the Diet of Worms, April, 1521. The assembly before which Luther appeared included six of the seven electors, two papal legates, bishops, princes, dukes, representatives of free cities. On the night after the first session, Aleander wrote to Rome in a spirit of triumph,

anticipating Luther's complete submission the next day. At the same moment, Luther was writing, "I shall not retract one iota, if the Lord stands by me." Accused the next day before the diet, of holding the articles of John Huss and called upon to retract, he uttered the memorable words, exalting the Scriptures and conscience above all other authorities, ecclesiastical and civil: "Unless I am persuaded by testimonies from Scriptures or clear arguments,—for by themselves, I believe neither pope nor council—I stand convinced by the Holy Scriptures adduced by myself and my conscience is bound up in God's Word. Retract, I do not and will not, for to do anything against conscience is unsafe and dangerous. Here I stand. I can do no otherwise. God help me. *Amen.*"[6]

Thenceforth, Western christendom was split in two. Compromise was out of the question. Of the scene at Worms, Froude said that it was one of the few great scenes of human history. Carlyle expressed himself by calling the meeting of the diet, "the greatest moment in the modern history of men." The Roman Catholic historian, Lord Acton, went far when he said, "that Luther at Worms is the most pregnant and momentous act in our history." The period of grace allowed by Charles V's promise of safe-conduct being at an end, the emperor, on May 26th, declared Luther an outlaw, a devil in monkish dress and ordered him seized wherever he might be found.

The principles of the new movement had been asserted. It remained for Luther and the Reformers of other lands to fortify them and put them into practice. Luther translated the New Testament into German, the first translation from the Greek in many centuries. Translations into other tongues quickly followed, including Tyndale's translation from the Greek into English, 1526. At Wittenberg, the sacrificial element was removed from the mass; the worship of images and saints was abolished; the cup was restored to the laity. Preaching was made the central part of the public service. Congregational singing was introduced. Cate-

chisms were prepared for the people. The rule of priestly celibacy was abolished. Luther himself married, and his home became a model Christian home where the father sang and played with his children and hospitality was extended freely to students and other visitors. In 1530, the German Reformation was given formulated statement in the Augsburg Confession.

The German princes and legates from the imperial German cities were divided into two factions on the religious changes. The Council of Trent considered the differences but repeated the mediæval system. War, fomented by the pope, was waged between the two parties and issued in a drawn battle. By the treaty of Passau, 1552, and the Diet of Augsburg, 1555, Protestantism in Germany was given legal recognition.

In other countries of Western Europe, the path that Luther opened was followed. In particulars, which now seem to be of little importance, Zwingli, Calvin and the English and Scotch Reformers differed from the German leader. The abuses which Luther rejected, they likewise rejected. The inventions which he repudiated as unscriptural they repudiated. Among Protestants in all lands, the Scriptures were circulated, the pulpit was enthroned, the number of the sacraments reduced, the supremacy of the pope disowned, the worship of saints abolished and advisory ministerial functions substituted for priestly mediation and absolution. Universities, where they had not existed before as in Geneva, Zürich and Holland, were founded and the system of general education adopted. The interpretation which John Calvin gave to Protestantism prevailed among the peoples of Western Europe, but the underlying principles established by Luther prevailed wherever the new movement went.

CHAPTER VI

LUTHER'S PERSONALITY THE ALLEGED DISCREDIT OF PROTESTANTISM

If thou canst answer me, set thy words in order before me, stand up.—Elihu to Job.

BY repeated papal deliverances and the approved teaching of the Roman communion, Protestantism is a heresy and the Protestant Churches, the propagators of an un-Christian religion. The arguments advanced for this position have been of two classes. The first has been based upon the Protestant movement as an event, abnormally interrupting the life of the church as it had been going on for fifteen centuries and a rebellion against divinely appointed authority. The second class of arguments has been drawn from the distinctive tenets and denominational divisions of Protestantism and its alleged baneful influence upon society. The custom of Roman controversialists has been to lay chief emphasis upon the first class of considerations, treating the nature of the event in itself and the character of the chief actor, Luther, as wicked. On the other hand, Protestant writers lay chief stress upon the arguments for the agreement of Protestant teachings with the Scriptures.

The argument which treats Protestantism as a wicked rebellion against an institution alleged to be divine, seeks first of all to show that Luther was moved by base motives and that his personality discredits Protestantism. The device upon which the argument is built is the familiar one to break down a moral movement by blackening, if possible, the character of its originator or promoter. Applied to Protestantism, it runs this way:

if the author of Protestantism,—as Luther is called,—was a bad man, then the Protestant system must be bad. If he was corrupt, then that which he brought into being cannot be good.

The reply, in the first place, is that the dialectical device draws attention away from the main issue to a matter not vital to it. The issue is whether Protestantism is in accord with the constitution of the Christian church and not whether Luther was a good man or a bad man. There were other Protestant Reformers besides Luther and their teachings agreed with his. No Protestant dreams that Martin Luther was "the author of Protestantism" any more than he dreams that Copernicus was the author of the law of the earth's motion or Newton the author of the system of gravitation. What the Protestant contends is that Luther found the Protestant system. What Luther did was to tell what he found. The all important thing is whether he found in the Scriptures what he said he found. Do the Scriptures teach what he taught? Luther's adversaries during his life time, instead of judging the case by the Scriptures, judged it by the canon law, papal prerogative and historic usage. In the second place, the argument from Luther's personality, to be made plausible, must make out that Luther was a bad man, actuated by diabolical motives. This method or reasoning is of all the easiest but it rests upon a desperate misrepresentation of the man Luther himself, a perversion of his words and, in cases, the treatment of his statements about his own personal experiences and the condition prevalent in his day as intentional falsehoods.

Protestantism was not a concoction of Luther's brain. It is a religious system which brought to view certain teachings of Christ as a chemical process brings out from the palimpsest manuscript the original writing, parts of which had been blurred or hidden by a later writing. Of Protestantism as an historic movement, it is proper to say that Luther was, humanly speaking, its author, but, to say that Luther was the author of Protestantism as a body of beliefs

is to state a fallacy. The second proposition is different from the first, and it is a sheer piece of intellectual legerdemain to ignore the double meaning of "author" when "the author of Protestantism" is spoken of. It is even possible to think of Christian truth being discovered by an un-Christian agent. The demons testified that Christ was the Son of God before some of the disciples or all of them knew it. Whatever the character of Luther was, that is one thing and must be judged by itself. Protestantism is another thing and its merits must be judged by its agreement with Christ's teachings.

The attack made against Protestantism by assailing Luther's character and motives was begun in the earliest moments of the Reformation movement. Controversialists and pontiffs from John Eck and Leo X proceeded quickly to label him as a moral monstrosity and an instrument of the realm of darkness. This method was freely used by Cardinal Bellarmine. In more recent times it has been followed by such notable Roman writers of three countries as Dr. Milner, Döllinger in his earlier period, and Bishop Spalding. More recently still, it has been pursued by Father Denifle and by Herman Grisar in their *Lives of Luther*. If Coleridge called Luther "the greatest personality since the days of St. Paul," Perrone, professor in the Jesuit college in Rome, called him a rebel who yielded to ambition. If Carlyle saw in him "a right spiritual hero and prophet for whom these centuries and many that are to come yet will be thankful to heaven," Urban VIII defamed him as a terrific monster—*monstrum teterrimum*. If Melanchthon placed him in a class with Isaiah and St. Bernard, Leo X and other foes have called him a Cataline, a new Porphyry, a fool, a scoundrel, the offspring of the devil. Writing on American soil, Archbishop Spalding spoke of "Luther as possessed by a whole troop of devils, of Zwingli as a downright Pagan, and Calvin as a very Nero who crushed the liberties of the people in the name of liberty." Denifle has over and over again stigmatized the German monk as an addle-pate, a liar, a villain, a knave, a

rogue, an abandoned rascal, a moral monster— *Ungeheuer*— guilty of awful depravity—*grauenvoller Unzucht.* To turn to the writer of a popular *Life of Luther*, p. 357, O'Hare, the author, strains the English language for suitable epithets and calls Luther "a blasphemer, a libertine, a revolutionist, a hater of religious vows, a disgrace to the clerical calling, the father of divorce, the advocate of polygamy and the propagator of immorality and open licentiousness"—all this in one breath—and in a work approved by an American cardinal! Dr. Guilday in a preface to Monsignor O'Hare's book writes that there "were many hideous scenes in Luther's life" and ascribes to Luther "impotency under temptation and the negation of the moral value of human action." If such names and principles of action placarded on Martin Luther truly represent the man, the powers of darkness have probably never had a more complacent agent. Bad names, however, do not make a man bad. Other men before Luther were pelted with names. Wyclif was stigmatized by a prelate of high degree, Archbishop Arundel, as "that pestilent wretch of damnable memory" and all because Wyclif at his own instance made a translation of the Bible. Genuine prophets have been discarded and he who was more than man was calumniated as having a devil. It remains to show what the damning charges made against Luther are and to determine if there is any fair reason for concluding that his character was bad and his motives corrupt.

§ 1. **Fancies about Luther.**—Some of the charges against Luther have been based upon sheer fancies. These inventions went back to his conduct as a boy and reached forward to his dying hour and burial. As a child, so the rumor ran, he was accustomed to take the cup at communion. The conclusion was that the alleged impiety of his manhood began early. The charge involved his parents and Luther answered it in a letter, 1520, in which he described the home of his childhood, Smith, 1: 273, *sq.* If the charge had been true, it would have discredited the loyalty of the priests of that day who allowed such a thing.

As for the manner of his death, Luther had the amusement of reading, while he was still alive, an account of it written, 1545, by an ingenious Italian. The report was that, after Luther had taken the sacrament and died, a great commotion was heard and the sacrament was seen suspended in the air. Later, on opening Luther's grave, a sulphurous odor issued and not a bone of Luther's body was to be found. By these two marvels, so the account went on, many heretics were converted. Luther had the tract translated and published in Wittenberg. The story was repeated by Cardinal Bellarmine.

Another tale, often repeated, came from the lips of a Jesuit priest of Cheol in Brabant, Thyræus, who reported that many persons visiting the town who were possessed with the devil received temporary cures on the very day Luther died. The day after Luther's death the spirits returned and entered into the same persons and, on being asked where they had been the day before, replied that by the command of their prince they had been attending the soul of their "grand prophet and companion,"—who was none other than Luther.

A serious fiction, that has had a long life and been accepted by eminent scholars, ran that Luther committed suicide by hanging himself to a bed-post and that, after his death, his body emitted a foul odor. So late as 1890, in a critical juncture in German affairs, the story was repeated as a fact by the Ultramontane priest and editor, Majunke of Berlin.[1] The little book in which the tale was revamped went through at least four editions. Its statements, elaborated in a pamphlet of ninety-two pages by Dr. Honef, created a sensation throughout Germany. The original story was first put into print by Bozio, 1593, nearly fifty years after Luther's death. It was at variance with the explicit testimonies of a number of witnesses who were present when Luther died, with the speedy report of his death in Wittenberg and the honors immediately paid to him. Bozio's object was to show that all heretics come to a violent death. The story

was repeated by Cardinal Bellarmine together with forgeries of the dying hours of other Reformers, many of them drawn from the Italian fabricator. In these recent times, although still repeated for popular consumption, the lie has been set aside by such reputable Catholic historians as Funk, Pastor and Janssen. Finally it has been proved beyond all question to be a pure invention by the Roman Catholic historian, Paulus, on the basis of an account given of Luther's death by the druggist of Eisleben, who was a Roman Catholic, an account which for centuries had been overlooked.

§ 2. Luther's violent language.—The argument is made by Luther's adversaries that his heart must have been impious because his language was often vulgar and scurrilous. For the pope and other opponents he used the hardest names. Bishop Spalding has said, that "Luther exhausted all the epithets of coarsest ribaldry against his opponents, no matter how respectable they may have been," 1: 88. It is true that Luther spoke of Rome as a Sodom, the worst of murderers' dens, a seat of brothels, a source and place of all sin, death and damnation. He spoke of the papacy as the last misfortune to be expected on the earth and the very worst that all devils could do. Language such as this and often repeated, it is urged, betokens a mind destitute of all respect for sacred persons and localities. In passing, it may be said that the same charge must be made against Bishop Jewel and Tyndale for they said substantially the same things.

From the standpoint of this age it may be agreed, that the language of vilification sometimes used by Luther was atrocious. He went, if possible, beyond the limits. In explaining his outbreaks of words, which often call forth laughter by their very excess of intensity, it must not be overlooked that gentle language in the treatment of adversaries was not a feature of the sixteenth century. If violent or coarse epithets are a certain sign of virulence and turpitude, then scarcely a religious writer of any force may be found in the age of Leo X and Luther. Other Reformers lamented the violent language Luther used when dealing with his foes and

urged upon him restraint. The Wittenberg professor himself bewailed his bad habit. Before the Diet of Worms met, he wrote to the elector Frederick,—Smith 1: 479,—begging the elector's pardon for his intemperance of tongue and asking him to remember what bands of Moab he had to contend against and what Shimeis had risen up against him. Nor should it be forgotten that since the days of Job there has seldom if ever been so much provocation for outburst of language as there was in the case of Luther. If he was merciless in dealing with his enemies, they were vicious in their dealing with him. He felt that wrong interpretations were put on his words and his intentions grossly misrepresented. Instead of being met with arguments, he was met with threats and wilful lies so he complained. My adversaries, he wrote in 1521, do not fight against me with the Scriptures but clamor that I may be destroyed from off the earth. The same year, he wrote of innumerable falsehoods as having been invented against him during the three preceding years. If only, he continued, the persons circulating the untruths would repair to Wittenberg and take the testimony of his neighbors, they would be in no mood to send out false reports of his doings and indulge in baseless suspicions. If Luther is to be condemned for handling opponents without gloves, why should Leo X and Henry VIII be excused when they denounced Luther with the most vigorous epithets and called for his death, as of one unworthy to live.

§ 3. **The language of Luther's adversaries.**—Luther's vocabulary, as has been indicated may be offset by the vocabularies of the men and the powers that rose up against him. John Eck, one of the most approved theologians of the day, wrote: "I have more than once shown that Luther is a liar, as his father, the devil." In his *Obelisks*, 1519, the professor called Luther "a rebel, a shameless brawler, a Hussite." The year before, Gabriel della Volta, the head of the Augustinian order, pronounced the Wittenberg monk, "an enemy of the cross, that scoundrel the pope had ordered

put into prison, bound in fetters and detained under strict guard." Prierias had no compunction in calling Luther "a spiritual leper." Is it any wonder that Luther gave back as good as he received and replied to this and other descriptions of the Vatican chamberlain by stigmatizing Prierias as "a shameless and lying mouthpiece of the devil"? Who was Prierias anyway? Did his position at the Vatican make him immune from deserved castigation? Why should he not have observed a strict code of gentlemanly address, as well as others less favored? "Devil" was a word quite current among theological disputants. Referring to Luther's address at Leipzig, Eck reported that he did not know whether on that occasion Luther kept a devil in his box or under his cowl.

If we turn again to dignitaries, Leo X was, if possible, less restrained in his words than Luther himself. Sending the golden rose to Frederick, 1518, he pronounced the Wittenberg friar "that scrofulous sheep, the son of perdition, who dares to preach against us and the holy Roman see." Later, in announcing to Frederick the bull he was issuing against the friar, the pontiff called Luther "that venomous and pestilent man, that scrofulous sheep, the son of iniquity, the son of perdition, the minister of Satan, who was moved by ambition and was seeking the money of the people, a man who favored the Turks and was sent by Satan, a man who in the gall of impious hatred vomited forth errors against the holy see for which God's judgment awaited him." Leo's reference to money might be impressive if it were not for Leo's loose management of his own exchequer and his drafts on Christendom.

Leo's legate at the court of Charles V equalled his master in piling up epithets. Writing to Rome, Aleander called Luther by such names as anti-Christ, scoundrel, that fool, that dog, madman, that monster, that pernicious monster, that scoundrel and dog, for whom the irons and flames are now waiting Smith, 1: 496, 497, 518, 525, 527, 544-547, etc. Suave epithets such as these were matched by the statement

of Charles V's ambassador at Rome who wrote that Luther would "not be well received in hell." The emperor's own edict dwelt upon Luther's doctrine "as the most ulcerous of pests," and forbade any one to give him bed or board or render him help in any way. Words were not minced by either party and it is a fair question whether any good reason can be given why one side had the right to draw upon the darker pages of the dictionary and the other not.[2]

It is true that from the standpoint of a devoted Roman Catholic the view is quite intelligible that Luther treated dignitaries with wanton disrespect. He looks upon the Roman pontiff as God's vice-gerent on earth to be submitted to, not answered and at least addressed in courteous language. But suppose that the president of the United States applied opprobrious epithets to an American citizen, would not the American citizen feel justified in retorting in the same way? If Luther violated the canons of good taste and in this good twentieth century is not excused, much less ground is there for excusing Leo who was brought up, not as a peasant, but in Florence amidst the culture and court manners of the Medicis.

Luther was engaged in war, not in a literary competition. In war weapons are used, not soft phrases. Leo started the use of bad names. Luther was condemned as a heretic and an outlaw. His books were burned by universities. He was appointed to the flames. His life was hunted. Death was freely predicted for him from the moment his Theses began to be circulated. Cardinal Cajetan took instructions from Leo to Augsburg, 1518, "to keep Luther in safe guard." At the same time the elector, Frederick, was called upon to deliver Luther into Leo's power. Later, Leo sent to the elector a specific demand to bind him. To the same intent cardinals added their appeals to the prince Smith, 1: 344. Luther was treated as not even a nihilist would be treated today. He was given no hearing. In 1520, he wrote to the elector that "he was beset before and behind by the papists' sword, bulls, trumpets and horns, but that he would not be

terrified by their threats." The papal purpose to see Luther burnt did not abate as the years went on. Paul III, urging his death, called upon Charles to remember the cases of Eli, Uzziah and other offenders under the old covenant and the punishments they were made to suffer. No wonder that Luther called Paul "his hellish highness" and Calvin applied to him epithets as strong or stronger. Unlike his predecessor, Huss, Luther lived to die a natural death with his face toward the enemy and in face of the most violent attempts to do him to death.[3]

The sixteenth century was no model of refinement. If one looks for coarseness of language, one has only to glance into the sermons which the great preacher, Geiler, was preaching at Strassburg at the time when Luther was in the convent. Or take Reuchlin, the scholar, who in a work against his calumniators, 1513, cudgeled them with such epithets as goats, dogs, wolves, hogs, sows, horses, asses, children of the devil and sons of hell.

§ 4. Sir Thomas More's style.—Of English opponents of the Reformation we might be inclined to expect something different but are disappointed. Sir Thomas More drew from the same vocabulary that Luther drew from. More was Henry VIII's chancellor, one of the chief gentlemen of his day. Through the recent act of Leo XIII, he has been beatified. From such a man, the proprieties of language might justly be expected. More's master, Henry, was roughly handled by Luther who called Henry a "crowned donkey, and by God's disgust king of England." The language was severe but not damnatory like the language the king had used when he called Luther "a wolf of hell and a limb of Satan." Later Luther expressed regret for his violent language but from a king it would have been scarcely proper to expect an apology and no apology came.

Henry's chancellor followed his master and put aside, as we might say, the decorums of controversy. We do not blame him for characterizing Luther's system as "the whole heap of all heresies gathered together," for he thought it was.

Nor, perhaps, might we blame him for saying in his *Dialogue on Images*—IV: 15—that "of all heresies that ever sprang up in Christ's church, the very worst were the Lutherans." The case is different when the cultivated judge resorted to personalities. Again and again he named Luther "that fool" —*hic nebulo*—"that scamp," "that most insane fool with a devilish intent," "that fool with an asinine face." He stigmatized Luther as anti-Christ who substituted for the faith his own perfidy and blasphemy. Luther, he asserted, wrote the most mendacious blasphemies such as no stolid ass if it tried could bellow—*ut nullus asinus potuerit stolidus rudere*. All good Christian people, so More counselled, "should knock and break the Lutherans, as Scripture counsaileth, the young children's heads of Babylon against the stone." As for Luther himself, he should be "despatched as were Ananias and Saphhira. In his malformed and monstrous mouth, he had begot filthy lies and blasphemous pestilences such as Satan himself was scarcely capable of. Into him as a sewer of hell, all sorts of mud and filthy scum had been poured. O, Satan, how much more honestly dost thou treat Scripture than does thy disciple, Luther."

Other opponents, English as well as German, More called "swine," "hellhounds that the devil keeps in his kennel," "apes advanced for the pleasure of Lucifer," as in his *Dialogue*, against Frith. The least opprobrious name he gave to Tyndale was "knave." More charged him and Luther "with being set upon sin and beastly corruption, the one as lewd as the other. Judge that if he be any better than a beast, out of whose brutish, beastly mouth cometh such a filthy foam of blasphemies against Christ's holy sacraments. . . . This fellow so frantic and false in railing." More boasted of the hatred he had for heretics and of his racking them in the Tower and said, "As they be well worthy, the temporality doth burn them and, after the fire of Smithfield, hell doth receive them where the wretches burn forever." Of John Tewksbury, burned, 1531, the chancellor said "There never was a wretch, I wene, better worthy." Thomas

Hylton, burned the year before, he called "the devil's stinking pot." The truth is that Luther and More, as Bishop Atterbury is reported to have said, "had the best knack of any men in Europe of calling each other hard names in good Latin." In spite of his language, More is on his way to be pronounced a saint and Luther is still called a devil.

The use of abusive language against religious opponents had little or no abatement in the years immediately following the outbreak of the Reformation. At the Synod of Passy, 1562, where twelve Protestant ministers, including Beza, were present the Jesuit Laynez called Protestants "wolves, foxes, serpents, assassins." One hundred years later, 1640, the Jesuits in the Jubilee volume commemorating their order, spoke of Luther as that "deformity of Germany, that epicurean hog, the plague of Europe, the miserable monster of the world, an object of hatred to man and to God." In our own time, even Leo XIII, Dec. 3, 1880, was misinformed or he wilfully did injustice to his fellow men when he pronounced Protestant missionaries "lying men, sowers of errors who simulate the Apostles and are engaged in an effort to propagate the rule of the prince of darkness." Pius X in his Barromeo encyclical, 1910, joined Leo XIII in stigmatizing the Reformers as "enemies of the cross and men given to fleshly lusts whose good is their belly." Dr. Milner, in his *End of Religious Controversy*, gave his conclusions about the "profligate German friar" in these words, "I have shown that the patriarch Luther was the sport of unbridled passions, pride, resentment and lust, that he was turbulent, abusive, and sacrilegious in the highest degree, that he was the trumpeter of sedition, civil war, rebellion and desolation and that finally, by his own account, he was the scholar of Satan in the most important article of his pretended reformation." All of which means that the Reformation was the work of the devil and Luther his immediate agent.

§ 5. Luther a man of Satanic mind.—In looking for a reasonable explanation of the turpitude of Luther's mind and the depravity of his purpose, an enemy investigated his birth,

and found that he was "a child, begotten of adultery between the devil and Luther's mother." Thus the matter was put by Cochlæus. Modern Roman writers, not going so far back, find in Luther's own statements bearing on his habits, or supposed to bear on his habits, and in his statements of his own religious belief proof that he was malign of heart, vindictive, abandoned to crass ambition, given to lying and even to incontinence. The most careful search to find out his innermost motives has recently been made by the Dominican Denifle and Dr. Hermann Grisar. Denifle, turning away from mediæval studies, in which he was a master, devoted two volumes to Luther in which he accused Luther of the basest depravity of which the mind can conceive. John XXIII was accused of an appalling catalogue of specific iniquities, but moral turpitude was never more vehemently and repeatedly charged against a mortal man than is charged against the German Reformer Luther in Denifle's indictment. To what greater lengths could an author go than did the Dominican when he declared that Luther invented the doctrine that justification is by faith with the very purpose of continuing in the unbridled commission of sin! In comparison with Denifle, Professor Grisar is temperate and even shows that some of his predecessor's charges are untenable. Grisar's elaborate biography is an attempt to study Luther's psychology. The conclusion at which the author arrives is that Luther began well as a child of the church and that some of his earlier condemnations of the religious conditions of his time were well merited. About 1520, Luther underwent a complete change. Finding himself making a noise in Europe, he gave way to the vain love of notoriety and ambition and gradually became their slave. Swelling pride, backed by his hot and untameable temper, furnishes the explanation of the German monk's assault upon the papacy and the church. In America the ablest expounder of this view has been Archbishop Spalding.

The damning judgment passed by these and other Catholic writers upon Luther's inward state is based:

1. Upon the worst construction which it is possible to give to Luther's words and a determination to make no allowance for his fatal extravagance in the use of words; 2. the denial of all trustworthiness to the testimony of Luther's friends and 3. the treatment as false and hypocritical of every profession of faith Luther made in his expositions of the Bible, tracts and hymns, his sermons, letters and conversations. Above all, the judgment seems to be based upon a foregone presumption that a man of Luther's intelligence and education could not have had good motives and at the same time revolt against the authority of the Roman church.

Examples may be found in Denifle's *Life of Luther* of making the Reformer advocate the very thing against which he was arguing or preaching and this is done by the author's wrenching from their connection a clause and inveighing against it as if it represented Luther's views when in fact it stated the very vice which he was engaged in condemning.[4] As instances of false meanings put into Luther's words are the charges of sensualism and intemperance. The former charge, based chiefly upon a letter written by Luther to Melanchthon from the Wartburg which Denifle treats at great length, is set aside by Grisar, 1 : 396, *sq.* 482, who concludes after a lengthy discussion that Luther was referring to temptations, not to unchastity and that the charge of incontinence against him is a surmisal. How far hostile critics are obliged to go to to justify the probability of unchastity on his part apparent from the use made of Luther's statement that he had been a great and shameless sinner—*ich bin gewst ein grosser, schwerer, schändlicher Sünder*,—an assertion which finds a natural parallel in Paul's declaration that he was the chief of sinners. At the time of Luther's marriage, eight years after the posting of the Theses, Melanchthon and others took occasion to praise the Reformer's habitual chastity.

As for the charge that Luther was an immoderate drinker, it is to be said that temperance at the table was not a shining virtue of the sixteenth century as portraits of men of the

time indicate. Charles V habitually drank three quarts of wine at dinner. If Pastor is consulted, the reader will find out something about the indulgence in a strong black liquor to which Paul IV, one of Luther's contemporaries, was addicted. Luther drank, as was the custom of the day, and from time to time mentioned his use of wine and beer. These beverages, he on occasion stated, were prescribed for his ailments. A few days before his death he wrote to his wife that the aldermen of Eisleben were allowing him half a pint of Rhine wine for each meal. He made other references of the kind but the only report furnishing possible ground for the charge of an immoderate use of alcohol is a statement made to the elector John Frederick that Luther at a certain entertainment had drunk too much, although, as the report went on, he "said nothing that was improper." On the other hand, Luther preached against the demon of drink,—*the Saufteufel*,—and Melanchthon made special mention of his moderation at the table. Grisar, 1: 244–265, not only sets aside the charge of intemperance but says that, according to the standards of his time, Luther was moderate in his drinking. In spite of the facts, a recent writer, Schwertner, in his *Eucharistic Renaissance*, does not hesitate to give rein to his imagination and assert "that Luther and his followers drank deep draughts of beer whilst denouncing the abuses of the church. With muddled brains and addled minds, it was the easiest thing in the world for them to cease their fulminations against Rome only to engage in brawls." Above the surprise that such a statement should be made is the surprise that the volume containing it should be issued under ecclesiastical sanction.[5]

§ 6. **The bigamy of Philip of Hesse.**—A most just cause of condemnation is furnished by Luther's attitude to the double marriage of Philip of Hesse. It is a deep scar upon his career which it is impossible to clear away. No excuse can be made for Luther upon the presumed ground that he had not freed himself from the principles of casuistry and probabilism advocated by the Jesuits. The facts are these:—Philip, while his first wife

was living, secured Luther's consent to take a second wife,—a consent in which Melanchthon and Bucer joined. The permission was granted on the ground that it was morally less offensive for Philip to take a second wife than to fornicate. At the time, Philip was living with a mistress, a fact then unknown to Luther. A condition of the second marriage made by Luther was that it should be kept secret. The marriage took place and, when it became known, Luther insisted that the landgrave should deny the marriage with a big lie.

The charges are made that Luther's treatment of the landgrave's marriage proves that he held a low conception of marriage and defended falsehood. The first charge must be dismissed. By this particular offense, he no more repudiated the sacredness of the marriage tie than Peter made perpetual repudiation of Christ by his single denial. When in 1541 a Protestant minister, Neobolus, defended plural marriage, Luther expressed indignation at the treatment. At best, Luther may be charged with moral cowardice in failing to uphold the sacredness of marriage just as Peter was guilty of cowardice in failing to confess Christ at a critical juncture.

Against the charge that in the case of Philip, Luther counselled a lie, the Protestant knows nothing to say in mitigation of Luther's guilt. An explanation is attempted upon the basis of the sacredness of counsels given in the confessional and that Luther, when he insisted upon Philip's denying his marriage, was governed by the law of the Roman church whose force he had been trained to recognize. When all has been said that can be said, Luther's offense in connection with Philip's marriage is an offense for which Protestantism knows no sound apology.

§ 7. The true Luther.—An adequate defense of Luther against such charges as ignorance, malevolence, incontinence, vindictiveness and crass ambition, would require a prolonged review of his career and writings. Here it is sufficient in rebuttal to say the following things:—1. In regard to ignorance, no one has ever accused Luther of not being a student.

He had accredited teachers. He went through the accredited theological drill. He was appointed professor and made a doctor of divinity. He knew the Old and New Testaments in the original languages. He knew the conditions of his age from the street to the interior of the convent, from the hall at Wittenberg filled with relics to the happenings in Rome. 2. No ground is there for the charge that Luther was actuated by the love of money, or was given to luxury. On the contrary, his salary was meagre. He lived simply. He refused to take any royalty for his books on the ground that "for the gifts of God," as he called them, he had no right to make gain. Had he wanted promotion, it was offered to him while the Diet of Worms was in session. The Archbishop of Treves, so Aleander wrote, promised Luther, if he would recant, a rich priory, a place at the archbishop's table and favor with the emperor and the pope. At the same time, Aleander had no scruple in adding that the archbishop had no intention of keeping his promise. Zwingli had offered to him even a cardinal's hat, if he would withdraw from the new order. 3. No charge has been made that Luther was untrue to his home, his wife or his children. 4. He was not lifted up with pride on account of his celebrity. He was never ashamed to honor his parents. He did not stoop to dignitaries or court their favor. 5. Luther faced danger. He did not flee from it. He fought in the open. Writing against Prierias, he used the words, "I will not fear many thousands of popes. Greater is *He* that is in us than he that is in the world." When he descended from the Wartburg, it was against the elector's advice, and Luther wrote to him "I have no intention of asking your grace's support. Nay, I believe I can offer your grace better protection than your grace is able to offer me. Did I think I had to trust in the elector, I would not go to Wittenberg at all." Men all around him predicted for him a violent death. Truly the old soldier, von Frundsberg, spoke when he said to Luther as he was entering the council chamber at Worms, that the battle he was fighting was a more

strenuous one than any battle ever fought on battle field. If Luther was at times as undaunted as a lion, he could be also as tender as a child. No father could talk at the death bed of a child more tenderly than he talked at the bedside of his daughter, Lena. And, among all inscriptions, placed at the graves of children, it would be difficult to find one so pathetic as the inscription he wrote for the little girl's grave-stone. One of the things in his career not usually noted was that, when Tetzel was dying, Luther wrote him a letter of kindest sympathy, comforting him with the assurance that the blame for the commotion in Germany did not belong to him but belonged to other shoulders. 6. Personal abuse made by Luther against persons in power was in connection with ecclesiastical abuses, as he understood them. In 1521, he wrote that he had never touched the person of pope or prelate but only their vices and their offense against the Scriptures. It was not, until after he had announced almost the entire program of reform, that he began to deal out personalities. It was only after he had been lied about, besmirched and hounded that he denounced his adversaries as he had himself been denounced. 7. Luther was frank. He spoke as he thought. When his elector counselled him to be cautious, even to keeping silence, he replied that he must speak out plainly in defending the truth, even if the elector should be offended by such conduct. "I have been violent but I have always told the truth: no man can accuse me of hypocrisy," he wrote in 1523. His contemporaries who knew him best, spoke of him well. They recognized his infirmities and they praised his virtues. Luther lived under three electors. It is almost impossible to imagine that he would have kept his standing with them if he had been suspected of following personal ends or been of impure mind and habits. On the streets of Wittenberg and in the university, the average man, professors and princes, bore testimony to the rectitude of his life. It seems not possible that a man holding a low conception of life and full of guile could have written hymns such as Luther wrote or have set forth as he

did the meaning of Scripture in his *Introductions to Romans and Galations*. Moreover, how is it morally possible that until almost the day of his death he should have continued to give lectures on the sacred text and have an audience of students, if he was a man of low purpose.

If it is borne in mind that Luther's activity meant the renunciation of the papal supremacy, the efficiency of the sacraments and other views held to be necessary parts of the Christian religion, it is not strange that Luther's motives should be made the subject of attack and his natural infirmities be interpreted as proof that the man was the emissary of Satan. It has been the lot of eminent men from Paul down to be misunderstood and even bitterly maligned. In civil affairs it was so with Washington and Lincoln. In the midst of his career Lincoln wrote, "If I were to read, much less answer all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how, the very best I can and I mean to keep on doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, then angels swearing I was right would make no difference." At the side of these modern words may be placed Luther's utterance in his work on the papacy. Weimar ed., 6: 323. "The railings with which my person is being attacked, I will leave unanswered. Fight with me my dear Romanists cannot for I have never attempted to measure myself up to the stature of those who rail at my life, my work and my person; let them ridicule my life and person as vigorously as they may, all of it is forgiven so far as I am concerned. But let no man expect from me indulgence who seeks to make the Lord Christ whom I serve and the Holy Ghost liars. It matters not about myself but Christ's Word I will defend."

Most recently, early in 1927, the character of Mr. Gladstone has been aspersed. The statesman who, when living, was regarded as a man of exemplary life, was accused in print of gross immoralities. The verdict of the court,

before whom the case was brought by the statesman's son, in exonerating the accused, emphasized "the high moral character of the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone." A lasting misfortune of such charges is that, once bruited about, they are apt at one time or another to be resurrected, however false they may have been proved to be. Until a larger recognition is given to the apparently hopeless evils which the church of the sixteenth century inherited and a liberal treatment is given to Protestants who hold Luther's religious views, the portraiture may be expected to survive in some Roman Catholic circles by which, to use Charles V's words, Luther was "a demon in monk's clothing."

The chapter may be closed with descriptions of Luther given by Cardinal Bellarmine and the final testimony of Dr. Döllinger. The cardinal drew a lively parallel between Luther and Mohammed, the false prophet, and a comparison between the German leader and Satan himself. He found Luther described in Revelation 9: 7–12, as the angel of the bottomless pit and remarks that Satan did not miss his reward when he started the unspeakable insurrection—*tantum incendium*—in the East through Mohammed and a like insurrection in the West through Luther. As Christ gave to Peter the keys of heaven, so Satan gave to his apostle and primate, Luther, the key of the bottomless pit and Luther drew forth from it monstrous errors, the sewerage of old heresies and Tartarean teachings. Luther's gospel and the Koran are alike. Luther recommended lust and set an example of its practice. All the wicked pass over to the Lutherans for the Lutherans hold that sins are not to be confessed to priests and are given to self-indulgence and gluttony for they have no fasts, and to incontinence for they concede marriage to nuns and monks. By no other heresy or persecution had Satan laid waste the church so ferociously as through the Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists. Not in heaven, hell or purgatory did Luther leave anything untouched. He robbed God of the Trinity, Christ both of his divinity and his humanity, the saints of their sainthood.

On earth, the Lutheran storm—*tempestas*—stole away from the church the larger part of the Scriptures, all the sacraments, all traditions, vows, fasts, holy days, altars, relics,—all the inherited legacy of piety, church laws, and discipline, and, finally, all virtue and all order and beauty in the house of God. As for purgatory, Lutheranism sought to root up its very foundations. One realm only did the Lutheran storm spare, hell.

Dr. Döllinger, once praised among Roman Catholics as among the most eminent church historians, in his earlier period dealt most severely with the German Reformer. In 1872, after he had rejected the dogma of papal infallibility, he wrote the following remarkable words: "It was Luther's overpowering greatness of mind and marvelous many-sidedness which made him the man of his time and his people, and it is correct to say that there has never been a German who has so instinctively understood his people and in turn been so perfectly comprehended, yea I might say, absorbed by them, as the Augustinian monk. Heart and mind of the Germans were in his hand as a harp in the hand of a musician. . . . He gave to his people more than any other man in the Christian centuries has ever given to a people,—language, manual for popular instruction, the Bible and hymns for worship. . . . His opponents stammered, he spoke. It is he only who has stamped the imperishable seal of his own soul alike upon the German language and upon the German mind."[6]

Luther was a great man with human weaknesses, a man of high purpose with infirmities. Whether the estimate made of him be favorable or unfavorable, Luther's personality is one thing, Protestantism is another. The question under discussion between Romanists and Protestants is whether Protestantism as a body of religious teachings is in agreement with the Scriptures.[7]

CHAPTER VII

OTHER HOSTILE EXPLANATIONS OF THE REFORMATION

OTHER explanations made to discredit the Protestant movement are that it was a rebellion against properly constituted authority, an innovation upon a divinely appointed institution, a storm of iconoclasm or that it was started in the interest of moral laxity. It is also charged that it interrupted an orderly current of reform in the church and broke the unity of Western christendom. Wherever the guilt is laid for the appearance and growth of "the Lutheran sect," as Adrian VI called the constituency of the Reformation, it was socially and intellectually as reputable as the constituency which remained loyal to the papal rule. Protestantism was not a movement of the rabble. The intelligent classes of Europe did not shun it. Princes, scholars and clerics adopted it. This is historic fact in spite of Sir Thomas More who wrote to Cochlæus that "Germany bringeth forth more monsters, yea more prodigious things than Africa was wont to do, for what could be more monstrous than the Anabaptists. . . . The madness of the people is so great."

§ 1. **Adrian VI's judgment.**—The successor of Leo X, Adrian VI, 1521–23, carried into the Vatican a moral purpose and recognized that abuses in the church were in part to blame for the storm which had broken out in Germany. In a prolonged letter to his agent, Chiergatto, the serious-minded pontiff promised to correct specific practices. At the same time, he pronounced the Reformation a plague, which threatened to infect all Germany, and he warned the German people of the infamy that was threatening their

nation, "the most Christian of all the nations." Luther he wrote, was consigning the German people to hell, because "errors in the faith bring damnation," and under the plea of evangelical liberty, he was bent on the overthrow of princes and the destruction of all social order. Adrian called upon the authorities to punish, as the canon law directed, the obstinate with the rod of destruction. To him, as to his predecessor, the Reformation was of diabolical origin, a contrivance engineered from beneath. The worthy pontiff, himself the victim of ridicule and condemnation, was called by the Romans an ass, a wolf, a harpy, and compared with Nero and Caracalla. The worst sins and vices, so Pastor Adrian's apologist says, were ascribed to him but not by the insurgent Protestants. Of the various charges brought against the Reformation, the following is further to be said:

§ 2. **The charge of innovation.** Roman Catholic manuals of church history, label the movement of the sixteenth century as the innovation—*die Neuerung*. As Vincentius of Lerins had found in novelty an almost sure sign of heresy, so Cardinal Bellarmine a thousand years later dwells upon Protestantism from this aspect and at great length. In his answer to Sadolet, 1538, and with this charge in mind Calvin wrote, "We are accused of rash and impious innovation for having dared to propose any change at all on the former state of the church and there are persons who condemn us on the ground that we have been right in desiring change but wrong in attempting change." The "new doctrine" was pronounced bad, because it was new. The charge of novelty was answered seriously by the Augsburg, Belgic and other Protestant Confessions. Tyndale in his *Answer*, p. 42, replies to it in this way: "The church, say they, was before the heretics and they were before all them whom they now call heretics and Lutherans. Wherefore, they be the right church. I will likewise dispute. First, the right church was Moses and Aaron, in whose rooms sat the scribes and Pharisees and high priests in the time of Christ and they

were before Christ. And Christ and his Apostles came out of them and departed from them and left them, wherefore the scribes and Pharisees and high priests were of the right church and Christ and his Apostles were heretics and a damnable sect, and so the Jews are yet in the right way and we in error."

In these later days, Cardinal Newman, writing in 1842, gave novelty as one of the sure tests of heresy, putting the case in this way; "As to the Lutherans or rather Lutheranism, I consider that the ecclesiastical notes of a heresy are external. I have given two, rising late and disowned by the East and the West. As a church is known by its outward marks, so is heresy." [1] This feature of the Reformed teachings is also dwelt upon by recent popes. Leo XIII, August 4, 1874, spoke of the Reformers as "the aggressive innovators of the sixteenth century, who did not hesitate to philosophize without any regard to the faith and to invent anything that they could think of." Pius X, in his encyclical of May 26th, 1910, ridiculed them for calling "their tumult" a restoration—*instauratio*—as if they were the restorers of ancient order, when in fact they were corrupters only.

The charge of novelty, which was well made, involves falsehood provided the traditions of the Middle Ages are sacred and final, such as the doctrine of the seven sacraments and the withdrawal of the cup from laymen. The charge is baseless, provided the New Testament is the constitution of the Christian church. In the latter case, the Reformed Confessions were right in pronouncing mediæval beliefs which they repudiated, unwarranted, the inventions of men. Protestants regard the movement of the sixteenth century as a "restoration,"—a word frequently used by the Reformers—a re-statement of what was taught by Christ. The Protestant leaders went back to the original plan of the Christian church as stated in the Apostolic writings and sought to follow it in the work of reconstruction. This idea found expression in the full title of Luther's tract, *Address to*

the German Nobles for the Improvement of Christian Conditions. The *XXXIX Articles* spoke of the "fables of the old order with its dangerous deceits and things vainly invented." The Reformers no more thought of originating a new system than President Wilson of originating a new constitution of the United States when he advocated the League of Nations. Bishop Jewel was accustomed to speak of the new order as "the religion of Christ lately restored and, as it were, coming up anew," as did also Calvin.—*Apol.* p. 106, *de ref. eccl.* p. 11.

An innovation must be proved to be bad, before it is made a reproach. An implement is not good because it is old, else a hoe would be better than a plow, and a teaching is not bad because it is new. In religious matters, as in other matters, the determining question is, not whether a rite has been observed or a doctrine been taught, but whether the rite and doctrine conform to the Christian revelation. To the old question "Where was your church before Luther," the answer still applies "Where was your face before it was washed?"

§ 3. **The charge of rebellion.**—Protestantism has from the first been reprobated as a wicked revolt against constituted authority. If the Roman pontiff be the supreme and infallible governor of the church on earth, the Reformation was a crime. In early days the Reformation was called a tempest, a tumult, a conflagration, a rebellion, a sedition and other names suggesting badness.—Smith: Cor. 1; 320, 326, 455, 501, 502. From the first, the Reformers were called revolutionaries, as by Cochlæus. So they were, and some recent Protestant historians, like Seebohm and Walker, have given to their chapters on the sixteenth century the heading *The Protestant Revolution* or *The Protestant Revolt*, but they do not mean thereby to indicate that the Reformation was an unsalutary movement. The American War of 1776 was a revolution, but not an evil movement because it was a revolution. It was a revolt by war against an oppressive régime and the preparation for a new popular order. The Protestant Reformers destroyed and they built

up. Roman pontiffs continue to denominate Protestantism a rebellion, the Lutheran rebellion—*rebellio lutherana*—as did Leo XIII, June 29, 1881, when he spoke of the princes and other leaders using the doctrines of the so-called Reformation to fight against sacred and civil authority and asserted that they set on foot "the most violent tumults and audacious revolts so that scarcely any other spot ever witnessed such mob violence and bloodshed as Germany." Likewise Pius X spoke of the Reformers as a group of proud and rebellious men—*superbi et rebelli homines.*

The Reformers intended no rebellion to Christ. At first they sought reformation by appeals, calling the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities to manifest evils. Not till they were outlawed, and then with reluctance, did they proceed to form themselves into independent groups for worship. It was properly said by Calvin that "When Luther first appeared, he touched with gentle hand a few abuses of the gravest description and he did it with a modesty which indicated that he had more desire to see them corrected than purpose to correct them himself." Calvin then went on to say that "the opposing party sounded to arms and deemed violence and cruelty the best and shortest method of suppressing the truth." When the Reformers called for discussion, they were commanded to keep silence and opposed with sanguinary edicts. Protestantism was a rebellion, but a rebellion against tradition and the canon law and a return to the Gospel.

§ 4. **The charge of iconoclasm.**—A third charge against the Reformation is that its introduction was wilfully accompanied by acts of destruction of sacred objects preserved in the churches. The great wonder is that the men of the new order practised restraint in so great a degree when it is recalled that they associated those objects with acts which they looked upon as idolatrous. We should think only of the fierce iconoclasm of the Christians of the fourth century and the destruction of heathen temples in Syria and in Egypt, before the charge of sacrilege against the Protestants is

taken seriously. When, at Wittenberg, Carlstadt started to destroy the images in the churches, Luther immediately stopped the movement on his descent from the Wartburg. In Zürich, the pictures of saints and the sacramental vessels of silver were removed from the sanctuaries and given back to the donors, where they could be found, and the relics of saints decently buried. At Perth, when the images were broken up, John Knox repudiated the act as the work of "the rascal multitude."

The suppression of the 600 English monasteries is used as an unfailing accusation against the Reformation, both as a sacrilege and crime against property rights.[2] No doubt, the act was a salutary thing for England. The monasteries were investigated and found to be seats of idleness and some of them of sexual license. The dismissed occupants were pensioned. It is quite probable that, in cases, injustice was done. The sequestered property might have been distributed to better advantage and the parcels sold to men willing to work the land or the proceeds spent wholly upon public improvements. The plea, however, is still made by Roman Catholic authorities that "the great state church of England has held the stolen wealth of Catholics for three centuries and a half."—*Month*, 1925, p. 441. Perhaps during the Middle Ages one third of English lands had sooner or later fallen into the hands of ecclesiastical owners. From whom did this wealth originally proceed if not from the people, and how far has one generation the right to bind the hands of its successor? These are questions the spirit of modern rights asks. It has not been an uncommon thing to reduce the extravagant possessions of the church as in Austria under Joseph II, in Bavaria and other parts of Southern Germany after the Peace of Vienna, in France during the French Revolution and in Piedmont through Cavour. In damning the Reformation for isolated cases of vandalism, acts should likewise be remembered such as the acts of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, in the uprising of 1569–73, who burned bibles and ransacked

the houses of the new clergy of Durham and the act of the Jesuits when they made bonfires of Hussite books in Bohemia or the act of the Roman inquisition which burned all the evangelical books that it could lay hands on in Italy.

§ 5. **Protestantism and alleged libertinism.**—The Reformers were accused by the Council of Trent of introducing, under pretext of restoring the Gospel, carnal license. Leo XIII, on the 300th anniversary of the death of Peter Canisius, 1897, declared, as he had done before, that the Reformation meant the ruin of morals and asserted, that multitudes had left the Catholic faith for no other reason than to practice self-indulgence. Although the Vatican during the first half of the sixteenth century did not set an example of high virtue, nevertheless, the ruling popes and writers of the age treated the violation of the priestly vow of celibacy in Central and Northern Europe as a singular turpitude and the same treatment is made in modern Roman discussions. Luther's marriage was called sacrilege and the help he gave the nuns of Torgau to escape from their convent has been pronounced a profane crime. Erasmus' famous gibe ran that Lutheranism was half a comedy and half a tragedy, which usually ended in a marriage of monk and nun. Erasmus was accustomed to make gibes. Moreover, he himself had been dispensed from the obligation of monastic vows. Charges were not made against the ex-priests, that they were guilty of infidelity to their homes after marriage. Zwingli, of whose incontinence as a priest much is made, was man enough to marry Anna Reinhardt with whom he had had illicit relations. Which was the more honorable course—the course of Zwingli and the course of the priests who chose to marry or the habits of priests who secretly violated the law of continence? Dean Colet spoke of English clerics who went directly from the arms of harlots to the church altar. Which was the better?—Luther with his home in Wittenberg or Clement VII carrying with him mistresses to Marseilles; Rogers, dean of St. Paul's with wife and children with him at the stake or the contem-

porary scandals of the Vatican under Paul III with his children and grandchildren occupying suites in the papal palace? Far from giving way to dissoluteness, the Reformers attempted to check the social evil and to close brothels. In Strassburg the effort was made to secure positions for the fallen women or provide them with husbands. In 1546, houses of ill-fame were closed in London. The same, it must be said, was done in Rome during Paul IV's reform, 1556, but the loss of revenues involved by the departure of 25,000 women and their dependents from the city is said to have induced the pope to allow them to return. Geneva under the well-meant though severe régime of Calvin, gained a reputation as a moral center.[3]

Or suppose we compare Luther with Sir Thomas More. The German left model letters to his wife, Catherine of Bora. More, in his *Utopia*, permitted husbands to chastise their wives and in an epigram suggested that, though a wife be a heavy burden, she might be "good enough to seasonably die and leave her husband money." The moving incident of More's daughter, Mary Roper, pressing in and kissing her father on his way to the block, is properly held up as an example of filial affection and a tribute to the father's training. However, the English chancellor allowed only a month to go by after his first wife's death before marrying the second time. Sir Thomas returned again and again to the charge of licentiousness against the Reformers. "Friar Luther," he wrote, "see him run out of religion and fallen to fleshly carrion and live in lechery with a nun under the name of wedlock, and all the chief heads of them, late monks and friars and now apostates, living with harlots under the name of wives. The friar that hath married a nun maketh it easy to know that his doctrine is not good." Compare these words with Colet's words just quoted, and follow the domestic relations of Cardinal Wolsey as well as those of Cranmer before he adopted the new way.

Even the modern excess in drinking has been charged against the Reformation as one of its legitimate conse-

quences. A recent writer in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly*, Jan., 1921, labors to make out that in England drunkenness and alcoholism were due to the Reformation and cites as proof the legislation against them under Edward VI. Cardinal Damiani, in his *Sodom and Gomorrah*, written several centuries before Luther and Calvin appeared, and during the so-called Ages of Faith, used the strongest language to accuse the clergy of Italy of excessive drinking as well as of low morals. There is at least one charge, which it is impossible to bring against Protestantism. The Protestant Reformation did not develop beggery. From the day of his early writings, Luther struck hard blows at the habit.

§ 6. **An orderly Reformation checked.**—The Reformation is charged with having abruptly stopped an orderly current of reform going on in the church in the early part of the sixteenth century. Among the notable attempts to prove this proposition are the scholarly works of Janssen in Germany and the writings of Cardinal Gasquet in England. The plea is made that signs of such a movement were becoming more and more evident. Enough has been said in a preceding chapter on the corruption in church and society and the failure of heroic attempts at reform to show that the proposition is not based on historic facts. What might have happened if Luther had not appeared, it is only possible to guess. It is possible that Great Britain in the course of years would have granted the American colonies relief either by giving them parliamentary representation or offering them independence. As a matter of fact, the American colonies went to war, though not until after appeal and protest had been made to the home government. More than a generation after Luther began his work, when the Council of Trent was called it was called for the very purpose not only of extirpating heresy, but of introducing reforms in the old church organization. The historian of the Renaissance, Burckhart, has expressed the judgment that "Without the Reformation, the whole ecclesiastical state would long ago have passed into secular hands." No

reform was possible without the support of the Vatican and the Vatican showed no taste for reform until Paul IV began his pontificate.

§ 7. **The unity of the church broken.**—Perhaps the most popular charge brought against the Reformation, next to the charge of the depravity of the Reformers, is that it broke the so-called unity of the church and split Western christendom. The answer to this charge involves the definition of the Christian church, a subject to be taken up later. Does the unity of the church consist in obedience to the Roman pontiff or does it consist in obedience to Christ? Is the church a body of persons who look to Rome as the seat of Christian authority or is it a body of people who find the will of God sufficiently expressed in the Scriptures and seek to follow its teachings?

§ 8. **The case of Henry VIII.**—It is a habit to discredit the English Reformation and, with it, the whole movement of Protestantism by asserting that Henry VIII was the "founder of the English Church." The case, as put by the Roman controversialist, may be stated in the words of Bishop Spalding—2: 66. "Henry VIII was the real father of the English Reformation which was peculiarly his own work, molded to his royal will and made to his own image and likeness. This fact is incontestable. But for him, there would have been no schism and no reformation in England." The same opinion in somewhat modified language is set forth by Cardinal Gibbons. The statement perverts historic fact and is as near the truth as if a writer would make the extravagance of the queen of Louis XVI responsible for the French Revolution. Protestants fail to understand how Henry VIII's domestic scandals, have any vital connection with English Protestantism. The king was a recalcitrant Roman Catholic, not a religious reformer.

The facts are these, Henry, by his father's arrangement, married Katherine of Spain, his brother Arthur's widow. The marriage, which was in defiance of the canon law, was legalized by the dispensation of Julius II. The couple had

no male children who lived. Through Cardinal Wolsey, Henry sought a writ of divorce from Clement VII. A man of easy morals himself, Clement was quite ready for Henry to keep on having mistresses and several times sent word to the king to have no scruple about taking a second wife. Princes, as Pollard remarks, "had been branded as sons of perdition and children of iniquity, not because their morals were bad but because they stood in the way of papal greed." The pope being above canon law, the solution of Henry's marriage relations was for Clement a question of political expediency. The emperor, Charles V, was Katherine's nephew and was a more powerful sovereign than the English king. When Charles, 1539, defeated the king of France, Clement, whose policy it was to favor the stronger party, entered into a treaty with the victor in which an article was inserted that Henry should not be granted a divorce. Backed by the decision of Paris and other universities, Henry defied the pope, put away Katherine and married Anne Boleyn. In further defiance, in 1534, he issued the Act of Supremacy by which England was made exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome and the king "the supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called the *anglicana ecclesia*." Religion had nothing to do with the rupture. Henry had been a devoted son of the church. He had been among the first to write against Luther and sent to the pope a copy of his book, bound in gold. Twice he received from Rome the high title Defender of the Faith. He suppressed the monasteries not because he was a Protestant but because he was a willful Roman Catholic. The last declaration of his reign, the VI Articles, called the whip with six cords, proclaimed bitter war against the new doctrines, and punished the denial of transubstantiation on the first offense with death. Henry was no more a Protestant than a Mohammedan would be a Christian by casting aside his fez.

The Protestantism of England was due, not to the English king. It was in England a dozen years before Henry's

marriage adventures. It was due to Barnes, Frith, Tyndale, Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer and others of like mind. By their tracts, Bible translations and sufferings, these men testified to the new order and promoted it. Cardinal Gibbons, p. 27, places Henry VIII in a class with the Reformers as if the king's motives and theirs were the same and their private lives in accord. After sounding the praises of "St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Alphonsus," and other saints of the Roman calendar, he exclaims, "How do Luther and Calvin and Zwingli and Henry VIII compare with these genuine and saintly reformers, both as to their moral characters and the fruit of their labors? The private lives of these pseudo-reformers was stained by cruelty, rapine, licentiousness and, as a result of their propagandism, history records civil wars and bloodshed and bitter religious strife and the dismemberment of Christianity into a thousand sects." As if such Protestant countries as England and the United States were more stained with the guilt of war and license than Roman Catholic countries abroad, or in our own hemisphere!

§ 9. **Alleged disillusion of the Reformers.**—Yet another charge is made out against Protestantism on the ground that in his closing days, Luther uttered words indicating that the Reformation was a failure. A great deal is made of several statements contained in his last letters. The girls in Wittenberg he reported were wearing low waists and the boys, even to Melanchthon's son, were being betrothed without their parents' consent. The younger generation was "getting bold," he said, and parents were becoming frightened about the habits of their sons at the universities. A few months before his death, he wrote to his wife "that there was no one to punish or correct these excesses and that God's Word was being mocked." He also said that in the olden days the preaching was better and the people more liberal in their charities. Luther, like many other good people had his moods. To such offhand remarks as these, the reply may be made that it is a common ex-

perience for statesmen coming to the end of their careers to be disappointed with the outcome of their policies, for parents to be disappointed by the habits of their children when grown up to be men and women, and for churchmen and moral reformers arriving at the end of their course and looking back, to have moments of discouragement. Luther, at the end of his career, was suffering from a combination of physical diseases. The Reformation had not accomplished all that he and others had hoped. The papal chair was filled by Paul III. Germany was divided and the demand for war had gone out from the pope. Even John the Baptist, who had seen Jesus and pointed him out as the Lamb of God, gave way to downheartedness and sent his disciples asking, "Art thou he that should come or do we look for another?" Adrian IV, the only English pope, declared that the papacy—which ought to be a good thing—was like a drop of honey in a vessel of vinegar and that he had scarcely had a single day of content during his term of office. To come down to modern times, the immediate descendants of our own New England Puritans gave way to discouragement and their leaders feared lest New England would become "paganized." To off-set Luther's supposedly unfavorable testimony to the results of the Reformation movement, the words he uttered in his dying hour might be recalled. When asked whether he continued to stand by the Gospel which he had preached, he answered "yes." As an offset, Calvin's experiences in his last days with the sindics and ministers of Geneva might be adduced, or the description of Knox's last hours by Carlyle be read.

Such charges as rebellion, novelty, the breaking up of the so-called unity of the church or the alleged disillusion of leading Reformers, do not invalidate the merits of Protestantism any more than the defection of Voltaire and Rousseau, trained in the Roman church, invalidate the merits in Roman Catholicism. Protestant Christianity stands or falls according as it is in agreement with the Christian principles laid down in the Scriptures.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PROSCRIPTIVE ASSUMPTIONS OF ROMANISM

I have made it a rule of my life that, when I find an opinion better than the one I have been holding, to renounce the old and cleave to the new.—John Wyclif.

THE comparison of the merits of the Protestant and Roman systems proceeds in the face of two antecedent claims made by Romanism that the church cannot err and that the Middle Ages represent Christianity at its best. Unless these claims are for the moment set aside there can be no discussion.

§ 1. The church the Roman organism.—The church for which the Roman Catholic makes the claim that it cannot err is coterminous with the Roman organism. The boundaries of the two exactly correspond as much as did "America" and the "New World" as written on early maps of the Western hemisphere. The Roman system claims as fully representing it the motto, "always the same"—*semper eadem*. What it was in the sixteenth century it always had been and the venture to alter its teachings or approved practises is a venture to do the impossible. The church, that is the Roman organism with the Roman pontiff as its head, worshipping the Virgin Mary and dispensing grace through the seven sacraments is as immune to attack as is Gibraltar. Discussion is always closed by the loyal Roman Catholic with the statement "the church teaches otherwise." The argument is similar to the argument which Tertullian used in his Prescription of Heretics in which he precluded the Pagans from passing judgment upon the Christian religion on the antecedent ground that they lacked the spiritual sense. Real discussion is only

possible when the definition of the church and what it is is treated as a debateable question.

§ 2. Mediæval theology enthroned.—Mediævalism is treated by the recent pontiffs and Roman Catholic writers as the high plateau of the Christian religion and the cure of present religious and social ailments is to return to the conditions which prevailed in the mediæval period. Prierias writing against the XCV Theses held up the authority of Thomas Aquinas as indisputable and called Thomas divine—*divus*—and the "angelic doctor." Luther in open language opposed Thomas Aquinas by quoting St. Paul and Augustine, and said "I do not fear dissenting from Thomas but from St. Paul and Augustine I fear to dissent." He used in opposition to Prierias the very phrases—I contradict St. Thomas—*S. Thoman nego*—and "the distinction made by St. Thomas is as false as it can be—*falsissima*. The difference of judgment about the religious value of the Middle Ages marks a living issue between Protestants and Roman Catholic authorities.

Contemporary Roman Catholic writers show their admiration of Thomas by calling him "the angel of the schools" and the "intellectual giant of the church." The Council of Trent had Thomas' work on theology, open on the altar at the side of the Bible and a copy of the canon law. In 1567 papal edict placed him at the side of Augustine as one of the doctors of the church. Three centuries later, Leo XIII pronounced him far and wide the "prince of the Schoolmen," "the safest guide of philosophy in the modern battle of faith and reason against skepticism and unbelief" and, by a second bull, the "patron of Catholic schools and the guardian of studies." In his encyclical of August 4, 1879—*acterni patris*—the pontiff expressed the opinion that with the exception of the canonical books of Scripture, the teachings of Thomas are unequalled and that whosoever opposes his doctrine is to be suspected of deviating from the truth. In all departments of the divine philosophy, Thomas, so Leo continued, "cleared up what was dark by his per-

spicuity and established the truth by his argumentative force."[1] Yea, he seems to have inherited the minds of all the ancient doctors. As by one stroke, he furnished a refutation of all the errors of previous times and supplied the weapons for combatting the errors that have since arisen. No work could be more admirable than to revive the Schoolmen's preeminent theology—*præclara doctrina*—and to make current again the pure streams which started with him. In fact, Thomas is to be likened to the sun, for he warmed the whole earth with the flame of his holiness and filled the whole earth with the splendor of his teaching." In closing his encyclical, Leo instructed the bishops to invoke the aid of the Virgin, the seat of all wisdom and St. Joseph, the Virgin's pure spouse, as well as Peter and Paul, who "presided over the teachings of the church and give it the light of wisdom."

Pius X, September 8, 1907, pronounced the scholastic philosophy the foundation of Christian study and Thomas its most eminent representative. Benedict XV repeated the judgment that next to the Bible the works of the angelic doctor are the final source of enlightenment, adapted to the profoundest discussions of the day and commended the religious orders for never having swerved a hair's breath from Thomas's teachings.[2] The present pontiff, Pius XI, in 1923, on the six hundredth anniversary of Thomas's canonization, announced that by applying the allegorical, tropological and analogical rules in interpretation, Thomas had brought forth a rich harvest of fruitful meanings from the Scriptures and, as the Egyptians went to Joseph for food, so men should go to him for the food of sacred doctrine. He closed the encyclical by granting an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines to all reciting a prayer which Thomas used and which Pius affixed to his bull. In keeping with these pontifical utterances the canon law Nos. 589, 1366, prescribes that professors of theology and natural philosophy shall explicitly follow the teachings of the angelic doctor and the arguments he used and, that these

teachings shall be the standard in the course of theological study. Five centuries ago, John XXII declared that more progress would be made in a single year in the study of Thomas than in a whole lifetime spent in studying the writings of other divines.

Protestants join with Roman Christians in recognizing the genius and pious purpose of the eminent mediæval Schoolmen and place him at the side of Augustine and Calvin as one of the three chief uninspired theologians of the Christian centuries. They dissent from the panegyrics which practically make his theology unchangeable.

Thomas Aquinas, 1225–1274, was a man of rare talents, common sense and purity of life. Under his hand, the speculations of the Schoolmen took the form of a consistent and complete logical order although, as compared with Anselm, he lacked that great theologian's originality. He took no liberties with the text of Scripture such as did Bonaventura, who in two psalteries and in the interests of the worship of Mary substituted her name for Jehovah. Thomas' deep religious devotion found expression in his hymn on the Lord's Supper. Theological composition was with him a pious employment begun and carried on with prayer. It is indicative of his spirit that, as it was reported, he said on his way to Paris, that he would not exchange Chrysostom on Matthew for the city itself. On the other hand, Protestants are not blind to his limitations and errors some of which are the following.

Thomas Aquinas was concerned with defending the traditional doctrines the church of his day had received. He did not make it his business to institute a comparison between inherited church opinions and the Scriptures. He had none of the critical apparatus which scholarship has at its command to-day. He did not know either Greek or Hebrew. In our modern sense, Thomas was not a biblical scholar. In exegesis, he accepted without question the views of the Fathers. Following the scholastic habit, he wandered off into all sorts of curious and useless discussions,

as for example, whether Christ's flesh was conceived of the Virgin's purest blood and into what did the devil fall—*in quid cecidit diabolus?* Among the errors he advocated was the error that heretics are to be punished with death. He accepted the reality of the succubus and incubus together with all else that witchcraft implied. Purgatory he located in the middle of the earth. Arguments given on occasion by Thomas are unintelligible to the reason, as for example, his argument intended to show why the real body and blood of Christ in the sacrament may be tasteless to the lips and invisible to the eye.

§ 3. Mediævalism as a religious finality.—According to modern Roman writers and pontiffs, the Middle Ages were the golden age of the Christian society. They were the period of faith in which civil order and earthly peace, as well as sacred purpose, prevailed as never since. This alleged admirable state of affairs, it is asserted was broken up by Protestantism which is charged with having introduced social confusion and anarchy, religious doubt, division and unrest. Protestantism is made responsible for the spirit of civil and religious insurgence wherever it has shown itself in modern Europe and for the revolutions and bloodsheds and immoral institutions which have manifested themselves in Protestant lands and other lands anywhere near Protestant spheres of influence.

The picture of the Middle Ages, thus drawn, is a dream for which there is no basis in historical facts. Here, the adage is true that distance lends enchantment to the view. The study of the period shows that it was a backward era compared with our own both in morals and religion as well as knowledge. It was an era of the arbitrary exercise of pontifical authority and prelatical pride and worldliness, and disregard of the vow of celibacy. It was an era of marked social classifications, of feuds, of religious wars, of monkish beggary and extravagant superstition. It was an age when the appliances of modern biblical study and modern constitutional government were unknown. The fanciful

picture of mediæval society and the mediæval church has been presented in a volume by Dr. J. J. Welsh, who finds in the thirteenth century, "the greatest of centuries," the ideal century among the centuries. The English Roman Catholic author justly exalts the lofty figures of that age, such as Francis d'Assisi, Thomas Aquinas, Louis IX and Dante. The universities, as he represents, were in full bloom, their number of students vast and the studies carried on serious and comprehensive. In the cathedrals, he finds the art of sculpture reaching its highest perfection, and pure piety manifesting itself in full embodiment. In all departments the work done was conscientious and exact. In the sphere of government, the beginnings of democracy were shown in magna charta. In the sphere of exploration, Marco Polo blazed the way. Great hymns and theological treatises were written and in the sphere of charity the organization of city hospitals was started. Above all this, there was in Western Europe one church, one sacramental system, one ecclesiastical center of power,—all held in general esteem and constituting a bond of peace and an assurance of Christian activity.

Such is the attractive picture. Much of it is true, but only half the truth is told. The thirteenth century was an age not of ideal unity but of religious dissent, dissent so threatening in Northern Italy and Southern France that Innocent III computed that a thousand towns and cities were infected with heretical depravity. Papal armies struck heretics with death and their lands with devastation. It was an age when Cæsar of Heisterbach, the author of the Golden Legend, and other writers related the crassest stories of heavenly and diabolical interventions in mortal affairs,—endless appearances of Mary ever ready to help her votaries within and without convent walls and endless stories of devils performing all sorts of queer frolics. What shall be said of the picture of the Christian life set forth in the tale of St. Brandon sailing into the Western sea where he is represented as having seen the awful figure of Judas

naked on the rocks and, when he anchored at an island, found monks who for eighty years had never spoken a word and lived doing nothing but put on and off their heavy golden copes, go in procession to keep the canonical hours and surviving on a loaf or two of bread furnished them daily by supernatural provision? What shall be said of the example of the Blessed St. Angela of Foligno, d. 1309, who on her conversion prayed to be relieved from such impediments to her piety as obedience to her husband, respect for her mother and the care of her children and found occasion for rejoicing in their deaths as opening to her the opportunity of the "religious" life? What shall be said of the serious descriptions of souls seen passing out of mortal bodies in the shape of balls! and of the scholastic speculations from which Dante got the background of his studies of hell and its torments.[3] What shall be said of the innumerable relics, —from the sacred cross to the finger which Thomas thrust into the Savior's side and hairs taken from the tail of Balaam's ass,—all scrambled for by the cities and towns, kings and convents! All these things belong to the heart of the Middle Ages.

If the mediæval age be looked at from the standpoint of peace, the historic student knows that there was a constant state of war between emperors and popes and that princes, to be brought into submission to the Apostolic see, had to be excommunicated or sent on penances to the Savior's tomb or other holy places. The religious rest, alleged to prevail within church circles, conflicts with statements of eminent churchmen. The friars were in continual strife with the secular clergy. The Dominicans and Franciscans were in open conflict for years. In England and other countries, religious discontent was habitual over papal appointments and the exactions made by papal tax gatherers.

Or take civilization in its wide compass. In spite of chivalry, what can be said of the low opinion of women as shown in the horrible tales of the witch sabbats and the immoralities perpetrated with demons! The thirteenth

century was a time of serfdom, a time when there were no schools for the people, and the universities were intended as a preparation for the priesthood only. Kings and princes habitually ignored the law of monogamy. Skin diseases were fearfully prevalent, so that one-third of the population of England, it is computed, was addicted to them and hospitals for lepers had to be erected from Lincoln to Venice and Assisi. The torture of state criminals and heretics was in full vogue. Unspeakable death penalties were freely meted out. Of cleanliness, it seems that the more untidy people were, the greater was their claim to sainthood. St. Bernard pronounced it a merit of the Knights Templars that "they washed seldom." Such was the ideal of manhood that the religious poet, Jacapone da Todi, considered it a virtue to go about on all fours harnessed like a donkey and good Francis d'Assisi embraced lepers and kissed their hands. And yet Balmes dares to say that whatever progress has been made in civilization since the sixteenth century has been made "not by Protestantism but in spite of it and that before Protestantism began to be, European civilization had reached all the development possible to it." Schwertner in his *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, calling for the "revival of the glory and achievements of the Middle Ages," repeats a wish which Roman Catholic writers frequently express.

§ 4. **Mediævalism passing judgment upon itself.**—An age is to be measured in part by the judgment which its people pass upon it. Persons who lived in the heart of the Middle Ages had dreary views of their times. We need not go to Frederick II to hear it said that, if the clergy would change their habits of living, the world might again see miracles as in the days of old. Arnold of Brescia preached the same thing. Later popular preachers, like Bertholdt of Regensburg and Geiler of Strassburg gave dark pictures of the vice and irreligion prevailing among all classes. The first churchmen of their age complained of the evils of their time. "Oh!" exclaimed Bernard of Clairvaux, "that I might before dying see the Church of God led back to the

ideal of her early days. The perilous times are not impending. They are here. Violence fills the earth." Anselm as well as Innocent III wrote a treatise on the wickedness of their day. The Englishman, Adam Marsh, writing to Grosseteste of their times spoke of them as "the most damnable times." Roger Bacon found decay everywhere. "The entire clergy," he lamented, "is given to pride, avarice and self-indulgence. Where clergymen meet, as at Paris and Oxford, their quarrels and vices are a scandal to laymen." A third Englishman of an earlier century, Walter Map, in his *The World's Misery*, lamented "that righteousness is banished from the earth and the worship of Christ coming to an end"—*exulat justitia, cessat Christi cultus*. Finally, Bernard of Cluny's famous poem, from which the hymn "Jerusalem, the Golden" is taken, opened with the words, "the last times, the worst times, are here." [3] In denying that the Middle Ages offer a spectacle of moral and religious excellence, it is not necessary to deny to them a certain imposing grandeur of conception as shown in the cathedrals, the university foundations, the Crusades and also the papal supremacy over the whole world, Christian and pagan, mistaken though the last two conceptions were. It has been said by the English writer, Owst, writing on the preaching in mediæval England, that "the unending cry of the mediæval preacher was that the days are evil."

§ 5. Modernism condemned in the Roman Church.—The glorification of Thomas Aquinas and Mediævalism has involved the condemnation of modern scholarship and enlightenment. Freedom of thought in the Roman communion has been given a hard blow by outlawing the movements known as Modernism and Americanism. Pius IX fulminated against modern liberty and the separation of church and state and denied to the inhabitants of Rome the right to determine what their government should be. Leo XIII put himself against modern scholarship by defying in certain biblical decisions the results of critical scholarship. Pius X was perhaps the chief offender. He calumniated the

Modernists and outlawed critical and historical scholarship which in any wise opposes old and traditional views.—For Pius XI, see *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1923, p. 409.

Americanism, the so called liberal theological school of thought springing from the bosom of the Roman church in the United States, fell under the condemnation of Leo XIII. The founder of the school, Father Hecker, 1819–1888, a convert to the Roman church, and founder of the Congregation of St. Paul—commonly known as the Paulist Fathers—recommended the policy of a restricted accommodation to modern views as represented by the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon peoples and a recognition of the possible existence of truth outside the realm of strict Roman dogma. When Hecker's biography by Elliott appeared in Italian translation, it greatly stirred Ultramontane circles in Rome and Leo in a letter addressed to Cardinal Gibbons, 1899—*Works*, 7: 223–233,—condemned severely the American school of thought. "Americanism," he declared, contradicts immutable truth and the infallibility which belongs to the church and the Apostolic see. It is the sole function of the Roman pontiff to expound the truth and it is not for an individual to pretend to define what truth is." Americanism, he pronounced disobedience to the holy father and, by offending against the unity of the church, injurious to the American people. Leo's encyclical was followed by the removal of Bishop Keane,—counted a supporter of Father Hecker,—from his office as rector of the University of Washington. Archbishop Ireland, another supporter, proved his loyalty to the pope by publicly renouncing former opinions showing sympathy with the movement which has ceased to have advocates in the United States.

The movement as it manifested itself in Europe, under the name of Modernism, came in for as severe a blow as had been dealt to Americanism but one not so disastrous to free studies for some of its advocates refused to submit and left the Roman church or were forced out of it by the anathema. The leaders in Germany and also in France have

been scholars of the first rank. The movement was opened towards the close of the nineteenth century by Herman Schell, d. 1906, professor in Würzburg, in a work on *Catholicism and Progress* and by a second work, *The New Age and the Old Faith.* Among other prominent German representatives are the masters in church history, Hugo Koch and Joseph Schnitzer, both of whom teach that the papal primacy was a matter of ecclesiastical growth. In France, Abbé Duchesne was rebuked for liberal views stated in his *History of the Ancient Church,* and Alfred Loisy for his critical treatment of the Old Testament. In 1908, Loisy was punished with the greater excommunication. In Italy, the liberal element has included Father Gennochi, deposed from his professorship of biblical learning in Rome, Minocchi, professor at Pisa, and the novelist, Fogazzaro.

In England, Father Tyrrell, 1861–1909, who passed from the Anglican church into the Society of Jesus, employed a brilliant style to make known the spirit and aims of the Modernist party. He defended the proposition that theology is neither a static science nor inerrant. He subjected to sharp criticism Pius X's encyclical of 1907. In 1906 he was expelled from the Jesuit order and a year later excommunicated. A friend who repeated the Lord's Prayer over his grave was likewise excommunicated.

When Pius X proceeded against this promising movement he denied to historical research and biblical criticism all independent rights. He issued no less than three solemn deliverances, 1907–1910, against the alleged evils threatening the peace and welfare of the church by its influence. In 1908, he showed his opinion of the importance of the issue by having a medal struck off representing himself as a sort of St. George destroying the many-headed hydra of the new heresy. The first document, issued July 3rd, 1907, in the form of a syllabus, condemned sixty-five propositions. They pronounced the church's approved interpretation of Scripture final, and Roman dogmas, truths which have descended from heaven. They denounced the views that

all the sacraments were not instituted directly by Christ and that Peter did not receive the primacy. They closed by outlawing the assumption that the teachings of the church must be harmonized with the results of modern studies—a procedure, so Pius affirmed, adapted to change Christianity into something like free and liberal Protestantism.

In the encyclical, *pascendi*, issued two months later, the pontiff stigmatized the Modernists as enemies of the cross, and accused them of attempting to secure the downfall of Christ's kingdom. He pronounced them false reformers who were setting aside objective and supernatural revelation for subjective opinions drawn from the religious consciousness, so called. He condemned them as men craftily playing a double part now, as rationalists now, as Catholics, and using the weapons of ridicule and contempt against the theology of the Schoolmen, as also demanding the separation of church and state, setting aside the holy Fathers and the councils and following in the steps of Luther. In fact, Pius went on, the angelic doctor St. Thomas greatly excelled the Modernists in genius, erudition and sanctity. Finally he charged the errorists with intellectual pride and lawless curiosity, who were parading themselves as superior textual critics. In his encyclical of 1910, Pius again denounced the Modernists as a crafty set—*vaferrimum genus*, forbade the reading of their books and prescribed an oath of four hundred words which all priests and teachers were required to take and calling for unqualified assent to everything that has been defined by the so-called infallible teaching of the church. The requirements of the oath include that the church was built upon Peter and upon his successors in perpetuity and that all truth is confided to the episcopate, and also a promise not to employ the heretical principle of evolution in interpreting the Scriptures.

Schnitzer of Munich, defying this papal command, continues to distinguish the true church from the organism in which the decrees of Innocent III, Boniface VIII, Pius V, Pius IX and Pius X are regarded as integral elements. He

has distinguished between "the Roman church, as man has made it, and the true church." He demands that the transition be made from Romanism to Catholicism and from Ultramontane anti-Christianity to the Christianity of Christ and he affirms that unless the Roman church takes this course, it will be struck with the fate with which the church was struck by Constantine in the fourth century and it will fall back into paganism of which the present Roman body retains many remainders—*massenhafte Reste.* If in the lands of culture and progress, this eminent scholar continues, the church is to survive, true Catholicism must supersede the fleshly Petrine church and pass into the long awaited Johannean and spiritual church of the future.

In the United States, Archbishop O'Connell of Boston, now cardinal, has been the most conspicuous defender of Pius' attitude. In a pastoral letter of December, 1907, he affirmed that, "Modernism grew up in the dark and no one completely described this noxious plant until Pius spoke. Its votaries, too cowardly to be frank, covered their designs by subtle suggestions and vague allusions. . . . Pius with singular insight has condemned this school of perverse and misguided men who, assuming a right not theirs, would reconcile the Catholic church with what they imagine the modern age demands." To Protestants this policy seems to lead directly to obscurantism as the policy of the Roman authorities encouraged it in the sixteenth century.

§ 6. Protestantism and theological progress.—The glorification of the Middle Ages as though by their theology and religious practice they had exhausted the teachings of Christ is diametrically opposed to the rule of Protestantism. So also is the opinion that the final statement of Christian truth was made in the age of the Protestant Reformation. Protestantism exalts free biblical enquiry and the rights of scholarship. Luther demanded discussion. It is a humiliating assertion that the Schoolmen knew the whole truth of God and had exhausted the meaning of the Scriptures. The Schoolmen did not investigate the New Testa-

ment afresh. They accepted without question what they found in the writings of the Fathers. They confined themselves to the atmosphere of their time, except in the case of Abaelard, who indulged in anticipations of the future. They gave no prediction of modern liberties. They adopted no memorial for the abolition of slavery. They established no schools for the people. They took no measures to relieve their times from the belief in witchcraft. They made no attempt to reduce the horrors of torture. They did not dream of religious toleration. They lived in the Middle Ages. Protestantism was in advance of Scholasticism by advocating religious enquiry and having an equipment and apparatus for the study of the Scriptures such as the Schoolmen did not have. The apparatus which is to-day in the hands of scholars is superior to the apparatus which the Reformers had. There are social problems with which the church is faced to-day which did not exist when the Schoolmen were alive, and serious theological questions are being agitated about which doubt did not enter the mediæval mind. Protestantism insists that there may be progress in the interpretation of Christianity as it came from Christ. Christianity remains the same but as in astronomy and all other sciences new phases of truth have been revealed, so new meanings may be found in the original Scriptures which were unknown to the past. Petrarch, as the bonds of the Middle Ages were beginning to relax, had a conception of this principle when he distinguished between the teachings of the Scriptures and the Scriptures as interpreted by Augustine. The attitude of Protestants long ago found expression in the motto, I am a friend to Augustine, to Thomas Aquinas and to Calvin but to the truth I am much more a friend.—*amicus Augustinus, amicus Thomas, amicus Calvinus sed magis amica veritas.*

Luther himself furnishes a notable example of accepting new light from whatever direction it came and setting aside old opinions when he found new opinions to be the better. On reading Huss' work on the church, he changed his

mind about the seat of infallible religious truth. When Laurentius Valla's treatise came into his hand he cast aside as a huge forgery the Isidorean Decretals which had been authority for six centuries justifying mediæval conceptions of clerical and papal power. As he studied the Bible and discovered its teachings, he gradually cast aside this and that inherited tradition and substituted biblical statements for scholastic subtleties.

Nowhere has the Protestant principle of free enquiry found more admirable statement than in the words of the Rev. John Robinson, of the strictest sect of the Calvinists, spoken to the Pilgrims as they were about to embark for America, "The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther says for, whatever part of God's will he had further imparted to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also the Calvinists: they stuck where he left them, a misery much to be lamented. For, though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God hath not revealed His whole will to them and, were they now living, they would be ready and willing to embrace further light as that they had received." Robinson then had the departing Pilgrims covenant "to receive whatever new light and truth should be made known to them out of God's written Word." Robinson's counsel contained the principle of theological and religious progress.

SECOND PART

DOCTRINAL AND SACRAMENTAL

CHAPTER IX

BELIEFS COMMON TO PROTESTANTS AND ROMANISTS AND THEIR DISAGREEMENTS

> Heresy ought not to be lightly judged or believed when it is laid to the charge of any Christian man. For heresy is a forsaking of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from the body of Christ. But this was ever an old and solemn property with them and their forefathers. If any did complain of their errors and faults and desired to have true religion restored, straightway to condemn such ones for heretics as men new-fangled and factious. Christ was for no other cause called a Samaritan but only that he was thought to have fallen to a certain new religion and to be the author of a new sect.—Bishop Jewel: *Apology.*

UP to this point, the cleavage in Western Christendom has been dealt with as an honest effort made to clear original Christianity of mediæval inventions and abuses, and the independence of Protestantism has been defined as a result forced by the refusal of the Roman authorities, to recognize the evils prevailing in the church and put in force measures to correct them. We now proceed to state the teachings held in common by Protestants and Romanists and the teachings on which they differ, and to compare the latter with the teachings of the Scriptures.

§ 1. **Agreements.**—The religious truths which Protestants and Romanists hold in common, are the following:—1. They believe in God the Father Almighty, the creator of all things visible and invisible, and that He exists in the three persons of the Trinity, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. 2. They believe that Jesus Christ was the Son of God who revealed the Father and by his incarnation and death, secured the redemption of sinful men. 3. They agree that all men are born in sin and that, apart from Christ,

there is no release from its bondage and the punitive condemnation of God. 4. They agree that God is to be worshipped and that He is to be trusted and loved as our heavenly Father. 5. They agree that Christians are called upon, as St. Paul put it, "to walk in newness of life," or, as the Hebrew prophet put it, "to love mercy, do justly and walk humbly with God. 6. They agree that the kingdom of God is an everlasting kingdom. These cardinal principles of agreement, thus briefly stated, distinguish Roman and Protestant Christianity from Mohammedanism and all other religions of the earth.

§ 2. **Disagreements.**—Protestants and Romanists differ in matters of doctrine, church government, worship, and, to a degree, as to the highest forms of Christian conduct. These differences are concerned with the following questions:— 1. The source of religious authority, or whether the Scriptures are the sufficient guide book of Christian doctrine and precept. 2. The church, or what the church is and what its functions are. 3. The papacy, or whether the pope is, by the appointment of Christ, the head of the visible Christian church and whether he is an infallible teacher. 4. The ministry, or whether it is or is not an order invested with sacerdotal power. 5. The sacraments, their number and their virtue. 6. Purgatory and whether such a realm exists. 7. Mary and whether she is to be worshipped and was immaculately conceived. 8. Saints and relics and whether worship, and veneration are to be paid to them. 9. The place of good works in the scheme of grace.

§ 3. **Relative importance of dogmas.**—The Roman communion admits no degrees in the guilt involved in the rejection of church dogmas. Protestants make a distinction between doctrines which are fundamental and doctrines which are of secondary importance. At different times since the Reformation, they have made attempts to distinguish the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith. Turretin, Chillingworth, Calixtus, Richard Baxter, Waterland and other theologians of the past busied themselves with the

subject in the hope of begetting a better understanding within Christian circles in the West. In 1643 a commission was appointed by the English parliament to draw up a list of fundamentals. The *Evangelical Alliance* in the middle of the nineteenth century laid down nine articles as a basis of church cooperation and union. Protestantism, makes a distinction between doctrines which bear upon the being of the church and "saving doctrines" which bear upon a man's salvation. The saving doctrines are embraced in the words of our Lord, "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." Fundamental doctrines are those without which the church is not able to subsist. They are like the heart, brain and other certain parts of the body without which human life is impossible. The nearest approach which Romanism has made to this distinction was made by Thomas Aquinas who pronounced baptism and the eucharist essential sacraments, the other five Roman sacraments being of secondary importance. In making this distinction the Schoolman had in mind the salvation of the individual, not the constitution of the church.

§ 4. **Heresy.**—With Protestants the definition of heresy hangs upon the articles which are properly fixed upon as fundamentals. The denial of infant baptism or the assertion of the existence of purgatory they do not treat as heresy. The former rite is not explicitly appointed in the New Testament and purgatory is not explicitly condemned. The present liberal opinions prevailing among Protestants and their free use of the historic creeds enable them easily to include among the saved Roman Catholics who accept Christ as their Savior and strive to follow him and yet believe in transubstantiation and that the papacy is of divine appointment. On the other hand the Roman church, denying degrees of value among the doctrines which it has officially proclaimed, logically considers every baptized person a heretic who deliberately rejects a single one of those doctrines. For all doctrines she has defined she regards as parts of the deposit of faith or truth divinely revealed to her.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* says that "the conscious rejection of a single article of faith is sufficient to render a man guilty of heresy." Roman theology, however, makes a distinction between formal or willful heresy and unconscious or unintentional heresy. In the latter case no guilt attaches to the dissenter. He is not a formal heretic. The principle is that ignorance of Roman teachings does not condemn but the contempt of them. The distinction affords hope for the great mass of dissenting Protestants but for the learned and intelligent, who distinctly repudiate such dogmas as the papacy and transubstantiation, there is no hope. Ignorance is made a saving virtue. Intelligence is fatal. If it could be made out that the "form of teaching," of which Paul speaks in his Epistle to the Romans—6: 17, corresponds with the catalogue of dogmas set up by the Roman theology, then the contention might be reasonable that the rejection of any of them properly constitutes a man a heretic. The old contention of Roman controversialists that the Protestant distinction of fundamentals is "impertinent" would then hold good. The claim was made by Vincentius of Lerins, a stickler for orthodox regularity, that no one ever started heresies who did not first separate himself from the œcumenicity, antiquity and consent of the Catholic church. Protestants fully agree with him but understand by the Catholic church, the Church of Christ.

The abhorrence of heresy is as old as the Apostles. In the New Testament the word was used in the derogatory sense of sect or faction, as the sect of the Pharisees and the parties in the Corinthian church. Paul spoke of the Christian way as being called a "heresy" or sect,—Acts 24: 14. He condemned "heresies" as works of the flesh and the heretic as a person to be avoided.—Titus 3: 10.

As the Christian church spread and organized groups dissented from its teachings, the bitterest words were chosen to stigmatize heresy and heretics, that is all who departed from the accredited church teachings. Athanasius called the Arians "dogs, wolves, lions, devils," and other opprobrious

names. At the Council of Ephesus, 449, the members alleged to be unorthodox, were denounced as Judases and murderers. To hateful and abusive words were added violent assaults upon the persons of dissenters. In 382 heresy was made by the civil code a capital offence—a treatment which persisted through the Middle Ages, and was re-affirmed at the time of Reformation by Leo X. Thomas Aquinas defined a heretic as a person who was born in the Catholic faith and renounced it.

In view of the situation which grew out of the Protestant movement, the Council of Trent divided non-Catholics into heretics, schismatics and apostates. A heretic as defined by the Tridentine catechism is one who rejects the authority of the church and holds impious opinions.—1: 10, 4:13-15. Heretics it called "emissaries of the devil, corrupters of the Word of God." The one hundred and fifty anathemas pronounced by the council were pronounced against dissenters themselves, not their doctrines. Cardinal Bellarmine —*de verbo dei* 4: 12, called them "apes of Catholics," who, if they remained outside the church, were on the sure way to hell, *de eccl.* 3: 34. They should be put to death as a merciful measure to prevent them from incurring by continued iniquity greater damnation—*de laicis*. The Canon Law, 1325, 2314, defines a heretic as one who after baptism obstinately—*pertinaciter*—rejects any of the truths of the Catholic faith. He who recedes from the faith wholly—*totaliter*—is an apostate. Leo XIII, 1878, *Works* 1: 28, pronounced the Protestant schools and churches in Rome seats of heresy and wrote that in the city which, by inheritance, was full of light, their institutions were scattering darkness and conspiring against the "mighty Rock," and were being carried on by the Protestants under the guise of philanthropy to train up a generation hostile to the Church of Christ, and train up a people without religion and also were leading people away to a state of carnalism. An *Inquirers' Guide*, issued by an American archbishop, provides that on the reception of a convert into the Roman com-

munion, he not only acknowledge his acceptance of the distinctive Roman doctrines but make the following profession "With a sincere heart, therefore, and with unfeigned faith, I detest and abjure every error, heresy, and sect opposed to the said Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, so help me God, and these His holy Gospels, which I touch with my hand." The Catechism of Pius X.—q: 127—defines heretics as "those who are baptized and who refuse to believe any of the truths revealed by God and taught by the church, as for example, the Protestants." This statement is interpreted in the Manual of the Catechism dedicated to Pius X, to mean a single one of the truths—*anche una sola*—"revealed by God and taught by the church." The following answer of the catechism definitely excludes Protestants from the body of the saved: "He is outside the communion of saints who is outside the church. Such are the damned, infidels, Jews, heretics, apostates, schismatics and the excommunicate. "The Tridentine Profession of Faith to which every Roman priest must give his assent has among its concluding words, "I hold this true Catholic faith without which no one can be saved." Cardinal Gibbons assures us that "if any one deny a single article of the faith, he is cut off as a withered branch."

This volume must proceed along the lines of the official teachings of the Roman system as set forth in the acts of councils, the decrees of popes and authorities which have official recognition such as the catechism of Pius X, it cannot follow the private opinions of Roman Catholic writers who within recent times have called Protestants "our separated brethren," cordially as it welcomes such intimations of a friendly attitude. Protestants today have little to say of heresy and seldom use the word heretic of any man. If they were called upon to lay down an explicit standard of judgment, they would probably agree with Augustine who said that "it is almost impossible or at any rate most difficult," to define heresy, and that "the spirit in which error is held rather than the error itself constitutes heresy." As with

Protestants Christianity is more than Protestantism, so the time is coming, we hope, when with Romanists, Christianity will be more than Romanism and it will be impossible to repeat or teach statements such as are found in the recent official catechism sanctioned by the Vatican, as well as in the decrees of the councils of Trent and 1870 and in papal bulls.

§ 5. Romanism and Protestantism side by side.—The statement made by Schleiermacher.—*Christlicher Glaube* 1: 24—has probably never been equalled as a statement of the fundamental distinction dividing the two systems. "Protestantism makes the relation of the individual to the church dependent upon his relation to Christ: Catholicism makes the relation of the individual to Christ dependent upon his relation to the church." Cardinal Bellarmine put the distinction in this way. "A difference between our opinion and the opinions of all others is that all others require inward virtues to be a member of the church and so make the true church to be invisible. We, on the other hand, do not believe that any inward virtue is to be required but only an external confession of faith and participation in the sacraments."—*non putamus requiri ullam internam virtutem sed tantum externam professionem fidei et sacramentorum communionem quae ipso sensu percipitur.*

In detail the differences may be set forth in the following sentences: Protestantism treats Christianity chiefly as a disposition and spiritual state: Romanism as a profession and obedience: Protestantism makes Christ the avenue to the church—Romanism makes the church the avenue to Christ.—Protestantism exalts Christ: Romanism exalts the church.—Protestantism is scriptural: Romanism is churchly.—Protestantism says, "Where Christ is, there is the church." Romanism "Where the church is, there is Christ."—Protestant Christianity is Pauline and ready to receive new light from whatever quarter it may come: Romanism is Petrine and is satisfied with the old statements.—Protestantism lays stress on living faith as the test of the Christian profession: Romanism lays stress upon submission to

sacerdotal prescriptions.—Protestantism emphasizes freedom of conscience: Romanism, the authority of tradition. Protestantism is a commonwealth of believers, clergymen and laymen alike: Romanism a commonwealth of priests in which laymen are included.—Protestantism welcomes the rational and natural: Romanism encourages the marvellous and ecstatical.—Protestantism is Christianity in development: Romanism is mediævalism at rest.—The motto of Protestantism is "the truth wherever it leads": the motto of Romanism is *semper eadem*—Always the same.

In the discussion of doctrinal differences, which follows, the source of religious truth is taken up first. This method follows the example of the Decrees of Trent and the Westminster Confession, of Cardinal Bellarmine and Dr. Milner. Cardinal Gibbons and the Protestant, Dr. Hase, begin the discussion with a treatment of the church. If it can be made out that the church cannot err and the Roman organism is the church, then the definition of the church is all important and with it the discussion closes. All that remains is to discover what the church teaches. On the other hand, if the Scriptures are the sufficient guide of religious truth, the task of primary importance is to make good that proposition, and then to measure all teachings and practices by the plain meaning of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER X

THE RULE OF RELIGIOUS TRUTH

You have searched the Holy Scriptures which are given by the Holy Spirit.—Clement of Rome.

The ignorance of the Bible text in the Middle Ages, not only on the part of the laity but also of the clergy, is difficult to exaggerate. —Coulton. *Seventh Study of Rel. Education before the Reformation.*

CHRISTIAN truth is a supernatural revelation. In this fundamental belief, Protestants and Romanists agree. They differ in regard to the channel through which this revelation has been made known. With the Protestant, the Scriptures contain all that it is necessary for a Christian to believe and practise. They are the manual of God's requirements and the sufficient rule of man's duties. They are the perpetual constitution of the Christian church. To the Scriptures the Romanist joins an additional body of truth called "tradition." To the question, where do you go for religious truth, the Protestant answers, "To the Bible alone, which is the Word of God"; the Romanist answers, "To the church," or, perhaps "to the Bible and tradition." For the Protestant, the Christian constitution was a closed volume when the Apostles died. The constitution may be explained and new principles may be discovered in it, like new pockets of gold found in an old mine, but it cannot be supplemented; much less may any of its teachings be superseded. It cannot be enlarged by amendments. For the Roman Catholic, new doctrines may be imposed by the church which is an organ of revelation, empowered to announce new doctrines or by the Roman pontiff. This was the case with the proclamation of the immaculate conception of Mary in 1854 and the dogma of papal infallibility

in 1870. The Plenary catechism gives definitions of the church, the pope and the sacraments, but in all its questions and answers no definition of the Bible is given. The Code of Canon Law, it seems, mentions the Bible only twice and then in connection with its publication.

§ 1. **The Roman position.**—The Roman position is that the Scriptures and tradition together constitute the rule of Christian faith. Of both the Holy Spirit is the author. In the words of the Council of Trent, saving truth pertaining to faith and morals is contained in the written books of Scripture and in unwritten traditions—*in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus*. These two authorities the council enjoined are to be accepted and venerated "with equal piety and reverence," as having been dictated by Christ's own lips or by the Holy Spirit and preserved in the Catholic church by a continuous succession. Upon all who "knowingly and deliberately condemn the traditions of the church," the council pronounced the anathema. The Tridentine Profession of Faith requires the priest, in making his vow, to affirm not only his acceptance of Apostolic teachings but of "the ecclesiastical traditions of the Holy Roman church."

The Tridentine position was reaffirmed by the Vatican Council when it stated that "all those things are to be believed with divine and catholic faith which are contained in the Word of God, written or handed down—*tradito*—and which the church, either by a solemn judgment or by virtue of her ordinary and universal teaching function—*magisterium*—offers for belief as having been divinely revealed." More recently, Leo XIII specifically condemned those who, boasting of the right of private judgment and repudiating the traditions and the church's teaching function, make the Scriptures the sole fountain of revelation and the supreme judge in matters of faith; a principle followed, so Leo asserted, by the Reformers, as also by the rationalists, "their children and heirs.[1] It was in accordance with this view of a double channel of revelation, that when the Rhemish version of the New Testament—the English Roman Catholic

version—was issued in 1582, it had on its title page, side by side, a quotation from the Bible and a quotation from St. Augustine. The most modern Roman manuals continue to state the Tridentine principle. By the definition of the Plenary catechism "what the church finds in the Holy Scriptures and revealed traditions, it is bound to teach." As defined in the Catechism of Pius X "whatever God has revealed and ordains to be believed through the church—*mezzo della chiesa*—is found in Holy Scripture and in tradition."

§ 2. What is tradition?—The councils meeting in Trent and in the Vatican define tradition as a body of obligatory and divine teachings not explicitly stated in the New Testament but communicated orally to the church and "handed down, as it were, from hand to hand." In the common use of the word, we associate with tradition what is open to doubt or certainly false, as when we say, "it is only a tradition." In the ecclesiastical sense, the word carries no such implication. The Latin *traditio* means simply something transmitted from one to another. In the passage, in which Paul called upon the Corinthians to hold fast "the traditions which he had delivered to them," the words "traditions" and "delivered" are from the same root in the original.

Defining traditions to be "doctrines and usages which were not committed to writing by the Apostles," Cardinal Bellarmine divided them into three classes: 1. Traditions given by Christ to the Apostles and not recorded in the Gospels; 2. traditions originating with the Apostles under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and not found in the Epistles; 3. church usages which have come to be regarded as law in the Roman church.

More distinctly, the criteria of Christian truth are laid down by Bellarmine as follows:—*de-verbo Dei*, 4: 9. 4:9.1 1. When, the church defines anything to be of the faith which is not in the Scriptures, it is necessary to say that it is an Apostolic tradition, as for example the perpetual virginity of Mary and the number of the canonical books. 2. When the

church prescribes anything which no one could ordain but God and which is not in the Scriptures, then it is necessary to say that is has come down from Christ and the Apostles as the baptism of heretics. 3. That which has been accepted by the church in the past must be accepted now, as the fast of Lent. 4. When all the doctors of the church, in their individual capacity as writers or assembled in general council, agree in teaching anything—*communi consensu*—it is to be accepted as "Apostolic tradition," as for example the veneration of relics. 5. That is certainly to be believed which has been handed down from those churches which are in continuous succession from the Apostles.

No authoritative list of traditions has been made out. The proposal offered in the Council of Trent to issue such a list was rejected on the ground that, if made, the list would bind the hand of the church thereafter. Of authoritative traditions such as the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of saints and relics, the immaculate conception of Mary and papal infallibility, so far as the New Testament goes, the utmost that is claimed for them is that they lie latent within its pages. It was the contention of Cardinal Newman that "every Catholic holds that the Christian dogmas were in the church from the time of the Apostles, that they were ever in their substance what they are now and that they existed before the formulas were publicly adopted and which, as time went on, were explicitly defined and recorded."

From of old, two tests have been accepted in the Roman church as determining the value of an alleged tradition. The first is the rule of Vincentius of Lerins, a monk and presbyter living on the island of Lerins, south of France before 450. The second is the so-called unanimous assent of the Christian Fathers—*consensus patrum*. According to the famous rule of Vincentius,—who, as he says, wrote his book to "lay bare the fraud of heretics and to avoid their snares"—that is certainly to be believed which has been believed in all places, always and by all—*quod ubique, quod*

semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. All religious truths and customs conforming to this rule are parts of the dogmatic system of the true church and must be believed. Vincentius was opposed to all change from the accepted beliefs inherited by the church of his day and said, "Let men prefer the religion of antiquity before profane novelty; and, so far as antiquity goes, let them prefer above the temerity of one or a few teachers the decrees of a general council and, if there be no such council, let them follow what is next to these, that is, the judgment of many great doctors who agree together." To the question, if the written Scriptures are a perfect rule of salvation, why the authority of the church should be added, Vincentius replied "That the Scriptures being of inexhaustible depth and susceptible of different interpretations, the church's decision is necessary to establish their real meaning." Again and again he used the expression "profane novelties which are to be abhorred and detested" or its equivalent. In the course of his treatment, he does not mention a single doctrine in dispute between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Specifically Vincentius opposed Augustine's doctrine of predestination and substituted for it the system of semi-Pelagianism. He also spoke of tradition as an interpretation of Scripture not an independent source of knowledge.

The famous rule that a doctrine, to be authoritative, must have been held "always, by everybody and everywhere," does not stand the test of history. Beliefs and practices, obligatory in the Roman system, have not been accepted by all or everywhere or at all times. It includes distinctive doctrines which are not mentioned by the earliest Fathers or are contradicted by their statements. The Vatican dogmas for example are recent and the early Fathers knew nothing about them. When the priest obliges himself to follow the "unanimous consent of the Fathers" and teaches the distinctive Roman dogmas, he subscribes to a fiction. In order to make the principle good, arbitrary measures must be resorted to. In the first place, such eminent early Christian writers as Origen, Tertullian, Clement of Alex-

andria and Athenagoras must be excluded from the list of the "Fathers" and set aside from "the Fathers" in a class by themselves as "Christian writers," whose authority is not final. Origen for example, taught the restoration of all souls as well as the existence of the soul before this life. Tertullian denied infant baptism. Vincentius, in speaking of the unanimous agreement of antiquity—*universitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem*—himself recognized the arbitrary distinction between Christian writers and Fathers, and made the disastrous statement that the church follows "all, or at least almost all, the teachers and priests of the past." In the second place, the Roman theologian must acknowledge that Roman practices, now held authoritative, contradict the teaching of early Fathers. Immersion, as Thomas Aguinas admits, was the universal practice of the early Christian and the Roman church has substituted for immersion aspersion or sprinkling. The general reading of the Scriptures was insisted upon by Chrysostom, a practice condemned in papal bulls. In the third place, there were open discussions and sharp differences in the early church over such questions as the validity of heretical baptism, the primacy of the Roman bishop and the time when Easter should be observed. In the fourth place, Jerome, Augustine and Chrysostom are not only silent about certain Roman dogmas but their treatments eliminate them from the body of the Christian faith. The statement of the Plenary catechism, 3: 72, "that the church has always believed in the unanimity of the Fathers is made in the face of facts. Of seven sacraments, the early Fathers knew nothing and not until the thirteenth century was the number fixed. The church of the first three centuries knew nothing about the papal monarchy and from the very beginning it was repudiated by the Eastern churches. Jerome, Augustine and Cyril of Alexandria, other Fathers of the fourth century go far in their statements about Mary, but never so far as to posit a belief in her immaculate conception. The existence of discordant opinions among the Fathers was recognized by Abelard in his *Sic et non.*—

Yes and No.—A work in which he placed side by side conflicting opinions held by them on many questions, without, however, attempting to explain the discord. The rule of Vincentius and the doctrine of a unanimous consent of the Fathers resolve themselves into the proposition that whatsoever the Roman church has chosen to appoint as dogma is divine law, even though the Fathers knew nothing about it or some of them expressly opposed it. If, for the agreement of the Fathers, be substituted the agreement of the Schoolmen, the proposition might be maintained as true, although even among the Schoolmen theological opinions were held which are opposed to the present doctrinal system of the Roman church. The immaculate conception, for example, was opposed by St. Bernard and Thomas Aquinas.

A difference of opinion exists among Roman theologians as to whether or not a church tradition, to be authoritative, must be contained in the Scriptures in a latent form. It was expressly declared by Bellarmine that all necessary dogmas are not stated in the Scriptures. He gives as an example that to women, under the old dispensation, the law of circumcision did not apply, and yet they were saved. Perrone, in his tract on the immaculate conception stated the opinion "that neither the Bible nor tradition is necessary to the announcement of a dogma." Secret tradition, he said, is enough; namely, that a given truth has been held by bishops throughout the church, for, "otherwise, not a few dogmas would have to be regarded as of recent origin, and it would have to be said that they were received into the church at a late date,"—Döllinger; *Papstthum*, p. 252. Cardinal Gibbons, standing for the same view, affirms that the Scriptures "do not contain all the truths necessary for salvation, all the truths a Christian is bound to believe, nor do they expressly enjoin all the duties which he is obliged to practice." This view was expressed by Prierias and Sir Thomas More at the opening of the Reformation. In replying to Tyndale's Confutation, More said, "Tyndale reckoneth himself sure everything to be false that is not

written in Holy Scripture, the which one thing is the one-half of all the false foundation whereupon Tyndale and Luther have builded all their heresies." In announcing the dogma of papal infallibility Pius IX affirmed it to be a truth divinely revealed. Pius X, in his Syllabus of 1907, condemned as false the opinion that revelation constituting the substance of the Catholic faith was not completed with the Apostles and that certain dogmas, which the church accepts as revealed are not truths which descended from heaven but are the interpretations of man. An attempt was made by Möhler to harmonize these theories and he came close to Vincentius of Lerins when he said, "That Scripture is God's unerring Word and tradition is the Christian judgment existing in the church and transmitted by the church through its teachers. Tradition is the living word perpetuated in the hearts of believers."

§ 3. **The Protestant position.**—The view, held by Protestants, that the Scriptures are the sole infallible record of revealed truth, was adopted by all the Reformers and incorporated in the Protestant Confessions. All truth, necessary to be believed and practised for salvation, is either explicitly stated in the Scriptures or by fair inference may be deduced from them. The Scriptures alone are the authoritative text-book of religion. Luther and Calvin stated this teaching no more clearly than did Wyclif before them. Wyclif said that "the sacred Scriptures contain all truth, all philosophy, all logic, all ethical teaching, and that those who do not treat them as the supreme authority were new lights, modernists, errorists, sophists, disciples of anti-Christ"—*novelli*, *moderni*, *perversi*, de ver, 1: 22, 395, etc. Huss, likewise, made the Scriptures the final criterion of Christian truth and all ecclesiastical beliefs are to be set aside which are against their explicit statements—*præter expressam autoritatem Scripturæ*. Nothing is more noticeable in the utterances and writings of Luther, Calvin and other Protestant Reformers than the respect they showed to the sacred book, and the biblical quotations in which they abound.

According to their statements, these writers were actuated by the controlling purpose to set forth what was in the Bible and nothing else. Luther affirmed that a layman with the Scriptures is more to be believed than all the popes without the Scriptures, and that the pope and also universities and scholars owe obedience to a child of nine years which has faith and discerns the meaning of the Bible. To his ecclesiastical superior, Albrecht of Mainz, the Reformer wrote that he was compelled to teach what he had learned and read in the Scriptures. This was the meaning of his attitude at the Diet of Worms. His contemporaries, foes and friends, understood that the conflict was between the plain statements of Scripture and the decrees of the canon law. Melanchthon reported that the more violently Luther was attacked, the more diligently did he sink himself in the study of the Bible. The rector of the Wittenberg University, Dr. Pollich, expressed the opinion that the Reformer would puzzle all the doctors and establish the new teachings and reform the whole Roman church from the writings of the Apostles on which he took his stand. When, in 1519, Eck took issue with Luther for setting aside St. Bernard and even Augustine, Luther wrote "If a thousand Augustines and a thousand churches were against me, I am sure that the true church holds with me to the Word of God." On another occasion he said, "It is my custom, following the custom of Augustine, reverently to follow up the stream to the source." So confirmed were the advocates of the new order in this position that John, Elector of Saxony had inscribed on his plate, standards and the sleeves of his lackey, the initials of the words, *verbum dei manet in æternum*: V. D. M. I. Æ.—the Word of God abideth forever. Getting access to the Scriptures Latimer spoke of as "smelling the Word of God," and securing "release from the school doctors and their fooleries." Jewel wrote, "The people of God are otherwise instructed now than they were in times past when all the bishop of Rome's sayings were allowed for Gospel and when all religion did depend only upon their authority. Nowa-

days, Holy Scripture is abroad, the writings of the Apostles and prophets are in print, whereby all truth and Catholic doctrine may be proved and all heresy may be disproved and confuted."

Traditions not justified by the Scriptures were likened by the Protestant Confessions to the burdens imposed by the Pharisees, "vexing the consciences of men to despair," and as being "repugnant to God's Word," or "as having no warranty of Scripture." The XXXIX Articles declare that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The fullest definition, which is in the Westminster Confession, runs "that the whole counsel of God, covering all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture, unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men." As for the writings of the Fathers and their value, the Protestant position was laid down in the Formula of Concord when it stated that "they are in no wise equal to the Scriptures but are in all things to be esteemed inferior to them." The proper confession of a Protestant was never better stated than by Chillingworth, when he said, "I am fully persuaded that God does not, and that therefore men ought not, to require of any man more than this, to believe the Scripture to be God's Word and to endeavor to find the true sense of it and to live according to it."

§ 4. **The ancient Rule of Faith.**—In making the Scriptures the final guide of religious authority, the Protestant Reformers were following the custom of the early church. The Roman system contains as necessary elements of saving truth dogmas, the ancient Rule of Faith knew nothing of. The articles of this venerable standard have been preserved

in the writings of Irenæus of Lyons and Tertullian of North Africa who flourished about the year 200. As stated by Irenæus the rule runs that "there is only one God and this one only God has also a Son, His Word, who proceedeth from Himself, by whom all things were made and without whom nothing was made that is made. Him we believe to have been sent by the Father into the Virgin and to have been born of her, being both God and man. We believe him to have suffered, died and been buried according to the Scriptures and after he had been raised by the Father and taken back into heaven, to be sitting at the right hand of the Father and that he will come to judge the quick and the dead, who also sent from heaven from the Father, according to his own promise, the Paraclete, the Sanctifier of those who believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost." In his treatise called "Apostolic Preaching," recently discovered, Irenæus several times insists that Christians must hold the rule "without deviation and do the commandments of God, believing in God and fearing him as Lord and loving him as Father." This rule was the criterion laid down to distinguish a true Christian profession from the systems of heresy and the pagan philosophies against which Irenæus and Tertullian wrote, and as the requirement for those asking for baptism. Nowhere do they remotely refer to any one of the distinctive Roman dogmas.

At a later time, beginning with the Council of Nice, a distinctive theological system, carefully formulated and in terms not found in the New Testament, was built up and other systems, like Arianism which departed from it, were denounced as heretical and un-Christian. Finally the Athanasian Creed, after heaping up statements intended to define the Trinity, excluded from salvation all who rejected its formulas.

By the Protestant principle, the decrees of councils, the writings of the Fathers and the declarations of pontiffs are of value in stating what Christians are to believe only as they are in agreement with the Scriptures, and introduce no

element not in the Scriptures. When Calvin wrote to Cardinal Sadolet "we are armed not only with the energy of the divine Word but also with the help which the holy Fathers give," he meant not that the Fathers added anything to the Scriptures, but that their writings furnished help in finding out what the Scriptures teach. The contrast between the Roman and Protestant theories of religious authority appears clearly in the statement made by Adrian VI in 1522. He wrote that "as regards the divine law and the matter of the sacraments, we must take our stand on the authority of the saints and the church. Almost all the things on which Luther differs from ourselves have already been rejected by general councils and there ought to be no doubt that whatever has been approved by general councils and the church universal must be held to be an article of faith." The pontiff went on to say "that it is therefore evident, as Luther and his followers condemn the councils and the holy Fathers, burn the sacred canons and disturb all the world, so the lovers of peace should exterminate them as enemies and disturbers of the peace." Proceeding, Adrian declared that, in accepting the tiara, he had done so with the "purpose of reforming a deformed church."

An every-day test of the relative estimate placed on the worth of the Bible by Protestant and Roman Catholic was furnished in the answers given by two distinguished American citizens, Thomas R. Marshall, a Protestant, and Cardinal O'Connell of Boston. To the question sent out by an American newspaper in 1922, "If you were to be left on an island to spend your remaining days there, what ten books would you take with you?" Mr. Marshall, lately vice-president of the United States, and active in church work, replied, "If I were to be marooned for the balance of my life on a desert island, I would not need ten books to last me until my translation. The Bible would furnish me ample reading to consider the problems of life, death and immortality, and all supplemental reading would be valueless." The reply of Cardinal O'Connell was, "I would take with me the Roman

missal, the Roman breviary, Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, the *Summa Theologica* of *Thomas Aquinas*, St. Augustine's *City of God*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Alice Meynell's *Poems*, *The Arabian Nights*, Montalembert's *Monks of the West* and the *Odes* of Horace." The cardinal's list made no mention of the Scriptures.

§ 5. **The alleged necessity of tradition.**—The argument made by Roman Catholics for tradition is drawn from the alleged deficiencies of the Bible, its obscurities, the use made of "tradition" in the New Testament, the alleged dependence of the Bible for its authority upon the church's decision and the absence of any command given to the Apostles to write a book. Each of these considerations must be stated by itself and answered.

1. The alleged deficiencies of Scripture.—As stated by Cardinal Gibbons, the claim is made that "the Scriptures alone do not contain all the truths which a Christian is bound to believe nor do they explicitly enjoin all the duties which he is obliged to practice."[2] The two examples chosen by the cardinal to prove the position are the baptism of infants and the observance of the Lord's Day. The examples are misleading for both customs may fairly be deduced from the Scriptures. As for infant baptism, it corresponds to circumcision in the Old Testament and had apparent authorization in Christ's act when he blessed little children and declared them to be fit subjects of the kingdom of heaven. Moreover, households mentioned in the New Testament as having been baptized, presumably included children. As for the Lord's Day, it was on that day that Christ rose from the dead and appeared to his disciples, that Paul bade the disciples give their weekly offering, that he found the disciples of Troas met in solemn assembly and breaking bread, and on that day John was in the Spirit when he received the revelation on the island of Patmos. The observance of the day is attested in the earliest Christian writings after the days of the Apostles—the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, Ignatius and Barnabas.

Such omissions from the Bible as the teachings which the Roman system has elevated into dogmas, the worship of Mary, the withdrawal of the cup from the laity, the seven sacraments and papal infallibility were pronounced by the Protestant Reformers "inventions" and treated as belonging to the class of which Solomon spoke when he said "God hath made man upright but he hath sought out many inventions."

2. The obscurities of Scripture.—The second argument made for tradition is thus stated by Cardinal Gibbons, "The Bible is full of obscurities not only for the illiterate but even for the learned." The answer is that the obscurities are far less than the truths plainly stated and intelligible and that the obscurities are derived from the very nature of the subjects themselves. The Apostles themselves confessed that they did not compass the full meaning of Gods existence and providence and that they looked into the future as a region of mystery though not of uncertainty. Mystery and the "mystery of God's will," they recognized but they did not on that account withhold themselves from preaching the Gospel and urging men to accept it. Radium is a secret force full of mystery but the expert in trying to explain its applications does not attempt to add anything. He explains as far as he can but he does not remove the obscurity. The obscurity which inheres in the mysteries stated in the New Testament may be cleared up as far as the expert is able to do so, but this does not justify the expert in adding new mysteries. The dogma of the immaculate conception is not an explanation of a biblical mystery. It is a new mystery of which the New Testament chooses to say nothing. Cardinal Bellarmine speaks of the obscurity of such doctrines as the Trinity and original sin, about which he says, "The statements of the Scriptures leave the reader in perplexity." It may be answered that they do. The mystery of the truths concerned is great. But whatever language theology may have used about the Trinity, it has been with the purpose of making clear what Christ and the Apostles said. It has not

pretended to add new truth about God's existence and mode of revelation through the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The trinitarian formula, constructed by the Nicene council, in its studied clauses, adds nothing to what is taught by the simple assertions of our Lord, Matt. 28: 19, Paul, 2 Cor. 13: 14, and Peter, I Peter 1: 2-12, who sets forth a Trinity of the experience. If possible, the Nicene clauses made the Trinity a still greater mystery than it is as asserted by the New Testament. Athanasius, the leader of the Trinitarian group at Nice, declared that the more he studied the subject of the Trinity, the more mysterious it became to him. It was furthest from his thoughts to add any new truth to the statements of the New Testament. The trouble with the Roman system is that it adds new teachings about which the Apostles said nothing and that these teachings make none of the "obscurities" of the Bible a whit more intelligible.

3. "Christ commissioned his disciples to teach, not to write a book."—According to this third argument made in behalf of the theory of tradition, when Christ bade his disciples "go and teach all nations," his words gave no hint that they were to commit anything to writing. The conclusion is drawn that the Apostolic teachings included truths not contained in the New Testament and that these truths are in the possession of the Roman church having been preserved and handed down by the supposed successors of the Apostles. If this had been the intention of Christ, the marvel is that we have any written New Testament at all. If, so Bellarmine—4: 4—reasons, it had been Christ's intention to limit revelation to the written books of the New Testament, he would have said so. Other writers in pressing the argument, like Sir Thomas More, take the ground that the Apostles deliberately withheld from the written record of the New Testament "many great and secret mysteries" that they might not be abused by pagan readers.[3] Roman controversialists have even set up the unhistoric claim that the written Scriptures were not made the court

of final appeal for religious truth until the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation. Cardinal Gibbons goes so far as to say that, until that time, it was an unheard of thing that men should be governed by the dead letter of the law, that is the Scriptures. The Sorbonne, in the articles it issued against the Reformers, stated the case in this way: that the Apostles refused to put down in writing all Christian truth, thus following the analogy of jurisprudence and that as there is a law written and a law unwritten, so it should be in theology. Recently Dr. Milner has said that "common sense has dictated to all legislators after dictating a code of laws to appoint judges and magistrates to decide on the meaning and to enforce obedience to such decisions. Can it be supposed that our Saviour did not authorize judges to decide on the unavoidable controversies growing out of it," that is the teaching church.

In answer to the precarious argument based upon the absence of any command given to the disciples to write a book, the following is to be said. In writing the gospels and epistles, the Apostles must have regarded themselves as obeying Christ's commission to teach. They distinctly state in their writings that they were bearing witness to Christ and the things of the Gospel. They expected their writings to be read from the first, these writings were held in singular honor and were ultimately bound in a volume with the Old Testament and called the "divine library." Again the Apostles were accustomed to depend upon a book, the Old Testament. At Nazareth, Jesus read from the written book of the Law. In his temptation in the wilderness he met the tempter with the words, "It it written." Conversing with the lawyer, he asked him "what is written in the Law." He interpreted in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself,—Luke 24: 27. The Apostles read the Law and the Prophets in the synagogues, habitually referred to their teachings as authority and set aside unwritten traditions. They were following a familiar usage when they committed to writing the body of Christian truth and, like-

wise, the Christians themselves were following a familiar usage when they confined themselves to these writings.

4. "Tradition commended in the New Testament."—The words "tradition" and "traditions," it is true are used frequently in the New Testament but chiefly in a bad sense. Our Lord placed traditions over against the written Old Testament and said that "by their traditions the Pharisees and scribes made the Word of God of none effect,"—Mark 7: 7-13. Paul also used the word in a bad sense when he was speaking of teachings not in the Old Testament.—Col. 2: 8, Titus 1: 14. On the other hand, when the Apostle was speaking of his own message he used the word "tradition" in a good sense, as when he bade the Corinthians and the Thessalonians hold fast "the traditions which he had delivered unto them." In these cases, it is a pure surmisal that he was referring to teachings not recorded in his written epistles. In making an argument for an alleged body of unwritten traditions handed down in the Christian church, Bellarmine points to the period before Moses, when for 1000 years religious truths were handed down by word of mouth, that is, by tradition. The argument seems to prove the very contrary of what it was intended to prove. For, when the laws and customs of Moses were once written down, the written document took the place of the oral traditions, and was final authority.

5. "The church by its act pronounced the Bible the Word of God and by this act proves itself to be the arbiter of what is Christian truth."—Of all the considerations adduced in favor of traditions as an authoritative rule, this is on the surface the most plausible. It invests the church with infallibility and makes the authority of the Scriptures dependent upon the church's act. The historic facts are these. A list of the books of the New Testament were given by the North African synods of 393, 397. The lists were intended to exclude non-Apostolic writings and certify as Apostolic our present canon. So far as we know, the members of these synods did not claim for themselves inspiration.

But granted that they were divinely guided, the synodical acts did not make the biblical books divine. What they did was to recognize them as divine. They stated formally what had for two hundred years been regarded as fact in regard to most of the books of the New Testament. The books would have been divine and authoritative if the synods had never met. The Western hemisphere would have been the Western hemisphere, if no early maps had said so. Our acceptance of the New Testament as Apostolic is not based upon the act of the two local North African synods meeting three hundred years after the deaths of the Apostles. It is based first upon the testimony of writers who lived soon after the Apostolic age, and secondly, on the contents and testimony of the books themselves. The label on bags coming from Brazil does not make their contents coffee. The evidence is in the product itself.

Roman theologians scarcely dare base the right of the Roman church to declare what is dogma and what is not dogma upon the acts of the two local synods. They base the right upon the alleged infallibility of the church. The principle was stated by Prierias in his answer to the XCV Theses, namely that "whosoever does not accept the doctrine of the Roman church and the Roman pontiff as the infallible rule of faith from which even the Holy Scriptures have their force and authority, is a heretic." The Scriptures do not imply that their authority was to be derived from the decree of any human institution or any single individual. They are self-evidencing.

Over against the foregoing considerations, offered to justify the position that the New Testament must be complemented by a body of unwritten traditions of equal authority with itself are to be placed the positive reasons for the sufficiency of the New Testament as the permanent constitution of the church, to which nothing is to be added.

§ 6. The sufficiency of the Scriptures.—The claim that the Scriptures are an adequate revelation of God's will is based upon the general argument that whatever was sufficient as a

guide of religious truth in the days of the Apostles is a sufficient guide now, and that whatever needs to be known now to do God's will needed to be known in the days of the Apostles. The detailed proofs are: 1. That the Apostles intended to set forth in their writings the whole Christian system; 2. that from the beginning down to Augustine and Chrysostom, Christian writers regarded the Apostolic writings as sufficient; 3. that for more than two centuries, no doctrine or practice was regarded as authoritative which is not found in them.

1. The antecedent probability is that all the principles bearing on the scheme of man's redemption would be incorporated in the Apostolic writings. These writings were intended either to give information to those who had not seen Christ and the Apostles or to confirm the faith of Christians who knew the Apostles personally. The Apostles were competent to speak. The demand for full knowledge of the way of salvation was imperative. Human nature and man's spiritual were the same in the first century as they are today. Man needed the whole Gospel as a system of good news for sinners as much then as men need it now. The human mind in the first century was just as capable of taking in the entire scheme of the Gospel as the human mind is in the twentieth century. Moreover the Apostles knew that they were going to die. Is it reasonable to suppose that they would have been willing to run the risk of having essential Christian teachings passed on orally and leave them out from their writings?

2. The avowed purpose of the Evangelists in writing the Gospels was to record all things that pertained to the life and teachings of Christ. Luke affirms this distinctly as his aim in the opening words of his Gospel. John—20: 31—states that he wrote his narrative that men might be "persuaded to believe that Jesus was the Son of God and that believing they might have life through him." In demanding as a condition of salvation anything more than is recorded in the fourth Gospel, the church sets itself against John's statement.

In regard to the Epistles, the objection is made that some of them deal with exceptional situations. That is true. Nevertheless, such doctrines are continually set forth in them as the deity of Christ, the incarnation, the resurrection, Christ's coming again and the obligation to believe in Christ and to do his will. These doctrines are set forth as constituting the essence of Christianity. Paul's very purpose in writing was to explain and to make known the mystery of the Gospel, Eph. 3: 4, 9. Some of the Epistles expound some great theme. The Epistle to the Romans was written to show that all men are sinners and the way by which a man may become just with God and it has no word about "penance." The Epistle to the Hebrews is concerned with the priesthood of Christ and the adequacy of Christ's propitiation for the sins of the world and mentions no body of Christian priests or a Christian altar. In the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, Paul has much to say about the church and Christ's headship over it. In the directions he gave in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus he treats at length the Christian ministry and yet nowhere does he speak of the pope or any such officer. St. Peter in his epistles made much of the duty of being faithful to the chief shepherd of our souls, as did Paul, and did not hint at any priestly authority resident in himself. He knew Mary, the mother of Christ, and yet he never spoke of her as an object of worship or as the mother of God.

Against the completeness of the Apostolic writings, it is sometimes objected that Christ himself promised that other things than those he had spoken to the disciples should be made known to them, as when he said, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbe-it when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all the truth,"—John 16: 12. What these many things were cannot be certainly determined from the New Testament. Perhaps, they were the facts of the resurrection, the ascension, the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost and the vision on the housetop given to Peter, or, such

occurrences as the fiery trials which the Christians were to be subjected to in the Neronic and other persecutions. At any rate, the assumption that Christ, by his promise meant to reveal new articles essential to the scheme of redemption, was shut out by our Lord's own statements, "All things that I heard from my Father, I have made known unto you" and "the word thou gavest me I have given them,"—John 15: 15; 17: 8.

3. The testimony of early Christian writers is for the sufficiency of the Apostolic writings. If truths not stated in the New Testament were confided orally by the Apostles to their followers, it is fair to suppose that these followers would have reported some of them in their writings. The fact is that the Christian writings of the first two centuries after the deaths of the Apostles give amazingly few utterances as coming from Christ and not in the New Testament, and among them not a single new dogma is stated. The several brief collections of Sayings ascribed to Christ and recently discovered in Egypt contain nothing new and much that is doubtful. The account of the woman taken in adultery it is generally agreed, John 8: 1-11, has the appearance of being genuine though not contained in the earliest manuscripts and is placed in brackets in the Revised Version. It is one of the notable proofs of the completeness of the New Testament that the Christian writers who immediately followed the Apostles added nothing to the teachings recorded in the Apostolic writings. If the distinctive Roman tenets had been known to them, would not these zealous writers have supplemented the Gospels and Epistles? With the deaths of the Apostles, the age of creation was over. The fifty years or more which followed was the age of interpretation and preservation. The Apocryphal Gospels which were written for the purpose of satisfying the curiosity about portions of the life of Christ about which the Gospel narratives are silent, are filled with puerile and fabulous sayings put in the mouths of Jesus and Mary and prodigies worthy only of the thaumaturge. Other reports coming from early writers have

the appearance of fable or at least of exaggeration as when Papias reports that Judas after swelling up was crushed by a chariot or as when Justin reports that at Christs' baptism flames appeared.

The further testimony to be derived from the early post-Apostolic writers is that from the first they quoted the writings of the Apostles and treated them with respect, as authorities just as the Apostles had treated the Old Testament. Clement of Rome, writing about 100, repeated words ascribed to Christ in the Gospels and by Paul. He also spoke distinctly of at least one letter written by Paul to the Corinthians. Polycarp spoke of the "sacred writing" in which he said that the Philippian Christians were well-trained and then immediately used language found in the Epistle to the Romans. Writing about 140, Justin Martyr referred to the "Memoirs of the Apostles" and testified that the Gospels and the Old Testament were read weekly. One of the very earliest literary opponents of Christianity, Trypho, knew Christ's teaching from the "Gospel" *ad Tryp.*, 10. So well were the Apostolic writings known before the middle of the second century that the heretical teacher, Marcion, was able to make up for his own use a selected canon consisting of Luke's Gospel and ten of Paul's Epistles. The Apostolic writings were committed to memory by children. Copies were burned in times of persecution and back-sliding Christians saved their lives by delivering them up to the Roman officials.

Further, early Christian writers made a clear distinction between the Scriptures and church customs. Tertullian, in his Prescription of Heretics—25: 27—argued for the entire body of Christian beliefs on the ground that they had been preached by the Apostles. Christians, he said, had no occult doctrine such as some of the Gnostic sects claimed to have. The Apostles withheld no light which they had received. They made known the whole Christian message. Tertullian pronounced unlawful the customs of fasting and kneeling on the Lord's day and kneeling from Easter to

Whit-sunday on the ground that there was no written Scripture for these observances, and that they had become custom, not by appointment but by practice. Irenæus laid stress upon the written records when, in speaking of the Germanic tribes, he affirmed that though they did not have the written Scriptures themselves, yet they had in their hearts the things handed down by the Apostles in the written documents. Proclaimed at first orally, the Christian truth, so Irenæus and Tertullian taught, was embodied in the Scriptures. The words of Irenæus are "We have heard the plan of our salvation from them through whom the Gospel has come down to us which they at one time proclaimed in public and at a later time, favored by God's will, handed down to us in the Scriptures to be the ground and pillar of our truth," *de haer.* 3: 1.

The historic facts, then, are that the writers of the New Testament intended to give in their writings a comprehensive statement of Christian truth and that, from the first, these writings were looked upon in the second Christian century as complete and furnishing the rule of Christian faith and practice. The writers nearest to the Apostles and their successors for a hundred years, like the Apostles themselves, do not mention any of the distinctive Roman Catholic tenets. During the second and third centuries, so Harnack in his Scriptures in the Early Church, has said, "The church's teachings were the teachings of the Bible and the principles current in the church were found in it and nowhere else." The Apostles were strangely remiss in not writing down the distinctive Roman tenets such as the worship of Mary and the infallible office of the pope, if these tenets are law for the Christian church. Is the supposition reasonable that fundamental elements in the career and character of Washington should have been passed down orally for five or six generations and now only at the end of more than a hundred years after his death be committed to writing. And yet for more than two hundred years, to say the very least, no one of the distinctive dogmas of the Roman church was given written

expression, and not till eighteen centuries had passed were two of the most important announced!

Writers continued to take the same position as the writers of the first two centuries that the Scriptures are the criterion of Christian truth. When Augustine wrote his treatise, *Christian Teaching*, he had in mind the teaching of the Scriptures, not tradition. "Many," he said, "living in solitude and without copies of the Scriptures follow the law of faith and love and could get along; but for purposes of instruction the written Scriptures are necessary." At another time, in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, being called upon to answer the objection that Christ did not write a book, he pointed out that Socrates wrote nothing, and yet his system, as reported to his pupil, was accepted. "How much more," he continued, "should the teachings and career of Him who excelled all others in wisdom be accepted on the basis of the writings of his pupils, the Apostles!" The Protestant position was clearly stated by Chrysostom when he said, that "the sacred and divine Scriptures are sufficient to show the truth." In its preface, the *First Scotch Confession* has the following noble words: "If any will note in this our confessioun onie Artickle or sentence repugnand to God's halie word, that it wald pleis him of his gentleness and for Christian charities sake to adminishe us of the same in writing, and we upon our honoures and fidelitie be God's grace do promise unto satisfactioun fra the mouth of God, that is fra his halie scriptures or else reformation of that quhilk he sal prove to be amisse."

CHAPTER XI

THE USE OF THE SCRIPTURES

Believers should ascertain for themselves what are the true matters of their faith by having the Scriptures in a language which all may understand for the laws made by prelates are not to be received as matters of faith unless founded on the Scriptures.—John Wyclif.

THE Scriptures were not intended to be a dead book as are the Syriac and other ancient liturgies used in the public services of the sanctuary and not understood by the worshippers. They were not meant to be hidden away in a conventual depository or between silver bindings—as a treasure too sacred to be circulated. They are the living rule of faith and Christian teaching. How far are they to be used? Should they be freely put into the hands of all men or restricted to a class? In the answer to the question the following matters are to be dealt with: the extent or canon of the Scriptures, their authoritative text, their circulation and their interpretation. The last subject will be taken up under the head of the church and its functions.

I. The canon of the Scriptures.—In regard to the number of the books of Scripture, known as the canon, the Roman and Protestant communions fortunately accept one and the same New Testament without addition or variations of the text. In regard to the Old Testament they differ, the Roman church adding to the thirty-nine books which make up the Protestant canon eight other books: Tobith, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, Baruch, and the two books of the Maccabees. Included also are additions to the books of Daniel and Esther. These books, known among Protestants as the

Apochrypha of the Old Testament, were placed by the Council of Trent on a par with the rest of the Old Testament and the denial of their equal authority punished with the anathema. In the early Protestant bibles, the Apochrypha were also printed but given a secondary place as being repositories of wise counsel and records of historic events, but of no doctrinal authority. In his edition of 1534, Luther spoke of them as "useful" but denied their equality with the thirty-nine books. The XXXIX Articles, after setting aside some of the Apocrypha altogether, pronounced the rest useful "as an example of life and for instruction in manners, but not to be applied to establish any doctrine."

The Apocrypha are of value for the Roman church by the proof texts which they afford for the doctrines of purgatory and the worship of saints. On the other hand, by their marvellous tales, they make a tremendous draft upon a reasonable faith. Jerome, who gave them a subordinate place, took the position that they are not to be used to establish doctrines. Protestants reject the Apocrypha on the following grounds: 1. They did not belong to the Hebrew canon as attested by Josephus. The Roman church adopted the Alexandrian canon used by the Jews of the Dispersion. 2. No one of the Apocrypha is quoted in the New Testament, an argument which loses some of its force from the fact that the Song of Solomon, Esther, and other canonical books of the Old Testament are not quoted in the New Testament.

II. The authoritative text of Scripture.—For Protestants, the Scriptures in the Hebrew and Greek, the languages in which they were written, are final authority. The Roman church ascribes equal authority to the Latin translation made by Jerome about the year 400 and known as the Vulgate. For one thousand years the Vulgate was practically the only bible known and read in Western Europe. All commentaries were based upon the Vulgate text. Quotations were taken from it. Bernard and other preachers based their sermons upon it. From it Wyclif and his helpers made

their translations into English. The readings in the breviary and the missal reproduce it. When the art of printing was instituted, Vulgate bibles were among the very earliest issues from the press. The edition known as the Mazarin or Gutenberg Bible, issued between 1450–1455, was probably the first printed book.

In the era of the Reformation the Romanists continued to confine themselves to the Vulgate. On the other hand Reuchlin and Erasmus set the example of basing comments upon the original Hebrew and Greek. The Protestant leaders followed the example of these scholars, learned the ancient tongues for the purpose of reading the Bible as it came forth from its authors. Luther's and Tyndale's translations into German and English were made directly from the Greek and Hebrew. Upon the basis of the original text, Calvin and other Protestant Reformers wrote their commentaries.

The Council of Trent, discarding the axiomatic principle that the original of a document is to be preferred to a translation, decreed the Vulgate to be on a par with the Hebrew and Greek texts. The decree runs, "If anyone receive not as sacred and canonical the books of the Old and New Testament entire with all their parts as they are contained in the old Vulgate edition and knowingly condemns them, let him be anathema." The council further ordained that "the old Vulgate edition which by the lengthy usage of so many ages has been approved in the church, be used in public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions. It is to be held as authentic and no one is to dare to reject it under any pretext whatever." This arbitrary action was reaffirmed by the Vatican council.

In zeal for the Latin version, Cardinal Bellarmine went so far as to take the position that where the Vulgate differs from the Hebrew text, it is probable that the Vulgate followed a better text than the Hebrew bibles of his day. The co-equal authority of the Vulgate with the original text was argued by the cardinal from the use of it made by

the Fathers and the decision of the Council of Trent and also on the ground that, as the Hebrews had the Old Testament in the language they understood and the Greeks the New Testament in their language, so the Lord intended that the Latins should have the Bible in the Latin language. The argument would require a version of the Bible in every language under heaven.[1] In view of the mistakes the Vulgate makes, biblical scholars in the Roman communion are placed in an awkward position by the decrees of the Council of Trent and certain encyclicals of recent pontiffs.

The text of the Vulgate cannot be authoritative for it misrepresents the original writers in several doctrinal matters such as the merits of Mary, such as the alleged sacraments of marriage and penance. 1. The words of Genesis 3 : 15, "she shall bruise the serpent's head, *ipsa conteret caput tuum*, where the original is, "he shall bruise." The promise refers to Christ. The false application is made even to this day to Mary in Roman Catholic publications to prove Mary's alleged high place in the scheme of redemption. Mary, says a writer,—*Am. Cath. Rev.*, Jan., 1922—"understood that she was to be the woman foretold in Genesis, that she would crush the serpent's head—the wondrous new creation that God had shown to Jeremiah"—31 : 22. The recent Italian translation of the Pentateuch, appearing with pontifical sanction, likewise renders the passage "she shall bruise thy head," adding in a note at the bottom of the page, but without stating that the rendering is false, that "the offspring of the woman will conquer the devil in the same way in which a man crushes the serpent's head. This offspring of the woman is in general the human race, but principally the Savior, Jesus Christ." The Douai version, following the Vulgate, adds a note which definitely confirms the wrong impression that it was Mary who was to crush the serpent's head.[2] Bellarmine—1 : 12—asserts that all the manuscripts of the Vulgate do not have the feminine particle "she" and then, falling in with the ecclesiastical perversion, attempts to make out that the

feminine form is not "an improbable reading." In his *Bible History*, for American pupils, pp. 11, 130, Bishop Gilmour says that "In her, the mother of God, was fulfilled the promise made in the garden of paradise that the woman should crush the serpent's head. . . . God said enmity should exist between the serpent and the woman, but in the end the woman should crush the serpent's head."

2. A second far-reaching error is the translation of Ephesians 5 : 32, "This is a great sacrament," an error likewise repeated in the Douai version. With Roman Catholics it is the popular proof text for the sacramental character of marriage. The word in the Greek is "mystery," not sacrament. Paul was speaking not of a transaction between two people but of Christ's mystical union with the church.

3. The Vulgate translates the Greek word "*metanoeite*" in Matt. 3 : 2, Acts 2 : 38 and other passages, *agite pœnitentiam* —do penance, whereas it means, change your mind. The error was taken over in the Rheims version. The translation entirely misrepresents the meaning of the Apostolic writers. The word does not refer to an external transaction but to an internal state of mind. When Luther wrote the XCV Theses he did not know the meaning of the Greek word.

III. The circulation of the Scriptures.—For the Protestant, the Bible is an all-people's book, a book for the fireside as well as for the sanctuary, for the cottage as well as for the learned man's study. Translated into the language of the reader, it should be as free as the air and the sunlight. It is the book of life, the message of the Gospel. As the message is free to all who accept it, so the volume containing the message should be open to all who will read. Who would dream of shutting up the American constitution to a privileged class, say to the members of congress and our judges! The Preface to Coverdale's English translation aptly presented the case of the sixteenth century when it likened the re-opening of the Bible and the announcement of its

message by the Protestant Reformers to the recovery of the book of the Law under "that noble king, Josiah."

In the Roman church, it is sufficient that the priest have the Bible. Its message, so it teaches, is safe in his hands, and he will deliver it as may be expedient. He is its appointed expounder. To avoid its being misinterpreted, its use by the laity is restricted and its free distribution prohibited. This policy, which has been the pope's official policy, beginning with 1199, by making the priest the sole or chief custodian of Holy Writ confers upon him an authority almost supernatural.

In an attempt to offset the charge that the Roman church has consistently opposed the general circulation of the Scriptures, Cardinal Gibbons exclaims, "God forbid that anyone should conclude that the Catholic church is opposed to the reading of the Bible or that she is an enemy of the Bible! The Catholic church an enemy of the Bible! Good God! What monstrous ingratitude! What base calumny is contained in that assertion! As well might you accuse the virgin mother of trying to crush the infant Savior at her breast; as well charge the patriotic statesman with attempting to destroy the constitution of his country while he tries to protect it from being mutilated by unprincipled demagogues!" Who the "unprincipled demagogues" are that mutilate the Scriptures, the cardinal leaves his readers to decide. Did he mean to include among them Wyclif, Tyndale and the scholars who prepared the English versions of 1611 and 1885? The cardinal confuses knowledge by dexterously calling the attention away from the question of the free circulation of copies of the Scriptures to the question whether or not copies of the Bible were not held in respect during the Middle Ages. Instead of proving that the free reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular, which is the issue, has been encouraged by the Roman authorities, he turns aside to affirm that the Scriptures were preserved by the church in the Middle Ages—a matter about which Protestants never have expressed a doubt.

No one calls in question that during the Middle Ages the church saved the manuscripts of the Latin Bible. How else would they have been saved? But here the church stopped. It did not translate the Scriptures into the languages of the peoples to whom the missionaries of the Middle Ages went from the peoples of early France and Britain to Peru and Mexico. Even among priests during the Middle Ages copies of the Latin Vulgate were rare. Many of the priests in England did not understand Latin and in the English wills that have been left us only a half dozen times is the Vulgate mentioned as one of the possessions of the testator.[3]

Cardinal Bellarmine gives the following reasons for the restriction of the Scriptures to the three languages employed in the inscription on the cross and for discouraging translations. 1. The Apostles wrote, not in the language of the Orient or in the languages of Spain, Egypt and Gaul, but were content with Hebrew and Greek, and "as some say," with Latin. Perhaps Mark wrote in Latin. 2. The Latin Vulgate had been used for centuries in Spain, Gaul and other Christian countries. 3. The Vulgate is a means of preserving the unity of the church and its worship. 4. Translations in the vulgar tongue would have to be frequently changed to conform to the changing usage of speech. 5. The church service demands a dignified language, such as the Latin is. 6. If the people had in their own language such narratives as the narrative of David's adultery and such passages as "Let me kiss thee with the kisses of my lips" in the Song of Solomon, they would justify themselves in corrupt practices. To these arguments may be added the counsel of Alphonso de Liguori, a recent authority, who, being asked whether Sister Maria Josefa, a nun of Frasso, was forbidden by her director to read an Italian copy of the Gospels, replied, "Women, and especially nuns, should not read books of that sort and least of all when they are translated into the vulgar tongue." In giving this opinion, the saint recalled how St. Theresa refused to receive a nun who brought a Bible with her to the convent, saying, "Nuns

should become acquainted with the Bible only through sermons and their confessors." Cardinal Newman declared that the translated English Bible is the stronghold of heresy. If Petronilla was really Peter's daughter, the practice of the Roman church seems strangely out of accord with the fresco in the catacombs which represents her as pointing to a volume, probably the Holy Bible, in a chest by her side. Did the early artist mean that the book was to be reverenced but not read?

Cardinal Gibbons says that "what the civil code is to the citizen, Scripture is to the Christian. What is good for the clergy must be also good for the laity." It would be disingenuous to call in question that the words express the writer's private opinion. That opinion is contradicted by deliverances issuing from an authority higher than the cardinal's authority. These he does not mention, nor does he mention that there was no version of the Bible among the Celts of Great Britain and Ireland and that the Jesuits in Canada and the Spanish priests laboring in the Southern part of North America and California did not translate a leaf of the Bible into the languages of the Indians.

On the other hand, the Protestant principle as expressed in the Westminster Confession runs: "because the people of God are commanded to read and search the Scriptures, therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation under which they come that, the Word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship Him in an acceptable manner and through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, may have hope."

Protestant argument for the unrestricted circulation of the Scriptures is drawn from the testimony of the Scriptures themselves and is supported by the practice of the early church and the intelligence of peoples among whom the Scriptures have been freely circulated.

§ 1. **The testimony of the Scriptures themselves.**—The writers of the New Testament were accustomed to the popular knowledge of the Law and the Prophets. The priest

was commanded to read the Law in the presence of all—Deut. 31: 13; Mal. 2: 7. In New Testament times, the old Scriptures were read on the Sabbath in the synagogues. The eunuch was reading Isaiah when Philip met him. The Bereans were expressly commended for examining them—Acts 8: 28–32; 13: 38; 17: 11.

On the face of the New Testament, it is evident that the writers expected that what they wrote should be read without restriction. Paul says that what he wrote could be understood—2 Cor. 1: 13. The Colossians were directed by the Apostle, after they had read his letter to them, to take it to Laodicea that it might be read by the brethren there and also to read what might be transmitted to them from Laodicea,—Col. 4: 16. Likewise, his first letter to Thessalonica he directed to be read to all the believers in that city. The Epistle to the Romans was not addressed to any leaders or to a special class in the Roman congregation but to "all that were in Rome called to be saints." The Epistle to Ephesus was addressed to all the saints that were in that city. Peter wrote his first letter to the Jews scattered abroad in Asia Minor and his second to all who had obtained like precious faith with him. The author of the Book of Revelation invoked a special blessing upon all who should read its pages. If these injunctions applied to readers in the Apostolic age without exception, why should they not apply in this age? The contents of the Bible are no more difficult to understand today than they were nineteen hundred years ago and the danger of their being misunderstood or perverted by the usual reader is no greater. The book is as clear as any book can be expected to be which deals with high mysteries. If difficulties were a sufficient ground for withholding the Scriptures, the most learned would be debarred from reading them.

Two passages have been set up to modify this statement. Peter spoke of ignorant persons and the unsteadfast who wrested the Epistles of Paul and other Scriptures to their own destruction—2 Pet. 3: 16. The writer was not counsel-

ling the withdrawal of Paul's writings from the reader nor was he dealing with their popular use. He was warning against their abuse by a certain class of people. The second passage is our Lord's statement forbidding that pearls be cast before swine. These words were used six hundred years ago by the Chronicler Knighton to reprobate the circulation of Wyclif's Bible. The passage applies equally to the disposition of every good counsel and every good thing. No good thing is to be given to those who intend wantonly to abuse it. Jewels are not given to children nor concerts arranged for savages.

§ 2. **The Scriptures in the early church.**—In the early Christian centuries the Scriptures were freely circulated. The testimonies abound that the policy was to get copies into the hands of the people as well as to get their precepts into their hearts. All were encouraged to read them in private as well as to hear them read in the congregation. They were not kept in the Hebrew and Greek texts as though there was something sacred about those tongues. Theodoret said, though with rhetorical exaggeration, that in his day "they were translated into every language." Writing to the Corinthians, Clement of Rome appealed to their knowledge of the Scriptures. Polycarp represented the Philippians as being well taught in the Scriptures and, before him, Ignatius employed expressions which are familiar to us in the Gospels. Pagans urged by the Christian apologists to read the sacred writings. One of the earliest of their number, Aristides, about 130, giving this advice, said, "Take the Christian writings and read them." The sects of the Gnostics had them in their hands and Flora, one of their number, was reminded by her teacher, Ptolemæus, of having read the books of Moses and the Gospels.

From the earliest times, as Justin Martyr assures us, the public service included the reading of a portion of Scripture and, commencing with Irenæus, writers in an unbroken stream bear witness to the custom of reading the sacred

writings at home. Such reading by husband and wife was put by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian among the elements of the ideal household. Where homes did not possess copies, so Tertullian reports, it was the custom for those who did, women as well as men, to go and read the Scriptures to their occupants. About 250, the high churchman, Cyprian, wrote that the life of a Christian should be one of constant prayer or reading; in the former case God being spoken to and in the latter God speaking to us. At the same time, Christians were warned against reading the Apocryphal Gospels. The Egyptian hermit, St. Anthony, although he could not read, knew much Scripture by heart and was accustomed to begin his discourses to his fellow-hermits by making the un-papal declaration, "The Holy Scriptures give us instruction enough."

At a later period, about 400, we have in Chrysostom an enthusiastic advocate of the free reading of the Bible. He preached sermons on the subject and urged his hearers not only to read but to commit it to memory. He compared the Bible to a chest of medicine, a mine of riches, fresh meadows and streams of pure water. As a military man, so he taught, studies the art of warfare and the carpenter and the navigator the principles of their occupations, so ought the Christian to go to the Gospel, the Acts and the Epistles as "his constant teachers." The poorest should go to them as they go to their implements to do their work. Parents should read them to their children. Chrysostom warned people having copies in gilt letters not to keep them locked up in chests unread. He urged the habit of such reading before retiring. Remember, he exclaimed, the eunuch who, though a barbarian by birth and burdened by innumerable cares and unable to understand what he was reading, was nevertheless reading as he sat in his chariot. As the devil shuns the church building where a copy of the Gospels is lying, so he shuns the soul sanctified by reading the sacred books. Every argument advanced by Roman Catholics at the time of the Reformation or

since against the popular use of the Scriptures was answered by the great preacher and Bible student of Constantinople. In the West, Augustine emphasized the simplicity of Scripture by which it was adapted to the capacity of babes and sucklings. More than a century later, in writing to Theodorus, the imperial physician, Gregory the Great complained that in his devotion to secular affairs, Theodorus had forgotten to "read daily" the words of the Redeemer; for what were the Scriptures, he continued but the letter of God to his creatures and to be ignorant of them was as great a neglect as to be ignorant of the decrees of the empire,—Mirbt, p. 98.

§ 3. **The Mediæval restrictions.**—The official decrees forbidding laymen to possess the Bible or restricting its use began with the decree of Innocent III in 1199. It is significant that this decree was issued at a time when the signs of heresy began to appear in Europe and the first streaks of general culture were appearing. Four periods may be noted in the history of papal deliverances of this sort. 1. The time when the heretical Waldenses and the Cathari began their work, about 1200. 2. The time of the Protestant Reformation. 3. The time when Jansenism arose in France, about 1650 and 4. The age of the modern Bible societies since 1800.

When heresy suddenly appeared in Southern France and Northern Italy at the close of the twelfth century one of its distinctive features was the free use of the Bible in translations in the languages the people understood. In the records of thousands of trials in which the Cathari answered for their faith, the habitual charge was that they used the Gospel of John. Their contemporaries, the Waldenses, carried translations of the New Testament and the Psalms into Italy and farther north. In Austria their vernacular Bibles brought them under the sentence of the inquisitor. Whittier, in his *Vaudois Teacher*, following an ancient account, puts these words into the mouth of a traveling Waldensian peddler:

"Oh, lady fair! I have yet a gem which a purer luster flings
Than the diamond flash of the jeweled crown on the lofty brow of kings
A wonderful pearl of exceeding price whose virtues shall not decay,
Whose light shall be as a spell to thee and a blessing on thy way."

Innocent III's edict was called forth by the report that a group of heretics at Metz were reading the Gospels and other portions of Scripture in Gallic translation. The distinguished pontiff spoke of the "multitude of laics and women" of Metz who made light of the priests and dared to meet in secret gatherings and impart to one another the contents of the Gospels, Paul's Epistles and the Psalms. He commended the desire to understand the Scriptures but, at the same time, forbade "ignorant and unlearned people" to use them, giving as his reason the depth of their contents. He warned that, as by the prescription of the old Law the beast touching the holy mount was to be stoned, so under the Christian law unlearned and common folk were not to presume to touch the "sublimity of the sacred Scriptures or preach them to others."

The further step taken by the Synod of Touluse in 1229 attests the feeling which prevailed among the higher clergy in that period. The council forbade laymen possessing copies of the Bible or parts of it and most positively—*arctissime*—their having it in translations. A few years later the local Spanish synod of Tarragona extended the decree, prohibiting Bibles in a vernacular translation to priests, on pain of being charged with heresy, and ordered all translations turned over to the bishop and burned.

Against this attitude to the Scriptures, Wyclif lifted his voice and was followed by the Lollards in England and Huss and his followers in Bohemia. No one has ever issued more frequently and more clearly the message that the Bible should be put into the hands of all than Wyclif. His

plans for reading the Bible by the laity was, as Dr. Workman has put it, nothing else than a revolution. "The wit of Goddis law," he contended, "shoulde be taughte in that tongue that is more known." He called the sacred volume the book of life, the law of Christ, the Catholic system—*fides catholica*—a book which has supreme authority above popes and all church councils. These positions he advocated in sermon after sermon, tract after tract, and in his *Truth of Scripture*, a volume of a thousand pages, down to his last work, the *opus evangelicum*. To withhold the Scriptures in the mother tongue he pronounced a fundamental sin, at variance with the pentecostal gift of tongues and the example set by Jerome, who prepared the Vulgate for Latin readers of his day. He asserted that no one is "so simple as not to be able to learn the words and rudiments of the Gospel enough to suffice him for salvation,"—*op. evang.* 1: 92, and that "every part of sacred Scripture is of infinitely more authority than any decretal whatsoever,"—*de ver.* 1: 395. These positions called forth ferocious measures from the English authorities. The act for the burning of heretics was passed in 1402, a few years after Wyclif's death and an Oxford synod forbade under threat of the greater excommunication anyone to translate the Bible on his own authority or to read such translation without the permission of his ecclesiastical superior. Four years later, Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned Wyclif "as that pestilent wretch of damnable memory, yea, the forerunner and disciple of antichrist who, as the complement of his wickedness, invented a new translation of the Scriptures into his mother tongue." Although the fulminations directed against the Wycliffite translations do not condemn Bible translating as a whole, the fact is that no archbishop of Canterbury or other English ecclesiastical authority had ordered a translation to be made or started a movement for the popular distribution of the Bible. Further, all the groups which possessed the Wycliffite version or parts of it were hunted up and the copies destroyed.

§ 4. Papal policy and the Scriptures.—The second series of ecclesiastical prohibitions, forbidding the circulation of the Scriptures, belongs to the period of the Protestant Reformation. Before Luther appeared, John Goch and other Dutch reformers had insisted upon the superior authority of the Scriptures over decretals and the decisions of councils and the right of laymen to appeal to them. On the eve of the Reformation, Erasmus took strong ground in favor of their distribution in all languages, exclaiming "Oh, that the Bible was translated into the tongues of all peoples so that it could be read not only by the Scotch and Irish but even by the Turks and Saracens!" The eminent scholar looked forward to the time when the husbandman would sing the Scriptures as he drove the plow, the weaver repeat them as he plied the shuttle, and the weary traveler refresh himself by their godly narratives.

Between 1466 and 1521, the year when Luther's New Testament was prepared, eighteen different impressions of a German version or versions were issued. This was the only translation done into any language during the sixty years after the invention of printing. The preface of the impression, issued at Cologne, 1480, called upon every Christian to read the Bible, a counsel repudiated by authorities in high place. In 1485, the highest of the German prelates, Bertholdt, Archbishop of Mainz, announced that the German language was no vehicle in which the lofty truths of Scripture could be properly expressed. Nor, he went on to say, was it seemly to put the Scriptures into the hands of unlearned and simple people especially the hands of women, as they were incapable of drawing from them their true meaning. On pain of a fine of 100 gold florins, the archbishop forbade the printing and sale of any German version without its having been passed upon by the learned doctors of Mainz and Erfurt,—Mirbt, p. 245. This decree was so effective that during the forty years after its issue only four impressions of the German Bible out of the eighteen were made. Geiler of Strassburg, d. 1510, on the very eve of

the Reformation, took the position that it was "almost a wicked thing to print the sacred text in German," and he likened the Bible in the hands of a layman to a sharp knife put in the hands of a child. As for England, no portion of the Bible appeared on its soil in print until the Protestant translations of Coverdale appeared more than fifty years after Caxton set up the printing press at Westminster in 1476.

The Protestant Reformers planted themselves firmly on the Scriptures and, as far as they were able, made their pages accessible to all men and supplied what Knox and Latimer called "the scarcity of God's Word." In opposition to this activity, the church authorities not only legislated against the free use of the Bible but punished its use with death. Upon the charge that he favored vernacular versions and that he had denied transubstantiation, Patrick Hamilton of Scotland was burned at St. Andrews, 1528. In 1533 the Scotch bishops issued a decree against reading the New Testament in the vernacular. When Thomas Forret was being burned in Glasgow, 1540, he took a New Testament out of his sleeve, exclaiming, "This is the book that makes all the din and pley in our kirk." One of his judges "thanked God that he never knew what the Old and New Testament were."

William Tyndale found no place for printing his English New Testament in his native land and fled to Cologne and then to Worms where the first printed English New Testament was set up in type. It was a gruesome sight when all the copies of that book which could be bought up or confiscated were given to the flames in 1529 in St. Paul's churchyard, with Tunstall, the bishop of London, looking on. Tyndale himself, was strangled and burned at Villevorde, after he had been seized by Henry VIII's agents—a martyr to the translation and distribution of Holy Writ. In France the wood-carver, in whose hands had come a copy of Le-Fevre's French translation, suffered a horrible martyrdom at Metz, 1525. By Philip II's law of 1565 for the Low

Countries, laymen who read the Scriptures, if men, were to be burned or, if women, to be buried alive. According to Motley, not only adults but even children were burned alive for this offense. In Bohemia during the Thirty Years War and also in Poland and Hungary, the Jesuits played havoc with the vernacular bibles. One Jesuit, Koniash, boasted that he had burned 60,000 books. In these recent days since the changes in Bohemia copies of the old Hussite Bible, kept hidden for three centuries, are being brought forth by families which have left the Roman communion. On the other hand, a Bohemian student has told the present writer that before the recent war he stood by while a priest took a Bible out of the hands of his parents and burned it before their eyes.

Luther's translation, made during his confinement on the Wartburg, was followed by translations in German, Swiss, French, Dutch, English, Swedish, Italian and other tongues. Tyndale, following Luther, translated directly from the Hebrew as well as the Greek. In his preface to the Pentateuch, he gave as the contemporary opinion in England that by some it was held impossible to translate the Scriptures into English, by some not lawful for lay people to have them in the mother tongue and by others that translations cause rebellions against kings. "In this way they all be agreed," Tyndale continued, "to drive you from the knowledge of Scripture and that you shall not have the text in the mother tongue, and to keep the world in darkness to the intent they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition."

In justifying the burning of Tyndale's New Testament, Sir Thomas More declared that a person "having any drop of wit in his head and knowing the matter," knew well that Luther and Tyndale "corrupted and changed the New Testament from the good, wholesome doctrine of Christ to the devilish heresies of their own, so that it was a clean, contrary thing." The English chancellor then went on to compare the Tyndale English translation "to a copper

groat, silvered over" and said that, to find faults in it, would be like looking for water in the ocean. The three alleged mistakes on which Sir Thomas expressed himself at length were the renderings "congregation" for the Greek word church *ekklesia;* "love" for "charity," and "senior" or "elder" for the Greek word *presbyter.* In all these cases the critic has been proved to be wrong. Tyndale's translation was in accord with modern scholarship. In his *Supplication of Souls,* More deliberately accused Tyndale, as a translator, of falsehood, stating that "he hath corrupted and purposely changed in many places the text with such words as he might make it seem to the unlearned people that the Scripture affirmed their heresies itself."

From the beginning Luther's translation was condemned as containing many mistakes and to this day such charges are made against it as that he "mutilated the sacred text in a reckless manner,"—*America,* December, 1922. Such charges are likewise unfounded. The text giving to Roman Catholics some reason for general censure is Luther's addition of the word "alone" in Romans 3: 28. "We conclude that a man is justified by faith *alone* without the works of the law." Protestants are at one in disapproving this insertion which would be justifiable in a paraphrase though not in a translation. Luther's insertion did not change St. Paul's meaning. The Apostle meant what the translation stated. How small is the ground based upon this case for condemning Luther's translation, if the obscure and false renderings of the Rheims version be compared with it. Littledale gives as intentional falsifications the renderings of the French translation printed at Bordeaux in 1686, which appeared with the approval of the archbishop. Here is the rendering of I Cor. 3: 15, "He himself shall be saved, yet in all cases as by the fire of purgatory," and I Tim. 4: 1, "The Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter days some will separate themselves from the Roman faith."

The indifference or opposition in Roman Catholic circles to the circulation of the Scriptures was shown in the silence of

the Decrees of Trent on the subject and the positive failure to issue an English translation till the appearance of the Rheims version of the New Testament, 1582, more than fifty years after the English Reformation began. When that version appeared, Cardinal Allen said of it, "Perhaps it would be more desirable that the Scriptures had never been translated into barbarous tongues. Nevertheless, at the present day, when either from heresy or other causes the curiosity of men is great and there is often so much need of reading the Scriptures in order to confute our opponents, it is better that there should be faithful and Catholic translations rather than that men should use a corrupt version to their peril or destruction." Examples of false renderings have already been given. The following examples will show how unintelligible to the English reader the Rheims version could be. "I think that the passions of this time are not condigne to the glorie to come."—Rom. 8: 18. "Benefaction and communication do not forget, for with such hostes God is promerited."—Heb. 13: 16. A case of the "suitable notes" given in the Douai version is the following: "thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins, which feed among the lilies—Canticles 4: 5 —The two breasts are to be mystically understood as the love of God and the love of our neighbor, which are so united as twins that feed among the lilies; that is, the love of God and our neighbor feeds on the divine mysteries and the holy sacraments."

Pontiffs, far from showing any signs of welcoming translations of the Scripture, not only did not command any to be made but outlawed all translations not made under their authority. Paul IV and Pius IV, 1559 and 1564—Mirbt, 289, 340—made the permission of the Roman inquisition a condition of possessing, reading or printing copies of the Bible in German, Spanish, English and other languages and condemned all versions made by non-Catholics.

§ 5. **The unigenitus bull.**—The third period of opposition to the free reading of the Bible centered in one of the most notorious of all papal decrees, the bull *unigenitus* issued by

Clement XI, 1713. Against Quesnel and the Jansenists who sought to secure the unrestricted circulation of the book the pontiff explicitly, though in negative form, denounced the three propositions that the Bible was meant to be read by all, that one of the best ways to celebrate the Lord's day is by reading it, and that to withhold it is in fact to shut Christ's mouth. The bull gave the obscurities of the book as a sufficient reason for restricting its circulation, and the artlessness—*simplicitas*—of women for withholding it from them. A half century later, 1786, Pius VI, referring back to Clement's edict, again gave the alleged obscurity of the Bible as a sufficient reason for withholding it from the people.

§ 6. The popes and the Protestant Bible Societies.—The establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804 and the American Bible Society in 1816 introduced the fourth period in the history of papal condemnations of Bible translations. Beginning with Pius VII, 1816, pontiff after pontiff has seen fit to condemn all versions not approved by the Roman see. Without explicitly condemning the free circulation of the Bible, they have uniformly reprobated as pests and poisonous infections the versions of the Protestant Bible societies. Pius VII pronounced the societies "the most crafty of inventions by which the foundations of religion are shaken," and called upon the bishops to make known, "The malevolence of their wicked purpose." The next pontiff, Leo XII, 1824, repeated the declaration that the societies are a pest and compared their versions to "poisonous pastures." Leo concluded his bull by calling upon the clergy to fight the Lord's battle lest in their flocks "this fatal sort of venom suited especially to kill the unlearned, be diffused, *ne vestro grege exitiale id genus virus ad imperitorum præsertim necem diffundatur.* Pius VIII 1829, again called the Protestant versions "poison, bringing death." Gregory XVI, 1844, coupled the Bible societies with Protestant missions to the heathen and the Evangelical Alliance as pretending to propagate the Christian name

while leaving out the precepts instituted by Christ. Following in the steps of his predecessors, Pius IX, November 9, 1846, spoke "of the crafty Bible societies which, renewing the ancient guile of the heretics, cease not to thrust their bibles upon all men, even the unlearned; books which have been translated in defiance of the laws of the church and often give false meanings and thus reject the divine traditions, the teachings of the Fathers and the authority of the church." In his Syllabus of 1864, Pius carried his ecclesiastical courtesy to the extent of placing Bible societies in the same category with communism, socialism and other pests. In all these cases no one of the pontiffs condescended to cite a single case of mistranslation.

Better things were hoped for from Leo XIII. In several encyclicals this enlightened pontiff expressly dealt with the study of the Scriptures by students and also the use of the Scriptures in translations. In his encyclical *providentissimus*, issued November 18, 1893, he expressed the ardent wish that more of the clergy might devote themselves to the diligent reading and study of the sacred volume and to its exposition. He enjoined the use of the Vulgate as an authoritative text, but at the same time commended the use of the Hebrew and Greek originals where the Vulgate happens to be obscure. In spite of the hope which this attitude inspired, Leo, on January 25, 1897, placed on the list of prohibited books the versions issued by the Bible societies, "condemned," he said, "more than once by his predecessors." On the other hand, on December 13, 1898, he offered to all the faithful reading the Gospels for at least a quarter of an hour a day, 300 days indulgence. In this and in other ways he put a strong mark of pontifical approval upon the use of the Scriptures in the language understood by the reader.[4] In 1902, he went further by recognizing the Pious Society of St. Jerome for the Spread of the Holy Gospels, whose aim was to circulate the Scriptures in Italian. At the third anniversary of the society, Father Giovanni Genocchi spoke of 300,000 copies having been

circulated up to that time and exclaimed, "But what are they in comparison to the millions on millions of copies of the Bible scattered through the world by the British Bible Society!"

Leo's decrees, so far as they were liberal, were set aside by his reactionary successor, Pius X. In 1907, Pius forbade the Society of Jerome to go beyond the Gospels and Acts in its translation. He reenacted the rule against the private interpretation of the Scriptures and in his Barromeo encyclical, May 26, 1910, again gave a stab to translations issued by Protestants by pronouncing them an adulteration of the Word of God and a withdrawal of the food of life from the faithful. The law of the Roman church, as stated in Benedict XV's Code of Canon Law—1385, 1391, 1399—forbids the issue of the biblical text or any vernacular version without the permission of the supreme pontiff or a bishop. It classes versions unauthorized by the Roman church with books advocating the duel, divorce and the Masonic order, and places their authors or printers under excommunication.

Since 1804 and up to March 1, 1927, the British and Foreign Bible Society has issued 375,000,000 copies of the Scriptures or parts of them in 593 languages and dialects, an increase of more than 200 languages since the year 1900. During the 111 years of its history to the close of the year 1926, the American Bible Society has issued 184,028,960 bibles or parts of the Bible in 168 languages and dialects, of which 108 are spoken within the bounds of the United States. During 1926 its output was 359,989 bibles, 654,043 testaments and 8,893,329 portions of the sacred volume. The hundreds of languages into which the book has been translated by the two organizations, include the languages of the remotest peoples of the South Sea islands and the remotest tribes of Africa. In striking contrast to this activity is the almost complete failure of Roman foreign missionaries to put the Bible into a single modern language.

§ 7. Usage in the United States.—The Roman church in America has shown signs of relaxing the rule against the use

of the Bible. The second Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1866, ordered the use of the Rheims-Douai version in its most improved form so that English readers may have "the uncorrupt food of the Word of God." A proposition was made in the third council, 1884, looking to the preparation of a New English version, but was voted down by a small majority. During the recent war a special edition of the Rheims New Testament bound in khaki and issued for American soldiers and sailors contained a noteworthy foreword by Cardinal Gibbons. The little volume contained prayers to be used before and after reading in the Testament and also Leo XIII's indulgence to all who spend a quarter of an hour a day reading the Gospels.

The English Bible came with the earliest Protestant settlers. The Pilgrims and Puritans regarded the volume as the charter of their liberties and the guide of daily life. Governor William Bradford's copy, which he brought with him on the Mayflower, is still preserved and the Hebrew inscription on the plain marble shaft over the governor's dust reminds the visitor that in the last years of his life he studied Hebrew for the purpose, as he said, of learning to read the very words which were given to Moses and the Prophets "in the language which the angels use." One of the monuments of American literature is the translation of the Old and New Testaments into Indian made by John Eliot, printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1661, 1663. Cromwell's troops carried with them into battle the Souldiers Pocket Bible, printed 1643, containing a number of texts, almost all of them from the Old Testament. In a critical moment of the convention which framed our national constitution, Franklin, in the midst of a notable address, quoted from the Scriptures, "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." The first words over the ocean telegraph sent by Queen Victoria included words of Scripture.[5]

The American government has in various ways recognized the Bible. In 1777, the Provincial Congress ordered

20,000 copies imported from Holland to supply the need of the colonists. The president of the United States takes his oath of office on the sacred volume. Mr. Lincoln quoted it in his second inaugural. In 1876, President Grant sent to the Sunday school children of the country the message "Hold fast to the Bible as the sheet anchor of our liberties. Write its precepts on your hearts and practice them in your lives." President Garfield took the oath of office on his mother's Bible, and Mr. Coolidge, 1925, on the Coolidge family Bible. When President Harding took the oath of office he put his finger on Micah 6: 8, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God." One of his last messages ran, "I believe that, from every point of view, the study of the Bible is one of the most worthy to which men may devote themselves and that, in proportion as they know and understand it, their lives and their actions will be better." President Harrison and Vice President Marshall, as well as other high state officials, have been teachers of Bible classes. For Protestants, it was a strange statement which Cardinal Wiseman made when he said, "We give not the Word indiscriminately to all, because God himself has not so given it. He has not made reading an essential part of man's constitution nor a congenital faculty, nor a term of salvation, nor a condition of Christianity. Hearing God has made such." Over against the cardinal we place Jerome, who translated the Scriptures for all who could read Latin. In his Prologue to Isaiah, he wrote, "Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ."

The Protestant estimate of the value of the Scriptures to every man who will read and, by implication the right of every man to have them in his own tongue were finely stated in the inscription written by President Wilson for the fly-leaf of bibles given to soldiers and sailors during the recent war. It ran, "The Bible is the word of life. I beg that you will read it and find this out for yourselves. The more you read it the more it will become plain to you what

things are worth while and what are not, what things make men happy—loyalty, right dealings, speaking the truth, readiness to give everything for what they think their duty, and most of all the wish that they may have the real approval of the Christ who gave everything for them—and the things that are guaranteed to make men unhappy—selfishness, cowardice, greed and everything that is low and mean. When you have read the Bible you will know that it is the Word of God, because you will have found the key to your own heart, your happiness and your own duty."

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH

Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.—Matthew 18 : 20.

I believe in the Holy Catholic Church.—Apostles' Creed.

I believe in the Holy Christian Church.—Martin Luther.

IF Protestants depend upon the Scriptures to justify the Protestant system, Roman Catholics depend upon their definition of the church and its teachings to justify Romanism. Claiming that the Christian church and the Roman organism are one and the same body, Romanists insist that to this organism was given from above the authority to declare infallibly what Christian truth is and what is not. Apart from the organism the individual has no right entitling him to determine for himself what Christian truth is and what the Scriptures mean. The church's pronouncements are final. They are not debateable. This is the thing which Dr. Emmons had in mind when after saying, that "Presbyterianism leads to Episcopacy, and Episcopacy leads to Roman Catholicism," he added, "and Roman Catholicism is an ultimate fact." *Works* 1 : 163.

§ 1. **Importance of the subject.**—Of all the doctrines which the priesthood is under obligation to present, the doctrine of the church, according to the Tridentine catechism, is to be presented most frequently—*omnium frequentissime.* To use the words of a modern Roman Catholic writer, "the doctrine of the church is the hinge on which all our controversy with Protestantism turns. It is impossible to accept the true doctrine of the church and at the same time be an heretic." On the other hand, the Protestant system demands that the

doctrine to be presented above all others is Jesus Christ and him crucified. Knowing Christ and believing in him, it is impossible, the Protestant holds, to be a heretic and castaway.

The church was made for the first time the subject of a separate treatment by Cyprian, d. 258, in his work *The Unity of the Church*. Two centuries later, in his controversy with the Donatists, Augustine discussed the church and its functions from every angle. The third period in the discussion was the age of Wyclif and Huss. The fourth period was the era beginning with Luther and Calvin and including later Hooker, Field, Cardinal Bellarmine and others. Amongst English-speaking peoples, the last period of the discussion was the period of the Oxford movement when the nature and functions of the church were again the subject of treatise and debate. It was convictions about the church which led Newman to pass over to Rome. In 1844 Newman wrote to Keble, "For two years and a half, the conviction has been growing more urgent and imperative continually that the Roman communion is the only true church. This conviction came upon me while I was reading the Fathers." A year later, in his Development of Christian Doctrine, he identified the church with the Roman Catholic organism. When he sent for Father Dominic to receive him into the Roman communion, October 7th, 1845, he wrote that it was "into the one true fold of the Redeemer," he was asking to be admitted.[1] So far as papal deliverances go, Leo XIII dealt more frequently with the definition and functions of the church than, perhaps, any other pontiff had done. His most important deliverance was on the unity of the church. —*de unitate ecclesiæ*—*Works* 6: 156–189.

§ 2. **The word "church" in the Scriptures.**—It is of primal importance to discover what is meant when the word church is used in the New Testament. It occurs only three times in the Gospels and all three times in Matthew within the compass of two verses. Matthew makes Christ say "upon this rock I will build my church" and "if he shall

neglect to hear thee, tell it unto the church but, if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," Matt. 16: 18, 18: 17. The terms otherwise used by our Lord for the régime he came to establish, were the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God, which are given in Matthew no less than thirty-six times and used in Mark, Luke, the Acts, by Paul and in the Book of Revelation. The two terms, church and kingdom of God, are not synonymous. In many passages it would be incongruous to substitute the one for the other. In the Lord's Prayer we could hardly pray, "Thy church come" nor use the word church in the passage, "the kingdom of God, cometh not with observation, it is within you," Luke 17: 23. As presented in the parables, the kingdom of God is a power, an atmosphere of godliness, a disposition, a treasure, as well as a group of people under one government. As a power, our Lord compared it to leaven which leaveneth the whole lump. As a possession, he compared it to a treasure hidden in a field. As a realm, the rich man was said to have difficulty in entering it. In the parable of the wedding-feast, the kingdom of heaven is likened to a company of like-minded people. Paul had in mind the conceptions of a spiritual power and disposition when he wrote to the Romans that the "kingdom of God is not meat or drink but righteousness and joy and peace in the Holy Ghost." The last thing reported of the Apostle is that he was preaching the kingdom of God, Acts 28: 31.

The term church,—*ekklesia*,—in the common use of the word, meant a meeting or assemblage of people such as the turbulent assembly—*ekklesia*—at Ephesus, Acts 19: 32, 39. The original idea of the Christian church was of a body of Christian people meeting together for mutual edification. The use of the word for a place of meeting or a building does not occur in the New Testament and appears first late in the second century when Clement of Alexandria spoke of "going to church." From that time on, the word had a double meaning, like the word "home" meaning now a place as

when we speak of going home, and now a group of related people as when we speak of a cheerful home. The word Christians can be substituted for the word church as when it is said that Paul and Barnabas were brought on their way by the church, that is the Christians of Antioch, and were received in Jerusalem "by the church," that is the Christians of that city, Acts 15 : 1–4. An example showing that the writer of the Acts always meant by church a group of Christian people appears from his two statements describing Paul's activity as a persecutor, "laying waste the church," and "breathing out slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," Acts 8: 3, 9: 1, 13.

The word church in the New Testament was used now comprehensively for the entire body of Christians now for a restricted group. The entire body of believers was meant when Christ said that he would found his church upon a rock, and Paul wrote, "I persecuted the church of God," Gal. 1: 13. The expression "church of God," is used once in the Acts and four times in Paul's Epistles and the expression "church of the living God" once, I Tim. 3: 15. The expression "the whole church" occurs three times, once in connection with the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira and twice when the reference plainly seems to be to the local body of Christians in Jerusalem. Acts 15: 22, Rom. 16: 23. In its restricted application, the word is used of Christians belonging to a single household as "the church in the house of Philemon," living in a single city as "the church of Ephesus, the church in Smyrna, the church in Sardis," or of groups living in a given territory, as the "churches of Galatia," "the seven churches of Asia Minor," or of a constituency bound together by race or language, as "the churches of the Gentiles," Rom. 16 : 4. The expression "churches of Christ" is used once in the New Testament but the expression church of Christ does not occur in the book.

The figures used in the New Testament for the church, are a flock, the human body, a family, a city, a wife, and suggest on the one hand, dependence upon Christ as the

source of life and the object of devotion, and on the other the fellowship existing between its members. Peter also brought out the family idea when he bade his readers love "the brotherhood,"—I Pet. 2: 17,—an expression common in the early church for Christians. Serapion spoke of the church as "the whole brotherhood."

§ 3. The treatment of the church by the Fathers.—The first writer among the Fathers, Clement of Rome, when he spoke of the church of God, meant the whole body of Christians dwelling in a particular locality, as when he addressed his epistle "from the church of God sojourning in Rome to the church of God sojourning in Corinth, to them who are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ." He used the expression, "the whole church," as also did Ignatius. The title, "Catholic church" was used for the first time by Ignatius when he wrote to the Christians in Smyrna, that "where Christ is, there is the Catholic church," meaning no doubt the same thing that Clement meant by his expression the "whole church." Irenæus,—*de haer.* 3: 28,—followed the same path when he declared that "where the church is, there is the Holy Spirit, and where the Holy Spirit of God is, there is the church and all grace." Gradually the view was developed that the church is a corporation or institution which accepts certain formulas, dispenses certain ordinances and has a certain virtue in contrast with the conception of the church as a body of believers. In his Unity of the church, Cyprian placed unity in the body of bishops whom he represented as being in the regular succession from the Apostles. Disobedience to these officials is fatal. Loyalty to an institution might seem to have been substituted for personal attachment to the Savior. Cyprian, as Tertullian had done before him, used the ark as the symbol of the church and substituted for Tertullian's expression, "outside of Christ there is no salvation—*extra Christum nulla salus*," the dangerous expression, "outside of the church"—*extra ecclesiam*—there is no salvation." In the place of Ignatius' expression, "where

Christ is there is the church," Cyprian used the expression, there is no church where there is no bishop—*ecclesia est in episcopo.*

Cyprian's idea prevailed. The church came to be regarded as an institution vested with personal and exclusive functions. No one properly calls himself a Christian who does not conform himself to it. Churchmanship displaced discipleship. The forensic idea was no doubt in the mind of Constantine when he called the church the Christian corporation—*corpus christianorum.* Augustine veered between the two conceptions. On the one hand, he defined the church as an organism, coming down from the Apostles, possessing the sacraments and the prerogative of communicating grace in their dispensation. On the other hand, he defined the church as "the aggregation of saints, the number of the just and the number of those predestinated before the foundation of the world, the body of the elect." He also presented the idea that there is a true church and a "simulated" church and as a building may have vessels of honor and vessels of dishonor, so the church is a "mixed body." Like the grains in the field of the parable, the sinning and non-elect as well as the faithful and elect retain their position in it to the day of judgment and share the same sacraments. The non-elect are the church though not of it—*cum ecclesia et tamen non sunt in ecclesia.*

§ 4. **The mediæval conception of the church.**—The sacramental and institutional definition prevailed in the Middle Ages that the church is a corporation, made up of the baptized and vested with personal qualities which inhere, in a governing or teaching body, the priesthood. The conception excluded the Greeks as schismatics although they were baptized. In his treatise on the Errors of the Greeks, Thomas Aquinas mentioned as four errors which made the Greeks schismatics,—the denial of the procession of the Spirit from the Son, the use of unleavened bread in the sacrament, the denial of purgatory and the primacy of the Roman bishop. Hugo de St. Victor, d. 1141, who lived a

hundred years before Thomas, defined the church as the "body of the faithful the totality of Christians—*universitas Christianorum*,—but his treatise on the sacraments shows that by "the faithful" he meant those who were in accord with the Roman system. A sheer departure from this conception of the Schoolmen was made by Marsiglius of Padua, Wyclif, Huss and other writers who revived Augustine's spiritual idea that the church is the company of the elect and were treated as heretics.

Boniface's bull, *unam sanctam*, 1302, quoting for the unity of the church the Song of Solomon, "my dove is one," and using the figure of the ark, affirmed that the church can have but one pilot and one captain, Peter and his successors. All the sheep were committed to Peter, and the Greeks, in repudiating the pontiff's care, confess that they are not of the one fold. In the discussion which followed the pontiff's deliverance, two startling propositions were defended by Ockham, Marsiglius, Wyclif, Huss and others, namely that baptism does not necessarily constitute membership in the church and the pope is not essential to its being. These writers contended that the Roman organism is not identical with the church of God but a part of it. The "universal catholic church," as Ockham expressed it, is "every faithful man, or all faithful living men, clerics and laymen. It can never err nor be stained by heresy nor suffer schism. It is composed of different members but forms one body, whether Greeks, Latins or barbarians, namely those who believe in Christ." Marsiglius of Padua defined the church as "all the faithful followers of Christ, priests and those not priests, both classes having the same right to be called ecclesiastics," *viri ecclesiastici*. Wyclif, leaning upon St. Augustine said that as outside of Noah's boat no beast was saved, so outside the Catholic church there is no salvation, but the Roman church is not the Catholic church but a part of the Catholic church. The unity of the church is not bound up with the papacy and Boniface's bull was to be denounced for making obedience to the pope a condition of salvation. Boniface had put

such obedience in the place of obedience to the Scriptures. No one who disobeys the Scriptures can be among the elect. A person, Wyclif continued, may be baptized and yet be a reprobate and in the number of the reprobate were some of the Roman pontiffs, as history clearly showed. The first charge made against Huss at Constance was that he had defined the universal church as the company of the elect—*predestinatorum universitas*. The article made him a heretic.

The French writer, Plaoul, 1406, defined the church as nothing else than the aggregation of those who live together in love. See Haller p. 345. Fifty years later John Wessel made a clear distinction between the true church and the company of the baptized when he wrote, "What is the church? It is the communion of the saints to which all true believers belong, who are bound together by one faith, one hope and one love to Christ." In the meantime the Roman pontiffs proved themselves true to Boniface's definition. John XXII, for example, in the bull *sancta romana et universalis ecclesia*, treated the Roman communion and the holy catholic church as identical.

§ 5. **The Roman definition.**—The Roman communion holds the mediæval and sacramental definition laying full stress upon the papal office as the centre of church unity and the final seat of religious authority. The Council of Trent without giving an explicit definition of the church, set forth what was regarded as essential to it in its statements of the sacraments, the priesthood and other dogmas. Those who deny these statements it excluded from the Christian commonwealth. It used as synonymous the titles church of God and Roman church. The Tridentine catechism defined the church as "the body of all the faithful who have lived up to this time on earth, with one invisible head, Christ, and one visible head, the successor of Peter, who occupies the Roman see." It excluded from this body, infidels, heretics and schismatics and also excommunicated persons, so long as they remain unabsolved. The Roman church is the entire church and all dissenting groups professing to be Christian are

placed by the catechism in the same relation to it which an ape, who tries to pass for a man, bears to a real man.

Cardinal Bellarmine's treatment of the church, which is regarded as the most famous part of his great work, gave the Roman conception with unexcelled clearness. After disposing one by one of the definitions made by the Donatists, Wyclif and the Protestant Reformers, he defined the true church as "the company of all who are bound together by the profession of the same Christian faith and by the use of the same sacraments and are under the rule of legitimate pastors and principally Christ's vicar upon earth, the Roman pontiff." In explaining the definition, the cardinal said that the essential marks of the church are:—1. Profession of the same Christian faith—a mark by which all unbelievers who never have believed are excluded, as the Turks, Jews and Pagans, and all who have believed and have fallen away, namely heretics and apostates. 2. Use of the same sacraments, by which are excluded catechumens preparing to receive the sacraments and all the excommunicate. 3. Obedience to the Roman pontiff, by which all schismatics are excluded though they have the sacraments, such as the Greek Christians. All others are in the church, which comprehends persons morally wicked as well as the good, the infirm as well as the healthy. Locally this body, the true church, consists of three parts, the church militant, the church in purgatory and the church triumphant. By Bellarmine's three marks, Protestants, though not mentioned by name, are shut off from all hope of belonging to the company of the saved in case they perservere in their "rebellion." The "faith," it must be noted, spoken of by Bellarmine is the Roman Catholic doctrinal system and not the soul's saving trust in Christ.

Bellarmine's definition is in substance, if not in exact language, repeated by modern Roman authorities. The Baltimore Plenary catechism, to the question, "What is the church?" replies, "The church is the congregation of all who profess the faith of Christ, partake of the same sacraments

and are governed by their lawful pastors under one visible head." To the question "Who is the holy father," it replies "the pope, the bishop of Rome, the vicar of Christ on earth." The Catechism of Pius X, after laying down that "the church is the society of true Christians, that is the baptized who profess the faith and doctrine of Jesus Christ, partake of the same sacraments and obey the pastors appointed by him," pronounces the Roman pontiff to be St. Peter's successor and identifies "the church of Jesus Christ with the Catholic Roman church because she alone is one, holy, catholic and apostolic as Jesus Christ ordained her to be." The catechism then proceeds to say that there are many religious societies founded by men which falsely appropriate the name "church." Recent popes reaffirm the position which identifies the Roman church and the church of Christ and make obedience to the pope essential to membership in it. In his bull *unigenitus*, Clement, XI, 1713, condemned the definition that the Catholic church is nothing but the company of the children of God, redeemed by Christ's blood, that its members are all saints—*sanctos*—and that he who leads the life of love has God for his father and Christ as his head." Repeatedly Leo XIII, as on Jan. 22, 1899, reaffirmed that the church is "one, having its centre and base appointed of God in the Apostolic see, for where Peter is, there is the church."

§ 6. **The Protestant definition.**—The definition laid down by the Protestant Reformers was based upon the Scriptures. It revived the spiritual definition of Augustine and pronounced the election of God, the prerequisite and mark of membership in the true church. Luther identified the Christian church with the communion of saints professed in the Apostles' Creed. The papacy is not of divine appointment. Forms of human administration, Presbyterian, Anglican or Congregational are of subordinate importance. John Eck was right when, soon after the disputation at Leipzig, he wrote that Luther denied that the church was built upon Peter. He surmised rightly that Luther would

include in the scheme of salvation believing Greeks and schismatics,—Smith: Cor. 1 : 205. According to Calvin's definition, "the church is the number of the elect to which many belong who have been illuminated by the Spirit without the preaching of the Gospel," or, as he stated in his catechism,—"The church is the body and fellowship of those who believe, whom God hath ordained and chosen for life everlasting." Far from disparaging the church, Luther declared that there is no truth and no benediction outside of it. Luther and Calvin, in condemning church conditions, censured the hierarchy or "teaching church," not the body of Christian believers.

If we turn to the English Reformers, we find Tyndale—*Answer*, pp. 30–42, calling "Christ's church the whole multitude of repentant sinners that believe in Christ and put their trust and confidence in the mercy of God." Bishop Hooper, *Later Writings*, p. 41,—who had been in Zürich, affirmed that "the church, invisible to the eye of man, is known to God and the same church is coupled together in heart, will and spirit by the bond of faith and charity." The official Protestant definition as given in the Augsburg Confession, 1530, has never been excelled:—"The church is the congregation of the saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered." With this definition, the XXXIX Articles almost literally agree: "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's order in all those things which of necessity are requisite to the same." A century later Richard Field,—*Of the Church*, p. 11,—replying to the definitions of Stapleton and Bellarmine gave the answer that "The church is the number of those whom God severeth from the rest of the world by the work of His grace and calleth to the participation of eternal happiness by the knowledge of such supernatural verities as He hath revealed in His Son and such other precious means as He hath appointed to set forward the work of their salvation," etc.

§ 7. The Protestant and the Roman definitions compared. —Protestants and Romanists agree that Christ established the church. They differ as follows:—1. The Roman definition identifies "the kingdom of God," and "the church" as did Prierias in his replies to Luther. The definition makes obedience to the Roman pontiff, as Christ's reputed vicar a condition of membership in the church. Protestants make a clear distinction between the kingdom of God and the church. The true church has no head but Jesus Christ and to him alone believers owe subjection. 2. The Roman definition includes an intermediate realm called purgatory whose existence Protestants deny. 3. The Romanists reject the distinction between the visible and the invisible church which Protestants affirm. Bellarmine declared that the church is as visible and palpable as the Roman community, the republic of Venice or the kingdom of Naples. Though the ruler be absent yet his regent, the Roman pontiff, is seen and his voice heard. The Protestant distinction between the visible and invisible church was thus stated in the Westminster Confession, "the catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, and is the spouse, the body, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all. The visible church, which is also catholic or universal, being confined to no one nation, consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion together with their children and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation." The distinction seems to have the authority of Paul,—Rom. 2: 26–29,—who asserted that all who are of Israel are not Israel and that there may be an outward circumcision of the flesh where there is no change of heart. As there was a carnal Israel which Christ condemned and a spiritual Israel so there is a nominal church and a real church, the outward body of church adherents whose numbers can be counted and the mystical body of Christ, "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all," Eph. 1: 23. As Wyclif put it,—*de eccl.* p. 89,—it is one thing to be of the church and another to be in the church—*aliud*

esse de ecclesia et aliud esse in ecclesia. Judas and Ananias had the outward marks without the reality of church membership. On the other hand, Job and Melchizedek belonged to the church of God although they lacked the outward sign of circumcision. The invisible church or the company of the elect, God alone infallibly knows, II Tim. 2: 19. Its membership depends upon God's call and election, and baptism by human hands is not a requirement to which there is no exception.

4. The Roman definition substitutes for the ancient motto of Tertullian, outside of Christ there is no salvation, and Cyprian's motto, outside of the church there is no salvation, the motto, "outside the Roman church there is no salvation."—*extra ecclesiam romanam nulla salus.* This was meant by the Fourth Lateral council, 1215, when it declared "the universal church of the faithful" to be the body outside of which no one at all is saved—*extra quam nemo omnino salvatur.* Eugene IV in 1441, affirmed that "the Holy Roman church fully believes that all who are outside of it, Pagans and likewise also Jews, heretics and schismatics cannot become—*fieri non posse*—partakers of eternal life but will go to the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. Pius V, opened his fulmination against Elizabeth by declaring that "outside the one holy Catholic and Apostolic church," over which God has placed the Roman pontiff, "there is no salvation." In the nineteenth century Gregory XVI added to the statement that men "are saved only in the Catholic religion" the declaration that "those who die in heresy cannot attain to eternal life." His successor, Pius IX, in his allocutions, December 9th, 1854, and August 10th, 1865, announced it to be "a most assured dogma and a matter of faith that outside the Apostolic Roman church it is not possible for anyone to be saved and that those who resist its authority and are obstinately separated from its unity and from St. Peter's successor cannot obtain eternal life."[2] The Romanist who ventures to look upon intelligent Protestants as included in the number of the saved defies

such utterances. If the pope is infallible on any matter, he ought to be infallible when he defines the terms of salvation.

On the other hand, it has been the Protestant principle from the earliest time to recognize the Roman communion as a part of the Christian church. Luther said that "in every parish where children are baptized and the Gospel is preached and Christ proclaimed, there is the church." Again he said, "We acknowledge that there is under the papacy much that is good and Christian, yea everything that is good and Christian, the Holy Scriptures, valid baptism, the valid sacrament of the altar, the keys for the forgiveness of sins, true preaching and the true catechism. Therefore I say that under the pope true Christianity exists, and many pious and great saints." In his Larger Catechism, he stated the case in a most inclusive way when he said that outside of Christianity—*extra Christianitatem*—there is no remission of sins. The Reformed standards in setting the terms of redemption went back to the ancient motto, "outside of Christ"—*extra Christum nulla salus*. The Second Helvetic Confession said: "we believe that outside of Christ, there is no certainty of salvation." It was the custom during the period of the Reformation for the adherents of the new way in England to use the expression "particular churches" for the different church communions as Wyclif and Huss had done before. The King's Book, 1543, spoke of "the Church of England and other known particular churches in which Christ's name is truly honored and which be members of the whole Catholic church when they merely profess and teach the faith and religion of Christ according to the Scriptures and the Apostolic doctrine." The Bishop's Book of 1537 had spoken of "the Church of Rome with all the particular churches of the world which compacted and unified together do make and constitute but one Catholic church body." Protestants are untrue to their past if they deny that the Roman church is a part of the church of Christ.

5. The Protestant definition conforms more closely to the

spiritual nature of Christianity which, according to the New Testament, is a matter of the will and the affections, a disposition and purpose rather than a series of outward observances and theological formulas. Paul prayed that "Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith." Bellarmine as has been said, made it a specific objection to Protestantism that it lays stress upon inward and spiritual dispositions while Catholicism lays stress upon outward marks and ceremonies.

6. The Protestant definition widens the boundaries of the Christian commonwealth and increases the number of those who are heirs of salvation. If obedience to the pope and the Tridentine decrees is the condition of receiving the benefits of the Gospel, then multitudes of good and conscientious men and women will be forever lost who have deliberately rejected the pope and those decrees. If on the other hand, as Protestants hold, the divine election determines who shall receive the benefits of the Gospel, then the number of the saved depends not upon human statistics. Calvin in his Institutes spoke of the sheep without the pale of the church. Zwingli was in advance not only of his times, but of his fellow Reformers when, on the basis of God's predestinating grace, he explicitly included amongst the saved, not only good men of the classic world who had no opportunity to hear the Gospel, but also the children of the heathen who die in infancy. The wider geographical outlook which since the sixteenth century society has secured, makes it increasingly difficult to credit the Roman Catholic definition that obedience to the pope is a condition of being in the Christian church. By the Protestant conception, the tremendous problem of the ultimate destiny of the millions who never hear of Christ gets at least a probable solution which accords with God's infinite mercy. By the official Roman conception, there is no hope for such men as Washington, John Marshall, Lincoln and McKinley, all of whom knowingly rejected distinctive Roman dogmas. The same is true of men such as Roger Williams and Jonathan Edwards, Charles Hodge and Bishop Brooks. The recent writer, Straub, in his

scholarly work on the church—2 : 307—continues to defend the historic Roman definition and affirms that the church is not to be accused of heartless severity in excluding from salvation unbaptized children dying in infancy and members of the false sects—*falsas sectas.*

7. The Protestant conception of the church is the Scriptural conception; the Roman the product of theological specualtion and ecclesiastical growth. The passage of the New Testament that comes nearest to a definition was uttered by Christ when he said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," Matt. 18 : 20. A group of people who meet in Christ's name and in the midst of whom Christ is must be of the church. Long ago Tertullian, following Christ's statement said, where three are, even though they be laymen, there is the church,—*ubi tres sint ibi ecclesia, licet laici.* The Italian manual written to explain the Catechism of Pius X declares that the Roman church is the only church and Protestants cannot be a part of it, because "they do not possess holiness and do not recognize the one foundation of Jesus Christ but the foundation of Luther, Calvin and Henry VIII, rebels and men of vicious, cruel and adulterous lives." Breaking away from the mediæval idea, Luther in his Address to the German Nobility illustrated the truth well much as Huss had done before, when he said that "if a little company of Christian laymen were seized and carried away to a desert and had not among them a priest consecrated by a bishop and agreed to elect one to absolve sins and preach, this man would be as truly a priest as if all bishops and all popes had consecrated him and such believers would be the church in that locality." The secret of church membership is involved in the answer that is given to the question put by the Moravian missionary, Spangenberg, to John Wesley, then an Anglican chaplain in Georgia, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" With Protestants today the ultimate human criterion of membership in the church is a proper attitude to Christ as Savior and Lord, as he is made known in the

Scriptures. The conditions of membership are a disposition of heart and virtuous daily conduct, Protestants accept Irenæus when he said "the pillar and ground of the church is the Gospel and the spirit of life," *de haer.* 3: 11, 8.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH

ITS ATTRIBUTES AND FUNCTIONS

Where true faith is, there is the new birth, and where the new birth is, there is the church.—Adam Pastor, the Anabaptist.

UNDER the term "church," the Roman definition combines with the conception of a group of believing people the false conception of personality, from which Christian law emanates and the sacraments are dispensed. The church is spoken of and thought of as performing acts and conferring saving virtue. Like an individual, it commands, it baptizes, it teaches. When Calvin, in his tract on Reforming the Church, spoke of the "specious word church," he had in mind this unbiblical conception. When a Protestant ascribes to the church active functions, he speaks metaphorically. For him the church does not administer the sacraments as though the church were a vital entity distinct from the body of believers. The sacraments are administered among believers who compose the church.

To avoid the confusion that the church is a body of believers and at the same time an independent functioning personality, the Roman communion makes a distinction between the "teaching church" and the "believing church" or between "the church which consists of those who rule, teach and edify" and "the church which is taught, governed and receives the sacraments." In view of this definition, when one speaks of the church one may mean the priesthood or one may mean the Roman communion. In justifying the distinction, Straub—1: 10—adduces Acts 15: 4, "they were received by the church and by the Apostles and leaders."

Philip IV had in mind the delusiveness of the distinction when he replied to Boniface VIII that the church consists of laymen as well as clerics.[1]

So easily is the mind deceived by a word used in a double meaning, that, during the Middle Ages, the Roman pontiff and the cardinals were often understood to be the church. This popular conception was so widespread that Marsiglius, Wyclif and Huss and later Luther, Hooper and other Protestant Reformers repeatedly protested against it. "The people," Wyclif said, "understands by the Roman church, the pope and the cardinals whom it is necessary for all others to obey," *de eccl.*V. Long before, Tertullian,—*de pud.*—was guarding against a like error when he affirmed that "the church is not the body of the bishops." In replying to Luther, Prierias—Erlang. ed. 1 : 346—made a distinction of three bodies going by the name "the church." The church he said "is essentially the company of all who believe in Christ, virtually the Roman church, which is the head of all churches and the supreme pontiff, and representatively the college of cardinals though in another sense than Christ is the head of the church." When the Dominican father used the word "virtually," he was referring to the exercise of power. The distinction between the "teaching church" and "the believing church" has been compared to the distinction between the "government and people of the United States." The analogy deceives because the government of the United States is the people itself functioning through its chosen representatives. In the Roman communion the "teaching church" is a separate body, which acts independently of the people and is not responsible to the people.

I. The attributes of the church.—Four attributes are ascribed to the church by the Nicene creed in the article, "I believe in one, holy, catholic, Apostolic church," that is unity, holiness, catholicity or universality and Apostolicity. Protestants and Romanists alike claim these attributes with the difference that the Roman church claims them for itself exclusively while Protestants do not deny them to the Roman

communion. None of these qualities is expressly joined with the word church in the New Testament. The nearest approach to it is the statement of Peter who called Christians "a holy nation." The only predicate expressly ascribed to the church by the New Testament is "glorious." At the final consummation Christ will present to himself "a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing," Eph. 5:27. We proceed to take up the four attributes one by one.

§ 1. **Unity.**—The unity claimed by the Tridentine catechism and Roman theologians is outward solidarity based upon uniformity of doctrinal statement, papal government and ritual. Cardinal Gibbons affirms that "Christ intended that his church should have one doctrine which all Christians are bound to believe and one uniform government to which all should loyally be attached." He also lays stress on the common worship practised by Roman Catholics whether they be in Melbourne, San Francisco or Rome, "all assisting at the same sacrifice of the mass." The chief criterion of unity laid down from Cardinal Sadolet and Prierias to Leo XIII and Straub is implicit obedience to the Roman pontiff. Protestants place Christian unity in that inward disposition whereby God is called Abba Father, the confession of Christ as Lord and Savior and the acceptance of the Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice. It differs from Romanism in allowing a certain amount of individual freedom in the external forms of religious devotion and church government, and follows St. Paul who speaks of the "unity of the Spirit, and of one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," Eph. 4: 5. When the Bishop of Rochester laid down the proposition that "the church is one, having one head, the pope who is the vicar of Christ," Tyndale properly replied, "How is it that Rochester will not let us be called one congregation by reason of one Spirit, one Gospel, one faith, one hope and one baptism, as well as because of one pope?"—*Obedience of a Christian Man*, p. 212.

The objection that Protestantism is divided up into families and that this division makes it impossible for Prot-

estants to repeat the Nicene article sincerely is greatly emphasized by Roman writers. For example, Cardinal Gibbons dilates upon "the multitudinous sects in the United States with their mutual recriminations, this multiplicity being the scandal of Christianity and the greatest obstacle to the conversion of the heathen." The Protestant replies that distribution into families need not mean strife and quarrelling, otherwise the different states of the American republic would always be quarrelling. The eye is not at discord with the ear and they are of the same body. Paul's figure of the body does not imply uniformity. Unity is not monotony. Unity and variety are quite consistent. If it were not so, there would be no forests consisting of a diversity of trees—elms, maples, beeches—all drawing from the same soil and lighted by the same sun. The unity of the church, Isaac Barrow long ago said, is like the unity of mankind.—*Works* 6: 501. The human genus everywhere partakes of "common rationality" and all men have marks which distinguish them as belonging to the human family even though there are differences of language. Calvin put the matter thus. "I indeed admit that dire vengeance from God impends over all who make it their effort to violate the unity of the church but what greater violation of unity can be thought than when purity of doctrine is adulterated and Christ in consequence, as it were, is torn to pieces." The Reformer was writing to Paul III and added "Who but you Farnese, is the author and high priest of such dismembering!"

The acceptance of dogmas not found in the Scriptures, such as papal infallibility and the denial of the cup to the laity, may bind Roman Catholics together but they cannot disturb the union of Christians with Christ, for Christ never taught the dogmas. As for peace which is the offspring of real spiritual unity, history shows enough of violations of it in the Roman communion. There have been rivalries between the monastic orders and bitter disputes within the orders, as in the order of St. Francis d'Assisi over the rule of absolute poverty. About 1650, the origin of the order of

Carmelites led to a bitter dispute between its members and the Jesuits. The Carmelites maintained that they had Elijah as their founder. The open dispute ended when Innocent XII commanded the orders to keep silence until the papal chair should render a decision—a thing not yet done. The Jesuits have had their ups and downs in the church and their punishments at the hands of pontiffs for the discord they were sowing in Christian and heathen lands. There have been disputes between Roman theologians from the discord between the followers of Thomas Aquinas and the followers of Duns Scotus to the disputes between the adherents of Gallicanism and Ultra-montanism in France, and between the Infallibilists and the Old Catholics, and the Modernists and the Mediævalists in more recent times. Differences in matters unessential may be a strong proof that there is life. Movement excludes stagnation. After all, the present variations of Protestants upon which so many Roman controversialists,—who are not Bossuets,—dilate at length are not so bad. Fellowship prevails amongst the Protestant bodies far more than division. The difference between the animus of the school of Bossuet and the spirit of the school of Archbishop Fenelon, were far more pronounced than differences which today divide Methodists and Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists and other Protestant communions. Bossuet went to the pope to secure the condemnation of his pious opponent and secured what he sought. No reputable Methodist would seek the condemnation of a Presbyterian, or Presbyterian the condemnation of a Baptist.

Unity of spirit and purpose is one thing; corporate Christian uniformity, another. The one is obedience to Christ, the other obedience to a human system. Two families do not have to dwell under the same roof to enjoy the sunshine and the air and to live together in concord. It is certain that Peter and Paul had differences and chose different fields of labor. The Protestant holds that there is unity where there is obedience to Christ; the Romanist, that

there is unity where there is obedience to the pope. Leo XIII in his encyclical on the unity of the church followed his predecessors, Boniface VIII and Leo X, in teaching that unity of fellowship—*unitas communionis*—follows upon unity of the faith and unity of government—*unitas regiminis*—by which, were meant the Roman doctrinal system and the papal government. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, in its article on the church, represents Protestantism as "a Babel of religious organizations and rival bodies whose doctrines are contradictory." Protestants deny the charge and assert that in matters plainly set forth in the Scriptures, they agree and the matters in which they differ, such as the form of administration and the method of baptism, are minor matters upon which Christian character and spiritual unity do not hang.

§ 2. **Holiness.**—Of holiness, the second attribute of the church, neither the Roman communion nor the Protestant communion have any excess whereof to boast. The old interpretation of the Song of Solomon, "Thou art fair my love and there is no spot in thee," as a prophecy of the church, may still suit those who prefer allegory to history, but Paul was against them when he implied that the church in the present dispensation has "wrinkle and blemish." What makes the church holy? Dr. Milner replies that "it is its doctrine." Reason itself, he says, assures us that "the God of purity and sanctity could not institute a religion destitute of sanctity." The doctor was right but religion is one thing and the Roman organism another. The decalogue was a good religious code. Israel had it and Israel had no goodness or religion whereof to boast. The churches of Asia Minor, as well as the church of Corinth, had Apostles as their overseers and were Christian organizations and yet they were accused of lukewarmness and positive offense against the law of Christ. If it is "reasonable" that God should have made the church holy, is it not equally reasonable that he should have made the papacy holy, an institution which Romanists hold to be of divine origin. Holiness

as a pursuit is one thing. Holiness as an inherent quality another and such holiness belongs to the church triumphant alone.

It is interesting to follow the evidences given by Roman Catholic writers, for the holiness of the Roman communion. Straub for example, adduces the sanctity of very many of its members, the singular merits of many of them, and its endowment with miraculous power. Cardinal Gibbons, in a notable passage, asserts that it is absurd to apply the predicate of holiness otherwheres than to the Roman church. She alone has true devotional writings, such as the works of Thomas à Kempis and Rodriguez, the latter being compared with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*—to Bunyan's disparagement. She has many saintly personalities on her lists and, compared with her, the Protestant records do not contain a single saint. Fifty years before the cardinal, Dr. Milner recalled the great array of Roman saints and compared them in religion and morality to Protestants, as for example, Cardinal Fisher with Archbishop Cranmer and Mary, Queen of Scots, with Elizabeth. Of the partisans of what he called the "impious and immoral system of Calvin, such as the Wesleyans and Moravians and the Jumpers" he exclaimed, could they help but be bad! Of course, it might have been possible for Dr. Milner to have set side by side with Cardinal Wolsey, Bishop Latimer, with Louis XIV, Washington, and with Clement VII, General Booth, but it won't do for the polemic writer to go beyond a chosen list, when historical references are being adduced.

To the catalogue of Roman saints and martyrs Dr. Gibbons adds the company of consecrated virgins with their holy ministries and priests living in cells, the like of which he affirms, Protestantism has nothing to show. Most untrue to history and discourteous would Protestants be if they were to deny that high devotion and great piety have been exhibited within the Roman communion. They do not withhold praise from Thomas à Kempis nor deny goodness to Cardinal Fisher. On the other hand, they do not compre-

hend why faithful motherhood should not have a place on the scroll of sainthood, or why no place should be found in the table of religious statistics for such men as John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians of New England, Henry Martyn of India, Livingstone of Africa, and such women as Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale and Mary Willard, all of them Protestants. Keenan's catechism taught that the Protestant church is unholy because it "teaches that God is the author of sin," and spoke of the "debauched Church of England" and "the bloated thing called the English Church." Protestantism, it asserted, "is an absurd form of heresy from Methodism down to Modernism, which are the malodorous effluvia necessarily escaping from their decaying parents." Such statements, made in recent times, can be matched with the names given by the older Protestants to the Church of Rome. Both ought to be repudiated as relics of the past and curiosities of controversial animosity.

Nothing more may be said of the moral character of a Christian body, or the church as a whole than is true of the character of those who compose it. The cord is strong in proportion to the strength of its strands. Christians are called to be holy. They are not holy yet. The holiness of the church consists in its obedience to the summons to follow after holiness. Peter Cartwright, asked if he was sanctified, replied, "Yes, but in spots." Likewise is it with the church, Roman or Protestant. It is holy in proportion as its members are holy. It is holy because they are commanded to be holy as God said, "Be ye holy as I am holy."

§ 3. **Catholicity.**—The term catholic means "universal." It was not used by the writers of the New Testament. Their nearest approach to it is the expression, "the whole church," referring to the entire body of Christians or to a particular community as in Corinth, Rom. 16 : 23, I Cor. 14 : 23. Long ago, Wyclif pronounced the reasoning from the name "catholic" a mark of ignorance and as having its root in pride. *de eccl.* p. 39. Cardinal Gibbons limits the word "catholic" to the Roman communion and the grounds

which he gives are its superior numbers, its geographical distribution and the alleged Roman Catholic origin of the Christian church in all lands. "So evident is it," he affirms, "that the Roman church alone deserves the name catholic that it is ridiculous to deny it. Her children abound in every part of the globe. The Protestant churches, even taken collectively, are too insignificant in point of numbers and too circumscribed in their territorial strength to have any pretensions to the title catholic." The cardinal reckons the number of Roman Catholics as four times the number of Protestants. Not disputing the accuracy of the figures, the Protestant replies that, as Republicans or Democrats may be the minority in a state, yet they equally are citizens of the state, so people though inferior in numbers if they acknowledge Christ are of the church. Sometimes the minority in the state comprises the more intelligent part of the citizenship. Even if the Protestant constituency were inconsiderable, it might have sufficient Christian grace and virtue to occupy a prominent place among Christ's followers. The time was in a certain Hebrew prophet's day when the followers of true religion were much in the minority. If the geographical test be insisted on, Protestants no less than Romanists are found in every land of the earth. If language be made the test, the statement is easily verified that there are vastly more languages in which the Sermon on the Mount and the Gospels are issued from Protestant presses than from Romanist presses.

The claim that Romanism can say with reference to all parts of the world, "I was there first," is based first upon the dexterous use of words whereby the church up to the sixteenth century is identified with the present Roman organization and the two made coterminous and also upon indifference to historical facts. The geographical claim, urged at length by Dr. Milner, as well as by Cardinal Gibbons, is so specious that it ought not to be made. It draws inordinately upon the imagination. The Gospel was carried to Samaria and Greece and Egypt before the church in Rome began to be spoken

about. The Gospel was spread first by the Jerusalem church and the church of Antioch. A considerable part of Eastern Europe received the Gospel from Constantinople and not from Rome. In these modern times, the first to carry Christ's religion to certain parts of the world were Protestants, as when the English settled in Jamestown, the Mayflower landed in New England, the Dutch and Huguenots came to New York, the Quakers to Philadelphia, and the Presbyterians crossed the Alleghenies. Protestant missionaries were ahead in planting Christianity in Labrador, in the islands of the South Seas, among tribes in Central Africa, in Austrialia, and other parts.

In an imaginary conversation with a Protestant, Dr. Milner laid down the proposition that "every time a candid Protestant addresses God in worship, he is forced to repeat the clause, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic church' and yet if I asked the question, 'Are you a Catholic?' he is sure to answer, 'No, I am a Protestant.' Was there ever a more glaring instance of self-condemnation among rational beings!" So much for Dr. Milner's way of putting the case. Suppose the Protestant were to reply and say, "Dr. Milner, you are a Christian and repeat the clause of the Apostles' Creed 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church.' You are a Roman Catholic Christian, I am a Protestant Catholic Christian." Dr. Milner retorts, "Never did I hear in all my life of a Protestant Catholic or a Protestant Catholic church." And the Protestant replies, "And never did I see a copy of the Apostles' Creed which ran, 'I believe in the *Roman* Catholic church." To be a Christian and to be a Catholic are one and the same things as to be an "American" and a "citizen of the United States" is one and the same thing. Luther proposed that the article in the Creed read, "I believe in the holy Christian church." Thus changed, the article would mean exactly what the Apostles understood the church to be. The change would make impossible logical finesse based upon the false use of the word "catholic." A good definition of catholicity is made in the quaint language

of the Scotch Confession 1560, that the church is "ane kirk quhilk alswa is the bodie and spouse of Christ Jesus quhilk kirk is catholike, that is universal because it contains the elect of all ages, of all nations, realmes and tongues."

§ 4. **Apostolicity.**—This attribute carries the Christian church back to the Apostles. Protestants and Roman Catholics are both right in claiming to have an Apostolic ancestry so far as they conform in teachings and practice to the Apostolic rule. This judgment had a spokesman in Tertullian who said, *de presb.* 32, the churches "which concur in the same faith are Apostolic because of the consanguinity of doctrine." When Apostolicity is under discussion by Roman Catholics the name, "Protestant" is treated as fatal. Cardinal Gibbons exclaims, "whoever heard of a Baptist or an Episcopalian or any other Protestant church prior to the Reformation?" Whoever heard, the reply might be made, of the mention of a "Romanist" or a "Roman Catholic" in the New Testament or for centuries after Peter and Paul died?

When Luther was called to Rome by Leo X, he was called to answer for what he had said, "against our supreme Lord" —meaning the pope—"and the holy Roman church."— Smith: Cor. 1: 107, 153. If Luther had gone to Rome and stated what the Apostles laid down in the New Testament and Leo had hearkened to him, the church which is now Roman would be Protestant, howbeit not under that name. The protesting parties of the sixteenth century as has been said before, were forced against their will to form a distinct Christian group like bees swarming to a new hive. Charged with being rebels and renouncing Apostolicity, Calvin put the case in these words: "We truly have renounced that church wherein we could neither have the Word of God sincerely taught nor the sacraments rightly administered. We have forsaken the church as it now is, not as it was in old time, and so gone from it as Daniel went from the lions' den and the children out of the fiery furnace and, to say the truth, we have been cast out and cursed, as they use to say,

with book, bell and candle, rather than have gone away of ourselves."

Protestants and Roman Catholics alike repeat with honesty and intelligence the article of the Nicene Creed "I believe in the one, holy, catholic, apostolic church" in proportion as Christ is the center of their confidence and hope and every opinion and practise eschewed which he condemned.

II. Functions of the church.—In seeking for the true church, it is as essential to determine whether it exercises life-giving functions as to determine what its attributes are and who constitute it. For in the Roman system, the church is represented as ruling, dispensing the sacraments, being the custodian of the Scriptures and having the sole right of interpreting the Scriptures as if the church were a person distinct from the Christian constituency so that it may be said "she" doth this or that. Protestants hold that there is great danger in treating the "church" as though it were a distinct person endowed with functions, and that while it is difficult to avoid treating the church as a vital organism with a separate individualism, it should be taught that the church is nothing else but the body of Christians, that is Christians, a few or many, acting in obedience to the precepts of the Gospel. Here, some of these supposed functions of "the church" will be taken up, others in the chapter on the ministry and priesthood.

§ 5. "The church the custodian of the Scriptures."—The Roman position is that the Scriptures were committed for preservation and distribution to the church. She is, as the Vatican Decrees put it, the custodian and teacher of the revealed Word—*custos et magistra*. But by the delusive word "church" is meant here, not the whole number of Christians but a select body known as the "teaching church," that is the body of the bishops or the priesthood as a whole. The Protestant position is that the Scriptures were committed to every Christian individual to be guarded by every one, read by every one and recommended by every one. They contain the Christian revelation and belong to every

wayfaring man for safe keeping and proper use. As a matter of history, the text of the book has been guarded more safely, and prized by Tischendorf, Westcott and other modern scholars more highly than by many popes and generations of the priesthood. The modern scholar has not only discovered and brought to light manuscripts hidden away and unappreciated except as venerable parchments from Mt. St. Catherine to convents in the West but has brought our Greek text into closer conformity with the Apostolic originals. At the same time, single individuals like Peter Waldo and the Waldensians did more to properly honor the Scriptures by disseminating its pages than did the whole "church" in certain countries. The custodianship of the sacred record was committed not to the "church" but to Christians and Christians were to show their appreciation of it not by hiding it in a napkin.

§ 6. **The church the interpreter of Christian truth.**—The Roman claim goes further and makes "the church" the sole interpreter of the Scriptures. Here again is meant by "the church" not the body of Christians but the "teaching church" or hierarchy. On the other hand, Protestants hold that to every Christian is given the right to interpret the Scriptures for himself. This right of private judgment, Luther had in mind in the preface to his translation of the New Testament when he said, "It would be proper to send forth this book without preface of any kind and without any name that is not in the book itself, but just as it is with nothing added to its name and record." It was in accord with this principle that after the Diet of Worms, he wrote,—Smith: Cor. 1: 536,—"That a Christian man must exercise the privilege to judge God's Word and the faith by himself, even as he has to live and die by it. For the Word of God and the faith are the property of every man in the entire community." Cardinal Gibbons disparagingly suggests that "every new-fledged Protestant divine with a superficial education may stamp his name on somebody which calls itself a 'church.'"

The case presented by the cardinal is a possible case, for the Word of God is free and, being free, may be abused. It has been misinterpreted by patriarchs of the great sees of Rome and Constantinople as well as by non-Catholics who were probably in the cardinal's mind. Everything that is good may be abused and every good writing be misinterpreted. It has been charged that Protestants proclaim the fallacy that all men are alike capable of discovering the meaning of the Scriptures. On the contrary, they lay as much stress upon scholarship as does any other group of people and insist upon intellectual qualifications on the part of the ministry. But the right to look for heavenly wisdom in the book of books belongs to all and the way of salvation can be easily determined from its pages. The matter has never been set forth more clearly than by the Westminster Confession which says that "while all things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves nor alike clear to all, yet those things which are necessary to be known for salvation, are so clearly propounded or opened in some place of Scripture or other that not only the learned but the unlearned in a due sense of the ordinary means, may attain to a sufficient understanding of them." The Protestant positions are that, as the Bereans of old searched the Scriptures and were commended for so doing, so all men should search for themselves and that no corporate body or individual has the right to claim for themselves the monopoly of deciding what Christian truth is. "Neither the testimony of Augustine nor Jerome nor any other saint," as Wyclif rightly put it, "should be accepted any further than it is based upon Scripture." Or as he said in his Trialogus, "if there were a hundred popes and all the friars were turned into cardinals, their decisions in matters of the faith are not to be believed except as they are grounded in Scripture." If a knowledge of Greek customs and laws is preserved in Greek literature and men are encouraged to go to it and read for themselves, why should they not be encouraged to go to the most sacred of books, which contains the teachings that pertain to everlasting life?

The canon which denies to the individual the right to interpret the Scriptures for himself has been defended by Paul's words that "the church is the pillar and ground of the truth" but it happens that early Christian writers applied the Pauline assertion to individual Christians as well as to the church as did Clement of Alexandria and Irenæus. Paul himself spoke of James and others as "pillars of the church." Gal. 2: 9.

As a matter of history, the truth which is contained in the Scriptures has been discovered by individuals just as truth in the realm of nature has been discovered by individuals. Scientific societies never did what Newton, Pasteur and Edison have done. If individual men like Athanasius, Augustine and others had been muzzled, we would be badly off for theological knowledge. It was individual prophets, speaking independently who told Israel what the divine precepts were. The student and Christian groups today adduce individual witnesses from Clement of Rome and Justin Martyr down to Thomas Aquinas and Calvin for their tenets, Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, the difference being that Roman Catholics follow the testimonies because their spiritual fathers did and Protestants in so far as they agree with the written page of Scripture.

Another defence offered by the Romanist for restricting the interpretation of the Scriptures to "the teaching church" is falsely based upon the words of Second Peter, 1: 20, 21—that "no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation." The English word "private" is a translation of the Greek word, *idias*, which means "one's own" as Christ was said to have gone into "his own city." Peter's injunction was directed against arbitrary and wilful meanings put into the Prophets' writings such as the Prophets writing under the guidance of the Holy Spirit did not intend.[2]

Still another defence is based upon the much quoted words which Augustine used in writing to the Manichæans, "I would not believe the Gospel, if I had not believed the church." The conclusion is drawn that the writer meant

that his reason for believing the Scriptures was the authority of the church. Even were this Augustine's meaning, his testimony would not constitute a general principle unless it was found to be in accord with the teachings of Scripture and sound reason. Augustine was human and the course of reasoning which he followed does not necessarily apply to others. His statement was an isolated one and from other statements which he made, magnifying the authority of the Scriptures themselves, it is almost certain that he meant no more than that by the church and its exercises and influence he was attracted to consider the Christian message with an open mind. With equal right he could have said, "I would not believe the Gospel, if I had not believed my mother, Monica, or listened to Ambrose or heard the singing in Milan cathedral." The voice which he heard in the garden, quoting Scripture was the crisis in Augustine's conversion. He was not comparing the merits of the Gospel with the authority of the church as the full context of the passage shows. After writing the words quoted he went on to say "Far be it from me not to believe the Gospel, for believing it I find no way of believing you. To convince me, you must put away the Gospel." Augustine did not say, "to convince me you must put away the church." Again and again, he called upon the Manichæans to read the Scriptures for proof whether his positions were right or wrong, insisting that they would discover from the Scriptures that they were the work of the Holy Spirit. Wessel commenting on Augustine's words remarks that he might as well have said, "I would not believe the Gospel unless I had believed Peter. So in my own case today, if I had not as a boy believed the members of my home and later my teachers at school and finally the clergy, I would not now believe the Gospel. Nevertheless, I now believe the Gospel more than I believe any number of mortal men." All or almost all the Reformers beginning with Luther and Calvin, discussed Augustine's words. *Whitaker*, p. 320-322, remarked that "the authority of the church may at first move us with knowledge of the Scriptures

but afterwards, when we have read the Scriptures for ourselves, we conceive a true faith, not because the church judges that we should believe, but because the Holy Spirit persuades us internally that these are the words of God."[3]

§ 7. **The church not an infallible teacher.**—It is difficult to understand how both the church and the pope can be infallible teachers, a claim which is made for both. The Romanist position is that in matters of doctrine and morals the church is kept from error and has never taught what is false. Gregory VII—Mirbt 146—said that, "the Roman church has never erred and never will err in the future, the Scriptures being the witness." This dictum has been repeated by Gregory's successors. The Tridentine catechism states the theory thus: "The church cannot err in matters of faith and morals since it is governed by the Holy Spirit, therefore it follows that all other bodies arrogating to themselves the name of church, inasmuch as they are led by the spirit of the devil, must be living in the most pernicious errors of doctrine and morals." As put by the Plenary catechism, "the church cannot err when it teaches a doctrine of faith or morals. A doctrine of faith or morals refers to whatever we must believe and do in order to be saved." The Catechism of Pius X puts it a little differently: "The teaching church cannot err in teaching the truth revealed of God" and quotes the passage, "The Spirit of truth shall guide you into all truth," and the words spoken to Mary, "Hail! Full of grace! The Lord is with thee." Bellarmine—*de eccl.* 3: 14—says, that "it is absolutely not possible for the church to err either in things which she proposes to us as necessary to be believed or things necessary to be done." This is true, he proceeds to say, "Whether these things be expressly stated in the Scriptures or not." The Council of Trent limited both the right of interpretation and the sense to be given by the interpreter when it decreed that "no one relying on his own skill shall in matters of faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine, wresting the Scripture to his own meanings, presume to interpret the sacred Scripture

contrary to that meaning which holy mother church—whose it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures—has held and doth hold, or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers." Leo XIII declared that the church being a perfect society, Christ had to invest it with a supreme teaching function. In condemning Americanism, he asserted that the church cannot err or be tainted with heresy or fail in the faith, or suffer schism. Following this principle, Chillingworth "turned papist," said: "I reconciled myself to the Church of Rome because I thought I had sufficient reasons to believe that there was and must always be in the world some church that could not err and consequently, seeing all other churches disclaimed this privilege of not being subject to error, she must be that church which cannot err," *Patrick's* ed. p. 604.

The alleged warrant for ecclesiastical infallibility is based on the following passages: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," "Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world," "Whatsoever I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you," and "when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all the truth."—Matt. 16:18; 28:19; John 14:16; 16:13. Of the passage, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," it is to be said that it promises to the church perpetuity, not inerrancy. In the other three statements our Lord made no promise that the church is to be infallible. If taken by themselves and independent of the context, the promise of the Spirit's guidance would be confined to the twelve disciples, and if all the passages of our Lord's last discourse beginning with John 13:22, were explained upon that principle, then every promise the discourse contains should be limited to the twelve disciples including the words "Let not your heart be troubled." But, if the entire discourse was intended for the same persons, then the promise of the Spirit's guidance avails for all Christians, low and high, laymen and priest.

The theory that the church cannot err breaks upon the hard facts of history. It has deliberately offended against

what are now general sentiments prevailing among Christians throughout the world. A mention of four of these errors will be sufficient to prove the proposition. 1. The church gave its approval for centuries to slavery. When Leo XIII in 1888 affirmed that slavery had been "mainly abolished by the beneficial efforts of the Christian church" he said what is true but he might also have said that serfdom and slavery were not abolished in Christian countries for centuries, and that during the much lauded Middle Ages, theologians and Roman pontiffs positively justified slavery and gave permission to kings and armies to make slaves of their captives. Thomas Aquinas defended the institution on the ground of Adam's fall, and declared that the offspring follows the womb for the offspring receives its substance from the mother. Clement V, 1309, instructed the besiegers of Venice to make the prisoners captives. In 1577 Las Casas secured the law that the Spanish residents of the West Indies should each be allowed to import a dozen negro slaves. The Fathers uttered no word calling for the abolition of slavery and no pope legislated against it. 2. For two centuries and more the church approved the Crusades, that is war. Bernard expressed the opinion of his time when he asserted that "it is better that Pagans be put to death than that the rod of the wicked should rest on the lot of the righteous. The righteous fear no sin in killing the enemy of Christ. Christ's soldier can securely kill and more safely die. When he dies, it profits him; when he slays, it profits Christ." 3. The church approved the burning of heretics. 4. It has approved plain misinterpretations of the Scriptures by accepting the teachings of church leaders and doctors of the church. The Song of Solomon furnishes a case which can hardly be disputed. The Schoolmen found in it prophetic and explicit descriptions of the Christian church, which Boniface VIII and other popes adopted. In this respect Protestants, too, have been wrong, as was the Boston divine, John Cotton and Whitaker, p. 32, who thought that he proved the Song to belong to the canon on the ground that its tropical descrip-

tions would have been "prodigious and absurd comparisons" if Solomon had wished to praise his wife, and that for that reason they must be referred to another Solomon and his mystic bride. For centuries the church held that the Scriptures contain at least four different senses. Against the "multiplicity of senses" defended by Eck in accord with mediæval usage, Luther advocated "one plain, sole meaning" and he was followed by the other Reformers.

In spite of the facts of history it is difficult to understand how Cardinal Gibbons could exclaim, that "it is very strange that the Catholic church must apologize to the world for simply declaring that she speaks the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." He challenged any one to give a single case of error. Luther wrote to Leo X—*Weimar* ed. vii: 86—that the dogma of the church's infallibility in matters of faith is a fiction. The dogma was set aside by the Thirty-nine Articles when they say that "as the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome doth err, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies but also in matters of faith." As put by the Westminster Confession "the purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and to error." If the church be infallible, it is impossible to understand why the dogmas that there are seven sacraments and that the pope is infallible were not published before 1439 and 1870. Infallibility resides in the Scriptures and the infallible guide to their meaning is the Holy Spirit. It is the mission of the Holy Spirit to lead into the truth individuals as well as a group of believing individuals or the entire church. Individuals have often known more than councils. It is sometimes "Athanasius against the world." The ultimate criterion was thus laid down by the Westminster Confession: "The full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth of Scripture is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts." This means that the individual Christian seeking to know the truth has the sovereign right to pray for the Holy Spirit to teach him what is divine truth.

§ 8. The church not a saving institution.—The custom of calling the church "our mother," and "our holy mother" easily fosters the superstition that real maternity belongs to it and that Christians are begotten by it unto saving experiences as children are begotten by parents into the world. Cyprian's words give countenance to the idea that the church is a saving personality although they were without doubt used figuratively: "No man can have God for his father who does not have the church for his mother. From her womb we are born, by her milk we are nourished, by her spirit we are made alive."—*habere non potest deum patrem qui eccles. non habet matrem*—de unit. 5.

Augustine was following in the same line when he spoke of "mother church which brought forth Abel and Enoch, Noah and Abraham and also Moses and the Prophets, the Apostles, martyrs and all good Christians. . . . The church which brought forth Cain and Ishmael and Esau is the same which brought forth Dothan and others." John Huss, in his earlier period, commenting on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, p. 469, called the church "our dear mother and most worthy mother of the elect," and demanded "filial obedience to the father and mother, that is to Christ and the church." The Fourth Lateran council, which was quoted by Leo XIII. in his encyclical on the Unity of the church, affirmed that "the Roman church received by God's appointment superior authority as the mother and teacher of all the faithful of Christ"—and Leo himself said that, "those who want to be numbered with the children of God must have Christ for their brother, and, at the same time, the church for their mother."—*Works* vi: 179, 189. The Tridentine Profession requires priests to accept "the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman church as the mother and teacher of all the churches." The Vatican Decrees speak of the "children of the Catholic church" and "the doctrines our holy mother church holds." Such language may only be used figuratively. Paul spoke of Timothy and Titus as his sons and at the same time of Titus as his brother, II Cor. 2: 13. When

John spoke of "the Lamb's wife" it is plain that he was speaking metaphorically for he immediately indentified her with "the great city let down from heaven." If the church and the kingdom of God are one and the same then the kingdom of God is our mother, an evident fallacy. Polycarp, writing to the Philippians spoke of "faith which is the mother of us all."

The danger of using the name "mother" for the church was frequently dwelt upon by Wyclif and Huss.[4] In spite of their treatments, Cardinal Sadolet in his letter to the Genevans, calling them back to the old way, wrote that "the church has regenerated us to God—*nos regeneravit*—in Christ, hath nourished and confirmed us, instructed us by what way we must reach heaven, what to think, wherein to place our hope and what to believe." If the cardinal had substituted the Holy Spirit for the church as the agent accomplishing these results he would have spoken as the Apostles spoke. Calvin dwelt upon "the empty and specious title, church." and with the other Reformers he dwelt upon the deception the mind is liable to suffer when the church is called "our mother," ascribing to a fiction qualities and activities which belong to God himself. The church does not give life; God gives life. Christ's words were not "come unto the church and ye shall find rest," but "come unto me and ye shall find rest." The New Testament speaks of the Christian, not as being born of the church but as being born of God, of water and the Spirit, of incorruptible seed, through the Word of God, and from above, John 3: 8, I John 4: 7, 5: 18; I Pet. 1: 23. When Paul, writing to the Corinthians, said that he had begotten them through the Gospel and when he said of Onesimus that he had begotten him in his bonds, he meant that through his teaching and persuasion he had brought these persons to Christ as Andrew had brought his brother Peter. The church does not save. Christ saves. The church is a sanitarium in which the sick are being made well, by the great physician and the ministrations of the Holy Spirit. Cyprian, when he said,—*ep.* 70—"Thou

believest in life eternal and the remission of sins through the holy church"—*per sanctam ecclesiam*—set forth the usual way in which men are brought to Christ and edified in him but not the only way, Paul being the witness. Through the guidance of a single individual and a private study of the open page of the Scriptures as well as through the services of the church God has chosen to enlighten and call men from spiritual darkness to light. It was an inner voice which brought Augustine and Calvin to obedience to Christ. Through the Holy Spirit, who worketh when and as he pleases, men are born into the kingdom of God. The Lord did not add "to the church" them that were being saved as the Authorized Version has it, Acts 2:47. He added to the number of believers, such as were being saved.

§ 9. **Notes of the church.**—The so-called Notes of the church, made famous by Cardinal Bellarmine, were set forth as so many marks or features by which the true church, that is the Roman communion, may be discerned. As elaborated by the cardinal, the treatment fills eighteen chapters. For a century and more they were the subject of much controversy. Here, they are briefly enumerated to show how readily the great controversialist took falsehoods for facts and how easily he gave credit to fellow religionists for miracles and sanctity. The cardinal opens his treatment by stating the seven marks of the church given by Luther, the preaching of the Gospel, the proper administration of baptism, the eucharist, the proper use of the keys, a valid ministry, public prayer and song in the language understood by the people, and inward contrition, showing itself in outward works.

The cardinal's fifteen notes are the following:—1. The name "Catholic." 2. The antiquity of the Roman church. 3. Its uninterrupted existence from the Apostles, the Lutherans dating from 1517, the Zwinglians from 1525, and the Calvinists from 1538. 4. Amplitude—that is the numbers of the faithful, including all places, all nations, all races. 5. Its succession of bishops from the Apostles.

6. The doctrinal agreement of its parts as contrasted with the Pelagians, Arians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Schwenckfeldians and Puritans, all of whom, so the cardinal alleged, have disagreed among themselves and with one another. 7. Its union and peace under one head, the Roman pontiff.

8. Its holiness of doctrine, nothing false or corrupting being found in the Roman creeds. Lycurgus commended adultery, Plato provided for community of wives, the Anabaptists allowed a man to marry his wife's sister, the Calvinists taught election apart from free will and that God is the author of sin. "Our true church," affirmed the cardinal, "teaches no error, spreads no turpitude and nothing against reason, although much above reason." 9. Converting efficiency. Heretics have never converted any heathen or Jews, although many Jews have lived among the Protestants in Poland and Germany. All Protestants have done is to lead Catholics astray. If the objection be raised that the heretical Arians converted the Goths, the answer is that it was not conversion, but miserable deception. 10. The sanctity of the early Fathers, who were glorious by their probity and combatting heresies. From Simon Magus down heretics have been bad men with the vice of pride common to them all. Luther, Henry VIII, Calvin, were bad. In the Catholic church, it is true, many also are bad, but "among the heretics there is no one who is good."—*nullus est bonus.*

11. In the Roman church miracles are being constantly performed. Among the sects miraculous powers are wanting. In apparent contradiction to this, miracles have occurred to the bodies of heretics after their deaths. Luther, for example, died in winter and, though his body was securely placed in a box, it began to send forth such dreadful odors that no one was able to carry it and those who attempted to do so were forced to drop the box on the road. 12. Prophecy continues in the true church. Luther attempted to predict the future, but in vain. Cochleaus reports that

in 1525, Luther declared that, if he were spared to preach two years longer, popes, cardinals, bishops, monks and masses would be no more. He preached twenty years after making his prophecy and, at his death in 1546, popes and cardinals were still flourishing. 13. The testimony of "our adversaries." Did not the Mohammedans do honor to St. Francis and the Arian Totila to St. Benedict? Did not Luther declare that under the papacy there had been many good Christians and did not Calvin pronounce St. Bernard a pious writer? And yet Bernard was a papist—*papista.*

14. The unhappy deaths of those who have rebelled against the true church.—Beginning far back with Pharaoh and Jezebel and not missing Herod, Nero and Domitian, the cardinal made special note of the older Christian heretics from Arius and Julian the Apostate, and finally dwelt upon the miserable exits of the Protestant Reformers. Luther, after eating heartily and joking with his companions, died that very night. Zwingli fell in battle. Œcolampadius went to bed well and the next morning was found dead. Carlstadt's death, if possible, was worse. He was killed by the devil. Calvin was eaten up by worms, after having invoked the devils and pouring forth blasphemies. 15. The temporal felicity of the defenders of the faith. Here again the list starts early, with Abraham and Moses and includes the Emperors Constantine, Theodosius and Justinian, although, so the cardinal remarks, Justinian's felicity continued only so long as he remained a good Catholic. Turning heretic, the emperor was snatched away suddenly. At the siege of Jerusalem, 1099, though the Crusaders had not horses and many of the chiefs were obliged to ride on asses, yet did they conquer. In the days of Innocent III, eight thousand heretics suffered death in France in a single battle. The Swiss Catholic army, in five battles, fought with the Protestants, and, though inferior in numbers, was always victorious. By a miracle, Charles V whipped the Lutherans in 1547. In Gaul and Belgium, though the

heretics greatly outnumbered the Catholic forces, yet were they beaten to a frazzle.

In reading over these Notes the reader's attention is attracted by the ease with which the controversialist restricted his historical memory to convenient facts. He should have opened a little wider the annals of the past. He might have stopped at the deaths of certain Roman churchmen like John XII and Alexander VI and given some report of their dying hours. As regards the fortunes of war, he might have mentioned that in battle after battle, the Crusaders were worsted and tens of thousands of them left their bodies in Palestine or on the road to it, until their armies were utterly routed by the aliens and forced to abandon their undertaking entirely in 1292. He might have told that Charles V was also badly defeated and that in 1527 he gave Rome over to pillage and he might have touched upon Philip II's naval attempt to break up the rule of heresy in England. So far as the deaths of the Reformers are concerned, their dying hours had nothing miserable about them if the testimony of witnesses present and of entire cities be accepted.

§ 10. **Conclusion.**—There is no conception which confuses the issue between Romanists and Protestants so much as the conception involved in the word church. With the Protestant the word means all those who believe in Christ as their Savior for to "as many as received him to them gave he the power to become the sons of God," John 1: 12. With the Romanist, the word means now the entire body known as the Roman Catholic church now the hierarchy to which as to a single personality the right has been given to fix the dogmas upon which salvation depends and what the teachings of Scripture are. In addition is the fiction that the "church" confers spiritual benefits like a mother when, in reality, the Roman church as a complete body is not meant but "the teaching church" that is the hierarchy. If maternity be affirmed of the hierarchy, the promise of the operation of the Holy Spirit in every believer is virtually denied. Clement

XI in his bull,—*unigenitus*, pronounced false the definition that the church is nothing but the company of God's children —*cœtus filiorum dei*—and pronounced it to be "a single personality," that is a tangible institution separate from the body of believers.

The church according to the New Testament is the household of believers. The notes or marks by which the true church is discerned are the notes by which the Christian character of each individual is discerned. The true church is the whole society of true Christians in which all may be right or some may be right and others wrong. As the New York Court of Appeals in a decision, 1927, said: "Christ's kingdom on earth is the community or whole body of Christ's faithful people collectively, all those who are spiritually united to Christ as the head of the church." The church is a relationship, a combination of Christ's followers and not two things, "the teaching church" and "the believing church." The Anabaptist Adam Pastor, gave a fine definition when he said "where true faith is, there is the new birth and where the new birth is there is the church."

CHAPTER XIV

THE PAPACY

THE POPE THE ALLEGED HEAD OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH

Es ist ein Menschenfund, das Papstthum da Gott nichts davon weiss. The papacy is man's invention. God knows nothing of it.—Luther. *Grund und Ursach*, 1521, Weimar ed. vii, 433.

Ecclesiæ quoniam deus in cathedra beati Petri centrum ac fundamentum esse statuit, jure romana dicitur: ubi Petrus ibi ecclesia. Inasmuch as God has made the chair of St. Peter the center and foundation of His church, it is properly called Roman, for where Peter is there is the church.—Leo XIII. *Works*, vii, 232.

THE Roman pontiff and the Vatican council of 1870, laid down an authoritative definition of the papacy. Since then everything that can be said of the church as a ruling and teaching body may be said of the pope. All authority and power in the Roman body are concentrated in him. He is the alleged visible head of the church on earth and in purgatory. He is the successor of Peter and the vicar of Christ, and infallible as teacher. All who deliberately repudiate these positions are under the anathema and have no part in the economy of redemption. Protestants contend that the positions have no support in Scripture and are at variance with historic fact and some of them derogatory to Christ's authority and explicit assurances. Bellarmine spoke with partial truth when he said that "Martin Luther and other heretics after him sought with all their powers to destroy the Roman pontifical office and to show that the Roman bishop at one time was one of other bishops and that now he is nothing else than anti-christ." In a discussion of the papacy, the institution is to be considered under three aspects:—the pope as the pretended visible head of the church, as the infallible teacher of Christian truth and

as a temporal sovereign. In all these respects he acts as "the vicegerent of God," so it is claimed. The temporal sovereignty will be taken up under the head of the church and the state.

§ 1. **The Roman claims.**—It has been decreed by the highest Roman tribunals,—general councils and pope,—that the Roman pontiff is the vicegerent of God on earth and the visible head of the Christian church. What considerations may be adduced for these vast claims and what arguments, if any, may be adduced against them? The Roman pontiff bases these pretensions on the ground that he is the successor of St. Peter on whom, so the claim runs, Christ conferred the office of ruling the entire Christian church. This is what is meant by the papal primacy. The title pope or *papa* was confined to the bishop of Rome, by the decree of Gregory VII, 1073. The title "holy father" seems to be the one preferred by English speaking Catholics. The Tridentine standards call the pope the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, the most holy Roman pontiff, the sovereign pontiff, our most holy Lord, the vicar of God himself on earth,—*ipsius dei in terris vicarius*. The same titles and others had been used by the Council of Ferrara, 1439. The papal office was not defined at Trent. The defect was supplied by the Tridentine catechism in these words: "There is one invisible ruler and governor of the church, Christ, and one visible ruler, who is the legitimate successor of Peter. He presides over the universal church and is the father of all the faithful, of bishops and all other prelates." At the pope's enthronization, a deacon places the tiara on the pope's head, saying, "Receive the tiara with three crowns and know that thou art the father of princes and ruler of kings, yea the vicar of our Savior, Jesus Christ, upon earth."[1] Archbishop Dowling in his address at the consecration of the cathedral in St. Louis, June, 1926 called the pope "the great white father of christtendom." Some Roman Catholics like Schwertner spell his name with a capital letter. A title usually attached to papal bulls is "servant of the servants of God."

The Vatican council proclaimed that "the Roman pontiff as the successor of Peter, is the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole church, and the father and teacher of all Christians, to whom is given the authority to rule, feed and govern the universal church, an authority given to him by Jesus Christ." The council affirmed that its definition followed the testimony of the Scriptures and the explicit decrees of preceding popes and of the general councils. It devoted four Dogmatic Constitutions to the primacy in St. Peter, the pope's jurisdiction over the entire church and papal infallibility. These offices were repeatedly reaffirmed by Leo XIII. In his bull on the Unity of the church, Leo said that "Christ wanted his kingdom to be a visible kingdom —*conspicuum regnum*—and for that reason had to designate one to rule in his place on earth after he himself had returned to the heavenly places." The Benedictine code—canon 218 —asserts that the Roman pontiff not only enjoys a "primacy of honor but has supreme and plenary power of jurisdiction over the universal church, both in matters pertaining to faith and morals and in matters which pertain to the government and administration of the church wherever spread through the whole world." Among the many references given by the code are Martin V's bull against Wyclif and Huss and Leo X's bulls against Luther.

To the definitions of the headship of Peter over the church, the Vatican council appended the two anathemas that "If any say that Peter was not appointed the prince of all the Apostles and the visible head of the whole church militant or asserts that Peter directly received from our Lord Jesus Christ a primacy of honor only and not also a primacy of real and true jurisdiction, let him be anathema," or any "deny that by divine institution of Christ himself Peter has perpetual successors or that the Roman pontiff is his successor in this primacy, let him be anathema." The pope's authority depends not upon human choice or human assent. The church does not elect him. The cardinals, meeting in conclave, do not elect him. They recognize him or point

him out as pontiff, as John the Baptist pointed Jesus out as the Lamb of God. Bishop Gilmour, p. 254, continues to teach that Peter presided eight years in Antioch and then passed to Rome where he fixed his see and for twenty-five years governed the whole church as Bishop of Rome. Pius VI, 1786, declared it heresy to assert that the Roman pontiff gets his power from the church and not directly from Christ through the person of St. Peter.—See Straub, 1: 375. Pius X, in the Syllabus of 1907, condemned the modernist propositions that Peter never suspected that he had received a primacy over the church, and that the papacy is an historic invention.

§ 2. **The pope's functions.**—To the Roman pontiff, according to the Roman theory, belong the following functions:—1. He is the judge of all ecclesiastical questions. He himself is subject to no human tribunal. All ecclesiastical cases are subject to his review and from his judgment there is no appeal. 2. He is supreme administrator and dispenser of all ecclesiastical benefits and has the right over all benefices to appoint their incumbents or remove them. In the words of the Benedictine code, he has "immediate episcopal authority over each of the churches and the entire church, over bishops one and all, over all pastors, and is independent of all human authority." 3. He has authority to appoint and depose all bishops. In the United States, the custom is for the archbishop and bishops with or without the suggestion of the clergy to send from time to time names to Rome from which the pope may choose bishops or not choose, as he pleases. 4. He is superior to œcumenical councils, calls them, presides over them—directly or through his legates—and may transfer them from one place to another as did Eugene IV the Council of Basel, 1438, ratifies their decisions and reserves the right to interpret the meaning of their decrees. Cardinal Bellarmine—*de conc.* 2: 17—says that, "the pope is absolutely above all councils."[2] Setting aside the solemn decree of the Council of Constance, the Fifth Lateran, 1516, affirmed this superiority. The pope appoints

the cardinals and legates to the nations or, as in the case of the United States, an apostolical legate to the Roman Catholic churches. 6. He has the sole right to canonize saints. 7. He may dispense "from any vow no matter how solemn and sacred," even the irrevocable vows of the religious. 8. He may abdicate at will but cannot be deposed. 9. His jurisdiction extends to schismatics and heretics, and all for whom Christ shed his blood.[3] Bellarmine stated that though heretics and apostates are outside the sheepfold in regard to blessings, yet in the matter of punishments—*in pœnalibus*—they are still subject to the pope. 10. The pope may depose kings and princes and absolve subjects from their allegiance. The further claim of jurisdiction over all mankind, made in the fourteenth century by such writers as Alexander Triumphus, is not distinctly asserted in papal encyclicals although it may be inferred as for example, when Leo XIII declared that Peter received the right to govern all men for whom Christ shed his blood. Cardinal Gibbons assures us that all the endowments given to Peter have been vested in the popes except the gifts of miracles and inspiration.

§ 3. **The papacy and the Bible.**—The papacy is a human assumption. The Scriptures know nothing about it. Two biblical passages falsely adduced for it are Christ's words to Peter:—"Thou are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," and "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs," Matt. 16: 18; John 21: 15. The two passages are inscribed on the base of the dome of St. Peters in large gilt letters so that they may be read from the pavement below. No single passage of Scripture has been the cause of more difference of opinion and dispute than Matt. 16: 18. It is for the Romanist the magna charta of the papacy. Christ had said to his disciples "Whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but

my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." What did Christ mean by the solemn utterance, "Upon this rock I will build my church"? Did he mean Peter and that the church was to be founded on Peter or did he mean that and more, namely Peter and Peter's reputed successors, the Roman pontiffs? On the one hand, the passage is made more difficult of interpretation by the use of the word *petra*, cognate to Peter, for the *rock* and, on the other hand, for those who hold the Romanist view it is made easy by the use of that word. The interpretations which have been put upon our Lord's words are the following:

1. The Roman Catholic interpretation.—Peter—*Petrus*—is the rock—*petra*—upon which Christ promised to build his church. If Christ had wanted to use language wholly unambiguous, leaving no doubt that Peter was meant, Christ naturally would have said, as Wyclif and Huss long ago brought out, "Thou art Peter and *upon thee*, the rock, I will build my church."

2. Peter's confession is the rock.—This is the view commonly held by Protestants. It is favored by the feminine form of the Greek word for rock—*petra*—and especially by the movement of the conversation as a whole which Christ had with his disciples. Peter had said "Thou art the Christ, the Son of God." In blessing Peter, Christ pronounced this confession of his deity the foundation stone of his church. This was in accord with his usual declaration, "Whoso confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father," and the declarations of the Apostles, as by John, "Whoso shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God," Matt. 10:22; I John 4:15.

3. Christ himself is the rock.—This was the view preferred by St. Augustine and set forth in his last work, the *Retractations* in which he went over his previous writings, making corrections of statements made in them. Augustine's paraphrase runs: "Thou art Peter, thy name means rock

and upon the rock, my own divine self, I will build my church, even as thou hast confessed me to be the Son of God." While choosing this interpretation as the best, Augustine left it to his readers to decide whether they were to regard Peter or Christ as the rock. According to Melanchthon, Luther at Leipzig stated the view that the rock was Christ.

4. Peter was a type of all Christians.—Peter was treated as a type and example of all those who at any time should confess Christ to be the Son of God. Every mortal who makes this confession is a rock on which Christ builds his church. This view was held by Origen and in later times by such men as Wyclif, Bishop Jewel and Isaac Barrow.

The arguments against the Roman interpretation that Peter was appointed to be the rock or foundation of the church are these:

1. In the parallel passages,—Mark 8: 29, and Luke 9: 20—Christ asked the disciples the same question as the one Matthew reports, "Whom say ye that I am?" to which Peter made the reply, "Thou are the Christ," as reported by Mark, or "Thou art the Christ of God," as reported by Luke. With these words, according to both Evangelists, the conversation stopped. If the Apostles and the church of the first century had had the slightest idea that Peter had been appointed head of the church it is most difficult to account for the important omission by two Evangelists of the words, "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church." Do not Mark and Luke deserve to be called heretics? The explanation given by some Roman Catholic scholars that Mark, who was acting presumably as Peter's mouthpiece, was moved by modesty in keeping silence would not indicate that Peter had a high conception of the office supposedly conferred on him.[4]

2. In every other place in the New Testament than the single passage in Matthew Christ himself is called the rock, or foundation, or cornerstone of the church. "Other foundation can no man lay," said St. Paul, "than that is laid, which

is Christ Jesus," I Cor. 3: 11. Nowhere is Peter called the church's "foundation." The Apostles were taught by the Old Testament to think of God as the rock. In many passages such expressions occur as the "Lord is my rock and my fortress," and it would be natural for Christ to follow this usage. Cardinal Bellarmine sought to avoid the difficulty by putting the case in this way, that "other foundation no man can lay than Christ, but after Christ is Peter and except through Peter it is not possible to come to Christ."

3. All that we know about Peter from the book of the Acts is against the Roman theory. The twelve disciples and not Peter appointed the seven deacons. At the synod of Jerusalem, Peter was spoken of as one of the Apostles, 15: 4, 14. He did not undertake to forgive sins and he refused adoration, 8: 22, 10: 25. Likewise Peter's Epistles show none of the spirit of one conscious of being head of the church. Peter spoke of Christ as the "cornerstone" and Christians without distinction as "living stones" and of himself as a "fellow-presbyter," I Pet. 2:5, 5:1.

4. The title "head of the church" is used a number of times by Paul in his letters to the Ephesians and Colossians and invariably applied to Christ.

5. In the New Testament, the Apostles are associated together as co-equal in authority. No distinction was made in favor of Peter when the command was given to them to go into all the world and preach the Gospel, Matt. 28: 19. According to Paul, I Cor. 12:28, God "set some in the church, first, Apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers." If a primacy had been conferred on Peter, how natural it would have been for Paul to have said, "God hath set some in the church, first Peter, then Apostles." When Peter and John went to Samaria, they went not of their own impulse. They were "dispatched by the Apostles," Acts 8: 14. No precedence is given to Peter among the names of the twelve Apostles represented as on the twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem, Rev. 21: 14.

6. Paul's place in the church contradicts the theory that

anyone was above him other than Christ. If Paul ever heard that Peter was appointed by Christ to be the head of the church, he not only deliberately suppressed the knowledge, he contradicted it. Christians, he wrote "were built upon the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone," Eph. 2: 20. He insisted upon his own independent commission as Apostle to the Gentiles, while to Peter was committed the Apostleship of the circumcision, Gal. 2: 7. As for the church in Rome, if Peter was ever connected with it, the New Testament did not deem the connection of sufficient importance to explicitly mention it. The letter to the Roman Christians was written by Paul. Paul preached in Rome, wrote letters from Rome, and made converts in Rome such as Onesimus. Likewise, instead of saying that the care of all the churches rested upon himself, he would have modified the statement, if to some human authority higher than himself had been given a primacy in the church. Moreover, Paul withstood Peter at one of the most critical periods of the Apostolic church, when the question was up whether Gentiles should be received into the church solely upon the profession of their faith or only after they had conformed to the Mosaic ritual as Peter affirmed. In the New Testament no one is ever called upon to trust in Peter or go to him for the words of life. When Paul spoke of the parties in Corinth, I Cor. 1: 12, calling themselves by his own name and the names of Peter and Apollos and Christ, he gave all the preeminence to Christ and, as it is natural to infer, reduced to an equality the three Apostolic workers.

7. Peter sat on the benches at the only church council reported as having occurred in Apostolic times, the council, held in Jerusalem in 51. James presided, Acts 15: 13. Why did Peter not preside if he was the appointed head of the church? As far as John is concerned, it is not conceivable that he was subordinate to any other Apostle in his care of the seven churches of Asia Minor.

8. The interpretations of Matthew 16: 18, given by the

Fathers were predominantly against the view that to Peter was given preeminence among the Apostles. As grouped together by Dr. Kenrick, Catholic archbishop of St. Louis, in an address intended for delivery at the Vatican council, these interpretations were as follows: 1. The interpretation that Peter is the rock was given by seventeen Fathers including Cyprian, Leo the Great, Jerome, Augustine, 2. that the whole Apostolic college is the rock by eight Fathers, among them, Origen, Cyprian, Jerome and Augustine, 3. that Peter's confession of Christ's deity is the rock by forty-four Fathers, including Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine. 4. Christ himself—sixteen Fathers including Augustine. 5. All Christians, who confess Christ to be the Son of God. Upon the basis of this list, the archbishop proceded to say;—"If we follow the Fathers, an argument of slender probability is to be derived from the words of Matt. 16: 18, in support of the primacy of the Roman bishop. If we are bound to follow the majority of the Fathers in this thing, then we are bound to hold for certain that by the rock should be understood the faith professed by Peter, not Peter professing the faith." This classification proves entirely false Bellarmine's statement that "the consent of the entire church, both Greek and Latin Fathers" interpreted Matt. 16: 18, of Peter.

Peter's career after the ascension as described in the New Testament was this. During the first years Peter had the place of prominence among the Apostles but not of official superiority. He presided in the upper-room and addressed the multitude on the day of Pentecost. With John, he went up from Jerusalem to observe the work in Samaria. He received the message on the housetop at Joppa. Thereafter, Peter ceased to be the chief personage in the activities of the church. A new period opened with the apostleship of St. Paul, and two-thirds of the Book of the Acts is given to his experiences and career. We may, therefore say with Luther, "It is as clear as daylight from the New Testament that Peter was a fisherman and an Apostle, but there is not a

word to show that he was placed over all the churches of the world."—*Grund und Ursach*, p. 409.

For the Roman theory that Christ arranged through Peter for a perpetual head of the visible church residing in Rome, two facts are required, 1. that Peter was directed to transfer his office to a successor and 2. that he actually appointed a successor. For neither of these assumptions is there the slightest hint in the New Testament or in the writings of the first 150 years A.D. Paul committed certain functions to Titus and Timothy and appointed officers wherever he established churches. Of Peter no case of the kind is reported till several generations of Christian workers had passed away. The question arises whether Peter was ever in Rome. A single reference in the New Testament possibly associates the Apostle's name with the capital city, when Peter, in his first letter sent greeting from "the church that is in Babylon," I Pet. 5: 13. The city on the Tiber is called Babylon in the Book of Revelation but it is a matter of doubt whether Peter wrote his letter from there or from the Babylon on the Euphrates. On the other hand, for Protestants, the statement of Calvin should set the matter at rest, who said, "I no longer question the fact of Peter's martyrdom in Rome, which is unanimously attested by all historians." *Instt.* 4: 6. By church writers of a very early period, Peter's sojourn and martyrdom in the imperial capital are attested. No dissenting voice has come down to us. Peter and Paul are invariably associated together as having jointly "planted" the Roman congregation. Clement of Rome about 170 speaking of their having suffered and gone "to the appointed place of glory," most probably meant that Peter suffered as a martyr in Rome as did Paul. Five or ten years later, in his letter addressed to the Romans, Ignatius reported that the two Apostles taught the Roman church. About 170, Dionysius of Corinth spoke of them as having planted the Roman church. A little later, according to Caius, the graves of these two Apostles were shown in the city. From that time on, the testimonies are continuous that Peter and Paul

jointly taught in the city and died there. Long before Peter or Paul went to Rome, the Roman church was probably founded by some of "the sojourners from Rome" present on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem—Acts 2: 10. When Paul arrived in Italy, he was met by Christian brethren from the city. In 58, when Paul wrote to the Roman Christians, the church was so strong that he could say their faith was proclaimed throughout the whole world—Romans 1: 8. It is difficult to accept Paul's declaration that it was against his custom to build on any other man's foundation—Romans 15: 21—if Peter actually started the Roman church.

Was Peter bishop of Rome? At most, Peter and Paul exercised equal authority in Rome. Writing about 180, Irenæus who spoke of the church in Rome as having been founded by the "two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul," also spoke of a "succession of bishops" stretching back to their time and that Peter and Paul handed down to Linus the administration of the Roman church. Linus got his authority, so Irenæus distinctly states, not from one but from both the Apostles. Thirty or forty years later, Tertullian made a different statement, saying that Peter appointed Clement as his successor as John had appointed Polycarp at Smyrna. The first three officials in the Roman church after the Apostles, Linus, Anacletus and Clement, as given by these two authors and by the Liberian Catalogue, are put in different places, now one, now another being placed first, in the succession. In view of this discrepancy, Lepsius and other scholars have suggested that these three men were contemporary administrators or co-presbyters of the Roman church.

About the year 400 there was a uniform tradition which, as stated by Jerome, runs thus: "Simon Peter, after being bishop of Antioch, went on to Rome in the second year of Claudius' reign and there held the sacerdotal chair—*cathedralem sacerdotalem*—for twenty-five years until the last year of the reign of Nero under whom he was crucified with his head downward, saying that he was not worthy to be

crucified in the way the Lord was." The part of the tradition that Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years is given up by scholars as incompatible with Peter's movements as set forth in the New Testament. The opinion which arose and prevailed for centuries that no pope would exceed Peter's alleged term of office was discredited by Pius IX who ruled more than thirty years, 1846-78 and by Leo XIII who ruled a few months beyond a quarter of a century, 1878-1903. In view of the historic statements which agree in joining Peter and Paul together as the founders of the Roman church, the most that can be said is that Peter was the recognized head of a Judaizing portion of the Roman church, an opinion for which a statement in the last verses of the Acts, may by inference be quoted. In 1647, Innocent X condemned as heresy the opinion which puts Peter and Paul on an equality and "does not subordinate Paul to Peter in the supreme government rule of the universal church."

§4. **The papacy a human institution.**—The historic testimonies are against the position that the papacy was of divine appointment. The institution was a gradual development due partly to the human aspirations of the Roman bishops and partly to their importance growing out of the political position of Rome as the capital of the empire, to the importance of the membership of the Roman congregation and Rome as possessing the graves of Peter and Paul. In the first stage, the Roman bishop had equal jurisdiction with other bishops, in the second he had a primacy of respect granted by the churches of the West, and finally he asserted a primacy of jurisdiction over the West and claimed it over the entire Christian world. Leo I, pope in the middle of the fifth century, was the chief architect of the papal idea that the Roman bishop is by divine appointment the head of Christendom, deriving the claim from Christ's words to Peter reported in the Gospel of Matthew. The considerations drawn from history proving that the papal theory and office were a gradual growth are the following: From the first the churches of the East repudiated the Roman

bishop's claim. In the second place the earliest Christian writers laid stress upon the Roman congregation, not upon its presiding officer. Writing to the Roman church, Ignatius addressed his letter not to the bishop of Rome but "to the Romans." He spoke of the Roman church not of its supposed head as having a presidency in the country of the Romans, which he called "a presidency of love." In the third place, the judgment of the Roman bishop was treated as the judgment of an equal, not of a superior.

When Polycarp visited Rome to counsel with Anicetus in regard to the date of Easter, he did not yield up his opinions as to a superior, but returning to the East, continued to observe Easter as he had done before. The first writer of the West to assert an ecclesiastical superiority for the Roman church was Irenæus who spoke of it as the "greatest and oldest church." He added significantly that in view of its more powerful location—*propter potentiorem principalitatem* —it was proper for every church to be in accord with it. In the fourth place, if the Roman bishop had been conscious that he was at the head of the Christian world, it is fair to suppose, that he would early have asserted his authority. For more than a century after Peter's death there is no evidence that he had any such idea. The only document originating in this period in Rome was the letter of Clement to the Corinthians about 100, and Clement gives no hint that he had been appointed by Peter as his successor but, as if unconscious of any superior episcopal authority, wrote not in his own name but in the name of the Roman congregation. The earliest utterance proceeding from Rome, having the tone of superiority, came from Victor, 189-198, who threatened to cast out from the Christian communion the churches of the East for persisting in their custom of celebrating Easter on the 14th of Nisan. Far from yielding to this assumption, Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, asserted his independent authority replying to Victor that he belonged to a family which had given eight bishops to the church, and that Victor could not alarm him with his threats.

Not until about 220, as reported by Tertullian, were the words addressed to Peter—Matt. 16: 18—used by a Roman bishop. The North-African repudiated Calixtus' claim and reprimanded him for having dared to speak as only a Pagan Roman pontifex maximus might have spoken and as if he were a bishop of bishops! When Calixtus planted himself upon Matt. 16: 18, Tertullian continued, he proved himself a usurper. The authority Christ conferred upon Peter he conferred upon him as an individual and in his individual capacity only. Thirty years after Calixtus, Rome's claim threatened to divide the church in the West, when Stephen I: 255-257 and Cyprian of Carthage had a warm difference over the validity of heretical baptism. The legates, whom Cyprian sent to Rome to carry his case, rejected Stephen's position and authority but before they reached Carthage on their return, Cyprian was dead. The great North-African churchman's theory of the episcopate was that each bishop is supreme in his own diocese while at the same time it granted to the Roman bishop a primacy of respect or dignity but not of rank and authority. What would have happened, if Cyprian had lived and received his legates must be a matter of conjecture.[5]

Likewise, œcumenical councils not only knew nothing of a Roman primacy but proceded on a different principle. At Nice, 325, the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, were accorded a jurisdiction over their provinces such as the Roman bishop exercised over the Roman province. Conciliar recognition of Rome's authority began with the act of the Synod of Sardica, 343, which gave to the Roman bishop, Julius, a certain appellate jurisdiction in the approval of bishops elect but the synod was a partisan assembly composed of Western churchmen and the jurisdiction was not laid down as having the force of a general rule. Later it was a convenient policy or a bit of ignorance for Pope Zozimus, 417, to quote the Sardican decree as if it had been an act of the Council of Nice. By the close of the fourth century, the Christian world was divided between the five patriarchs of

Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople and Rome. The patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople became rivals through the importance gained by Constantinople as the capital of the empire. The Council of Chalcedon, 451, on the basis of this fact, in its 28th canon, gave to the patriarch of "new Rome" equal prerogatives—*isa presbeia*—with the patriarch of old Rome. This canon, which the papal representatives refused to sign, became the occasion of the protest issued by Leo I in which he explicitly derived the prerogative of the Roman see from Christ's words, Matt. 16: 18. The primacy of the Roman bishop, Leo wrote, rested not upon the political importance of Rome, but upon divine appointment; the Roman bishop is the primate of all bishops—*primus omnium episcoporum*—and to him belongs the fullness of power—*plenitudo potestatis*. As strength was given by Christ to Peter, so strength was to be given by Peter to his fellow Apostles. Resistance to Rome's alleged authority, Leo boldly pronounced "wicked and unheard of pride and a sure way to hell." And he called upon Anatolius of Constantinople to give up his ambition and be content with what he rightfully possessed lest he forfeit his crown. The prestige and power of the churches of the East was greatly reduced by the Mohammedan conquest. Alexandria and Jerusalem fell in 636-639, and their bishops were left with only a semblance of authority. Antioch, the third ancient patriarch of the East, gave way before the drama of the Crusades closed. In the face of the silence of the early Christian Fathers or their positive rejection of the governmental primacy of the Roman pontiff, of the explicit statements of œcumenical councils and the hostile attitude of the entire Eastern church from the beginning, Leo XIII—*Works* vi: 179—dared to assert that "the consent of antiquity acknowledged without the slightest doubt at all times the Roman bishops as the lawful successors of St. Peter," and then proceeded to affirm the monarchial rights of the papal see.

§ 5. Forgeries in favor of the papacy.—To the natural causes favoring the Roman primacy were added deliberate

corruptions of ancient historical documents and the forgery of new documents by Western hands to exalt the bishop of Rome. Cyprian's work on the Unity of the Church was interpolated with statements such as that "the primacy was given to St. Peter to show the unity of the Church of Christ," and "how can anyone denying that Christ founded the see of Peter on which the church rests, believe himself to be in the church?" The Nicean canon, recognizing the equal jurisdiction of Alexandria, Antioch and Rome each within its own territory, appeared in the Latin translation with the heading "Rome has always had the primacy"—*Roma semper primatum habuit.* The words of Augustine—*causa finita est,* the case is settled, was changed to *Roma locuta est; causa finita est,* Rome has spoken; the case is settled and is so quoted in the Manual of Pius X's catechism, p. 210. Augustine was speaking of a decision of two African synods on Pelagius which had been sent to "the Apostolic see." His words had reference to the answer received and, while they show great respect for the Roman see, they do not state a principle, as the forgery is intended to make out as Augustine's. His full words are *causa finita est, utinam aliquando finiatur error!* The case is settled. Oh, that the error may come to an end! If Augustine had regarded the Roman bishops as the head of the church, he would not have preferred the interpretation of Matt. 16: 18 which he gave to the passage in his last years.

The most daring fabrication and, if we take into account its evil consequences, the most influential literary fraud of history, was the Isidorian Decretals which appeared about 853, and were used by Nicholas I in his conflict with Hincmar, the recalcitrant archbishop of Rheims. The Decretals passed into the canon law and for 600 years continued to be used as the prime proof of the papal supremacy in church and state. According to pseudo—Isidore, the Roman see is "the head, heart, mother and apex of all churches," and is amenable to no human tribunal. The most notorious section of the spurious work was the alleged "donation of Constantine" by which the emperor is reported

to have given the Roman bishop supremacy over all the West. When it first appeared and the Gallican bishops maintained that it was not ancient, Nicholas defended its authority, asserted that it had been sacredly preserved in the archives of the Roman church and that the forged decretals of Roman pontiffs, which it contained, were genuine.

The Isidorian fiction was first exposed by Laurentius Valla in the fifteenth century and when Luther became acquainted with the exposure through Hutten's translation he wrote, "Good Heavens, what darkness and wickedness are in Rome! You wonder at God's judgment that such unauthentic, crass, impudent lies prevailed for so many centuries and were incorporated into the canon law and, that no degree of horror might be wanting, they were made articles of faith!" Bellarmine continued to defend Isidore in the sixteenth century.[6] Three or four hundred years after the invention, another forgery was put by Urban IV, into the hands of Thomas Aquinas who incorporated it in his tract "Against the Errors of the Greeks." By spurious quotations from Greek councils, the Cyrils of Alexander and Jerusalem and other Fathers, the forger established that there was no time when the papal monarchy was not acknowledged. Two generations after Thomas' death Martin of Troppau, writing at the instance of Clement V, falsified history to show the pope's supremacy over princes. Martin's book Döllinger pronounced the most widely circulated, most unveracious and most fabulous historical work of the Middle Ages.

§ 6. The mediæval papacy and the Reformation.—The theory that the Roman bishop is the visible head of the whole church and also overlord over kings and princes was fully developed in the Middle Ages, although the theory was repudiated by Gregory I, 590-603. This Roman bishop pronounced the title "universal bishop" a vicious and haughty word and a title begotten of pride—*nefandum elationis vocabulum . . . superbiæ appellationis*—and refused to allow it to be applied to himself. One of Gregory's

immediate followers, adopted the title. By interfering in the affairs of the diocese of Constantinople and by annulling the acts of the Archbishop Hincmar, Nicolas I effectually asserted a primacy over the church. The second claim of superiority in worldly affairs was asserted by Nicolas' great successors, Gregory VII, 1073-85, Alexander III, 1159-81 and Innocent III, 1198-1216. Finally the theory got theological statement from Thomas Aquinas. In vain, was opposition offered to the political part of the theory by Frederick Barbarossa and other emperors. Next, the theory of the papacy as a lordship over the church was attacked by Marsiglius of Padua and other writers. Wyclif asserted that "though reputed to be Christ's vicar, the bishop of Rome might be a devil, that man of sin, yea the head vicar of the fiend." He called Gregory XI a "terrible devil," *de eccl.* 366, and ridiculed the title "the holy fadir." In view of the scandals of the papal schism, he went so far as to pronounce the papal office itself poisonous—*totum papale officium venonosum*, and no one pope who is not among the predestinate. One of the nineteen Wycliffian articles, condemned by Gregory XI, was Wyclif's assertion that all men combined have not the right to allot to Peter universal authority. Huss accused the doctors with treating the Roman pontiff as the fourth person of the Trinity and placing him on an equality with the Holy Ghost. Ockham had pronounced the papacy to be of human ordination—*ex humana ordinatione*—and not essential to the church.

Luther, at first, confined his attacks to the pope's worldly pomp and his false pretentions which, he said, agree as little with the government of the Apostles as Lucifer with Christ, hell with heaven, night with day. As late as the close of 1519 he continued to look upon the pope as the supreme dignitary of christendom. He began to speak differently in his Address to the German Nobles, 1520, where he rejected the pope's claims to be sole interpreter of Scripture and the sole authority to call councils. At the same time,—June 15, 1520,—Leo X was asserting that the Roman pontiff is the

vicar of Christ endowed with world-wide authority over the churches—*super omnes totius mundi ecclesias.* Three years earlier in his reply to Luther's Theses, Prierias had stated the papal position that the universal church, a general council and the pope cannot err.

After reading Valla's exposure of the Isidorian forgery, Luther wrote of "the tyranny of the Roman anti-christ, who was destroying the souls of the whole world." Thenceforth he spoke of the pope, with good-natured familiarity as a man to an equal or dealt with him in fierce tirades. Bishop Jewel went as far as Luther in discrediting the papal claims when he wrote—*Apol.* 60—"the pope is the king of pride, Lucifer, who preferreth himself before his brethren and is the forerunner of anti-christ." Luther would not have been Luther if he had tamely submitted to being called by Leo X "another Porphyry" and avoided excommunication by taking back all he had said as Leo's bull called upon to do. In his last blast against the papacy, 1545, Luther spoke of "the devilish papacy as the last of earth's misfortunes, the worst that all devils can do with all their power." The words which were wild and fierce must be judged not only in the light of the treatment the monk received from Leo X but in the light of the corruptions which were continued in the Vatican by Leo's successors, Clement VII and Paul III, and their efforts to stir up the flames of war and bloodshed in Germany.

The other Reformers were as severe in denouncing the papal assumption as was Luther. Calvin called the pope "the Roman anti-christ, the prince of all apostacy" and spoke of the contemporary pontiff, Paul III, as the madman who was not ashamed to compare himself with Moses and Aaron. "You have no more resemblance," so Calvin wrote, "to Peter than has any Nero, Caligula or Domitian." He also descended to speak of Paul as "the impure dog whose barking should be stopped with sticks and stones rather than with words." Tyndale and Bishop Hooper called the pope anti-christ and spoke of Rome as the whore of Babylon. The First English Book of Common Prayer contained

the petition "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestible enormities, Good Lord deliver us." The Preface of King James' Version of the Bible, 1611, spoke of the Roman pontiff as "that man of sin." The title anti-christ was used also in the Schmalkald Articles, the Irish Articles of 1615, the Westminster Confession and other Protestant creeds. The Westminster document in its original form runs "There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ, nor can the pope of Rome in any sense be the head thereof but is that anti-christ, that man of sin and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the church against Christ and all that is called God."

§ 7. Non-biblical arguments for the papal primacy.—Roman writers have endeavored to recommend the papal primacy by finding its reasonableness in analogies drawn from nature and secular corporations. Leo XIII, put it in this way, *Works* 6: 174, "No perfect society can be thought of that is not ruled by some supreme authority. Christ holds the supreme magistracy of the church, whom the whole company of Christians must obey. For this reason, that there may be the unity of the church, so far as it is a perfect society, oneness of administration is required by divine appointment to effect and perfect the oneness of fellowship in the church." The analogies adduced from Cardinal Bellarmine to Cardinal Gibbons are the following:—1. From monarchy which, as presented by Bellarmine, *de rom. pon.* 1: 1-6, is pronounced the "best and most profitable form of earthly government"—and therefore fitted for the visible church. 2. From Michael, who is the head of the angels. In spite of Cardinal Gibbons, who brings out this analogy, we are under the misfortune of knowing little about Michael. 3. The high priest in the Jewish church. 4. The general at the head of an army, a shepherd over the flock, the head controlling the human body. 5. The American republic, from which Cardinal Gibbons argues as plausibly as did Cardinal Bellarmine from monarchy. God is the ruler of the republic and yet it has a visible head. 6. From the chief

justice of the United States. Cardianal Gibbons who dwells with pleasure upon this analogy affirms "that what the chief justice is to the United States that the sovereign pontiff is to the church though in a more eminent degree." The one is the guardian of our religious constitution, the chief justice the guardian of our civil institutions, p. 121.

If these analogies are examined, they are all found to be misleading as was the comparison used by Pius II in an address to the University of Cologne, 1463. The pontiff said that as the storks follow one leader and the bees have one king, so the militant church has properly in Christ's vicar one who is moderator and judge of all,—a slight blunder as the bees get along without a king but an impressive principle may hold good in spite of mistaken comparisons. These analogies proceed by ignoring the fact that Jesus Christ is explicitly revealed as the head of the church, who rules over it by his immediate presence, and the power of the Holy Spirit. He is the captain of our salvation, the chief shepherd and bishop of our souls, the head of the body, the vine to whom the branches are united. It is as unnecessary for the unity of the Christian body as it is un-Scriptural that there should be a second head of the church to do what Christ promised to do himself. Order and discipline on the earth do not require a single human governor. Different peoples choose their own forms of government.

The parallel between the government of the United States and the papal government is not only fallacious but fatal. The American government is based on the elective franchise exercised by the people. The president holds his office by the will of the people. The Roman Catholic government is a hierarchy. Its power is not derived from the people but is self perpetuating. The president of the United States is amenable to the people. The pope is subject to no human tribunal. He is absolute monarch; makes the doctrinal laws, executes them, and passes judicial sentences. His will is law. His word cannot be overruled by man neither by God, for he is God's vicar and when he speaks, God

speaks. Such is the theory. Equally fallacious is the analogy based upon the office of the chief justice. Of himself the chief justice decides nothing. He is one of nine justices. The opinion of the majority of the justices is the opinion of the Supreme Court. In the second place, the court claims no infallibility. Its decisions are made mandatory by the will and consent of the people. No American looks upon the court as infallible. The pope's decisions are infallible and of perpetual validity. It is a crime to question their authority. In cases of importance, the decisions of the Supreme Court have been rendered by a majority of one, as in the decision handed down March 8, 1920, upon the question whether stock dividends are income and subject to the income tax. Its decisions have been annulled by subsequent decisions. The last of Chief Justice Marshall's great decisions, Craig *versus* Missouri, 1822, was "entirely repudiated by the Supreme Court after Mr. Marshall's death," *Beveridge* iv: 509. Chief Justice Taft, in an address on Chief Justice Chase, 1923, declared that mistakes have been made by the Supreme Court in the past and that "the court was and is a human institution." Likewise the court's decisions have been annulled by events. In his Springfield speech, June 26, 1857, Mr. Lincoln took occasion to say of Chief Justice Taney's Dred Scott decision, "We think it erroneous. We know that the Supreme Court that made it has often overruled its own decisions and we shall do what we can to overrule this." The Civil War set the court's decision aside.

§ 8. **General conclusion.**—The pope's title "head of the church" is a human invention. To the objection urged by Cardinal Gibbons that Protestants are "without a common rallying center or basis of union," Protestants reply that the rallying center laid down in the Scriptures is sufficient—the crucified and risen Christ. He rules. He is the Son over his own house, which house we are, Heb. 3: 6. The church in the West has at times been without a papal head and it got along. What becomes of the church and religion in the

interval between the death of a pope and the election of his successor? Is the church dead when there is no papal head as the body is dead which has no physical head? If the several long historic intervals between the deaths of popes and the election of their successors were summed up, the period would amount to more than twelve years. Beginning with 1268 there was a papal interregnum of two years and a half. From 1241, there was no pope for twenty months, from 1292, for fifteen months, in 1304 for eleven months and from 1415 for twenty-nine months. Was the church lifeless at these times when it was without a visible head or, as Wyclif and Huss put it, when the church was acephalous? Moreover, there were periods when two or even three individuals claimed to be rightful pontiff and during the period of forty years, 1377 to 1417, there were two popes, one at Avignon and one at Rome, each claiming to be the successor of Peter, each elected by cardinals and each performing papal acts and each accepted by parts of Catholic Europe. What mortal has the authority to decide infallibly which of the two was the real pope? In the fifteenth century the view was expressed that there might be a dozen popes and yet the church continue to exist. The University of Paris wrote to Clement VII that many people did not hesitate to say that there might be two or ten or twelve pontiffs and that every land might have its own pontiff. The papal dualism led Wyclif to assert that christendom might get along well without any pope at all.[7]

The Protestant view is that a particular form of earthly government is not essential to the being of the church. Government is a matter of expediency. It bears not upon the being of the church but upon its well-being. Protestants have no right to complain of the Roman Catholic communion for looking to the bishop of Rome as its leader so long as he does not claim prerogatives that belong to Christ alone and over all Christian people and so long as he does not assume to cast out Christians who know as much about the Scriptures as he does and have access to all the divine help that

he has. The Protestant position is well expressed in the Westminster Confession as revised 1902, "There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ and the claim of any man to be the vicar of Christ and the head of the church is un-Scriptural, without warrant in fact and is a usurpation dishonouring the Lord Jesus Christ."

CHAPTER XV

THE PAPACY

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY

Unto the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. I Tim. 1: 17.

The theory of infallibility is not merely founded on an uncritical and illogical habit, but on unremitting dishonesty in the use of texts. Lord Acton, *Hist. of Freedom*, p. 513.

THE dogma, that the pope is infallible, is the capstone of the assumptions of the papacy. Held as a private opinion for centuries, it was solemnly pronounced an essential article of the Christian church at the Vatican council, 1870. It goes beyond the theory of the papal primacy. As primate, the pope, it is claimed, has universal jurisdiction. As infallible teacher and ruler, he can make no mistake when he speaks in his official capacity. The dogma of infallibility marks an epoch in the constitution of the Roman church by definitely placing the pope above œcumenical councils. In its announcement the teachings of Liguori and the Ultramontane party, with the Jesuits, triumphed. Protestants repudiate the dogma as in conflict with the promises of Christ, derogatory to the office of the Holy Spirit, and disproved by many papal utterances.

§ 1. Opinions in the church before 1870.—Papal infallibility found no expression from the Christian Fathers for 600 years. The theory, stated in the Isidorian Decretals, grew with the assertion of papal leadership during the Crusades and in the conflicts of mediæval popes against the emperors. Opinions among churchmen differed. Bernard seems to have

denied it. Thomas Aquinas has been interpreted as giving the weight of his name to the doctrine.[1] Forward-looking writers such as Wyclif and Huss showed that certain popes had been of wicked life and that several of them had been heretics. Popes, they said, might be among the reprobate —*præsciti*—and the damned as was Judas, though one of the twelve disciples. Peter erred and Wessel declared that God had allowed him to err so as to show that the church is not bound by the decisions of pontiffs but that every believer may follow Paul's example and resist the pope to his face as Paul resisted Peter.—*Works* 1: 303. John Gerson, the leading theologian of the fifteenth century expressed the opinion that the pope might be a heretic.

At the period of the Reformation, the opinion prevailed in the Vatican that the pope has not only the right to exercise discipline over the whole church, but to decide inerrantly what the teachings of the church are. Prierias, the papal chamberlain, wrote that "the pope is infallible so that even the Scriptures derive their authority from him." The Council of Trent declined to take up the question of papal infallibility. A zealous advocate of the dogma was found in the Jesuit order. Its leading writer Cardinal Bellarmine, —*de pont. rom.* 4: 3-5,—said that, "the supreme pontiff when he teaches the whole church in those things which pertain to faith can under no circumstances err . . . nor in questions of morals which he prescribes and which are necessary for salvation, whether they be matters in themselves good or evil." The cardinal further declared that if the supreme pontiff through mistake should command vices and prohibit virtues, the church would be forced to believe that the vices were good and the virtues bad. Nevertheless he took the position, with Cajetan and others, as well as the councils of the fifteenth century, that the pope may fall into heresy and for that reason be punished by the church.

The difference dividing Roman Catholics on the question of infallibility became prominent in the controversies between Louis XIV and the Vatican. Bossuet, the leader of

the Gallican party against the Jesuits and Ultramontane party, held that the pope may err. Gallicanism had as one of its prime principles that the pope is subordinate to an œcumenical council. Up to the moment the Vatican council met, Roman Catholic text books and other authorities continued to teach that the pope may err. Before the Relief bill of 1791 was passed by the British parliament, fifteen hundred English Catholics signed a statement denying that the papal infallibility was a doctrine of the Roman church. A century later writing from Rome, 1870, Lord Acton made the assertion that the pope was acting dishonestly in decreeing infallibility inasmuch as the Catholics of England and Ireland had officially disavowed the doctrine as a church dogma. In 1825 the Irish bishops, Doyle, Murray and Kelly affirmed before a commission of parliament that papal authority is limited by œcumenical councils and also that it does not extend to civil affairs. In the fourth edition of his *Evidences of Christianity* 1866, p. 377, Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore stated that the doctrine of infallibility was an opinion held by few Roman Catholics and that he himself rejected it. Keenan's Controversial catechism described the doctrine as a Protestant invention. The catechism was approved by Scotch bishops and recommended by the Irish episcopate. After 1871, the leaf in the catechism containing the denial of papal infallibility was omitted.

§ 2. **The Vatican council, 1870.**—Papal infallibility was pronounced a dogma at the Vatican council, in the face of the opposition of a large and scholarly body of bishops, of Europe and America. As the time for the opening of the council approached, it was known to the dismay of many in the Roman church eminent not only for scholarship but for official position, that the dogma of infallibility was to be presented. Among its most insistent advocates was Archbishop Manning, later Cardinal Manning. In 1868, two years before the council met, he and Bishop Senestry of Regensburg while in Rome took a vow to do all in their

power to bring about a definition of the dogma, the vow being drawn up by the Jesuit Father, Liberatore.[2] The dogma was voted on in a secret session, July 13, 1870. Four hundred and fifty-one bishops voted in the affirmative, sixty-two a modified affirmative—*placet juxta modum*—and more than eighty in the negative. Among the last were the American bishops of Montreal, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Rochester and Louisville and among the European prelates Darboy of Paris, Dupanloup of Orleans, Cardinals Rauscher and Schwarzenburg, and Bishops Ketteler and Hefele. The prelates in the minority sent a deputation to the pope, imploring him not to press the dogma. It was too late. At the fourth public session July 18th, the promulgation was made in the presence of five hundred and thirty-five prelates. Not to be witnesses of the scene, most of the dissenting members of the council had left Rome including Dr. McQuaid of Rochester. At the final vote, two only of the prelates present chose to vote in the negative, Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas, and Rizzio of Cajazzo, Sardinia. In referring to the American bishop's vote, Pius IX is reported to have said that the Little Rock dared to set itself against the Big Rock. Of the 759 prelates who attended the council, 276 were Italians or more than one-half of the prelates who voted for the dogma, July 18th. One by one the bishops who dissented acquiesced.

The decree was read by the light of a candle by Pius IX himself to the councillors who were assembled in the right transept of St. Peters. A tablet now attached to the inner wall of the church contains the names of the bishops voting for the dogma, including the name of Cardinal Gibbons, then a bishop. At the time of the reading a violent thunderstorm was raging, an unusual occurrence in Rome, and the lightning flashed through the dome of the basilica. As in the case of the rumblings at the Earthquake council which sat in judgment on Wyclif and of the thunder and lightning on Mt. Sinai, the storm was interpreted by some as a confirmation of the dogma from heaven, by others as a mark of the divine

displeasure. The ominous mutterings of another storm had been filling the air and the next day, July 19th, war was proclaimed between Prussia and France. The French emperor, Napoleon III, withdrew from Rome the 10,000 French troops with which for nearly a quarter of a century he had protected the pope in his temporal dominion. A few months later, the kingdom of Italy was constituted and the Roman people by an overwhelming vote passed out from the pope's jurisdiction, and Rome became the capital of united Italy.

The dogma of infallibility secured the assent of Roman Catholics throughout the world. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis who had issued a pamphlet against it, proclaimed it in his diocese. Bishop Hefele of Württemburg, was the last of the dissenting bishops to submit. On the other hand, the dogma was permanently rejected by some of the most distinguished Roman Catholic scholars of Germany, including Döllinger of Munich, Friedrichs, Reusch and Langen, the eloquent French preacher, Père Hyacinthe, and by Lord Acton who had written "of the insane enterprize of proclaiming unlimited infallibility." The German dissidents formed themselves into the Old Catholic church, with the historian Döllinger as leader and Dr. Reinkens its first bishop, who received orders from the Jansenist Bishop of Haarlem, 1873. Most if not all the leaders seem to have been excommunicated except Lord Acton, who continued to oppose the dogma with his pen till his death.

§ 3. **The Vatican decree.**—Pius IX, professing "to know most fully that the see of St. Peter remains forever free from all blemish and error," announced that "the Roman pontiff, when speaking *ex cathedra*—that is to say when fulfilling the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians in virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority,—defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals, *de fide vel moribus*, as a doctrine to be held by the universal church, then through the divine assistance which has been promised him in the person of St. Peter he enjoys fully that infallibility which the divine Redeemer

wished his church to have in defining doctrine touching faith and morals: and consequently such definitions of the Roman pontiff are of themselves unchangeable and are not to be changed through approval of the church." Upon those who might presume to contradict this definition, the anathema was invoked.

The four successors of Pius IX have agreed with Pius in asserting the infallible prerogative thus proclaimed. In one of his first utterances, April 21st, 1878—*Works* 1:13—Leo XIII claimed "that salvation and prosperity are to be sought in the 'infallible teaching office' of the Apostolic chair."

The following are the leading particulars of the Vatican announcement: 1. It is not possible for the Roman pontiff, when he speaks officially—*ex cathedra*—to err in matters of faith and morals. 2. The dogma was divinely revealed. 3. The pope announced the dogma; the council accepted it. 4. The dogma is "a tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith," and has always been held by the church. 5. It is an essential dogma. It cannot be reviewed or altered and those who contradict it are laid under the anathema.

The argument as put by Cardinal Manning while the Vatican council was in session,—an argument which he pronounced complete and conclusive—runs as follows: The church has tradition. Human history cannot determine what tradition is and what it is not. The church alone can determine. It was in accord with tradition that Pius, himself inspired, announced the dogma. In accord with Dr. Mannings' theory, Pius in the private meeting with the dissenting bishops, so the report went, made the characteristic remark "tradition, I am tradition"—*la tradizione son'io*, just as Louis XIV had said: "the state, I am the state"—*l'état c'est moi.*

The dogma of infallibility invalidates the ancient opinion that œcumenical councils are superior to the pope and their decisions infallible. When the Roman pontiff speaks, God speaks. Useless and heretical was the protest issued by

Döllinger and the Old Catholics, Aug. 26, 1870, that the Vatican dogma complies with no one of the three conditions of religious authority laid down by Vincentius of Lerins. It has been believed neither by all nor at all times nor everywhere. The dogma seems to supersede the Scriptures. It is enough for Roman Catholics to know what the Roman pontiff says. As an expounder of religious truth to christendom he takes the place of Christ. The Manual of the Catechism of Pius X quotes with approval the words, that the pope is Jesus Christ on earth—*il papa è Gesu Cristo sulla terra.* Four centuries ago, Luther in his Address to the German Nobility, discussing the opinion that the authority of the church should give way to the voice of one man, the Roman pontiff, suggested that, if the opinion was true the clause, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church," ought to be changed to "I believe in the pope of Rome" a change which he pronounced "a hellish and devilish error."

Here are some of the recent fulsome commendations of the dogma. At the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Leo XIII's pontificate by the University of Vienna, the orator affirmed "that the church has two heads in two distinct persons, Christ and Peter, and as the humanity was joined with the divinity in Christ, so Peter was joined with Christ as his vicar over the universal church." Rightly according to the Vatican theory, did Catherine of Siena call the pope another Christ—*alter Christus*—Mirbt, in Herzog 20: 474. According to Koch, Bishop Korum of Treves said in 1912, "the holy father always speaks the right word at the right time and when he has spoken we must say, "holy father, thou hast spoken and thy children obey." About the same time Bishop Mermillod publicly taught " the threefold incarnation of Christ, namely in the womb of Mary, the eucharist and the pope, and that all the reverence to which the light of our faith impels us toward Christ, the priest, the shepherd and an earthly father, culminates in reverence toward the pope. If we render reverence to the angels we should render it to the pope for he is the visible angel of the

whole church." It was said by Cardinal Gibbons in his *Reminiscences* of the Vatican council, that "the Vatican Decrees, long after the framers shall have passed away, will continue a salutary influence on generations unborn." The cardinal called Dr. Döllinger, the Arius of the council and Father Hecker, writing from Rome in 1870 spoke of "the stupid Döllingerites."

It should be easy to choose out from the utterances which have proceeded from the Vatican, those that are infallible. This is not the case. The difficulty arises in part from the subjects treated. When the pope speaks on a question of morals he cannot err but the sphere of morals is not easily limited. All questions that bear on the well-being of man seem to belong to it. Papal pronouncements on marriage and divorce, on labor, on the Masonic order—against which Leo XIII spoke frequently—and on national issues all concern the moral welfare of the race. If superstitions, such as witchcraft and slavery and crusading wars are not moral issues, it is impossible to determine what are to be so accounted. On all these questions popes have made distinctive utterances. An indisputable mark of an infallible papal utterance would seem to be the claim of supernatural knowledge and guidance in making it, and the assertion that it was issued with "certain knowledge." Likewise the bulls ought to be inerrant in which pontiffs solemnly call the Apostles Paul and Peter and other saints as well as God Almighty himself to witness. For example, in the deliverance distributing America between Spain and Portugal, Alexander made all these claims and the allotment was declared to be perpetually valid. Protestants, perhaps only have difficulty with bulls which declare as errors matters, which seem by the laws of sound interpretation to be Scriptural truths such as errors charged against Wyclif and Luther, and against the Jansenists and Quesnel. Are they infallible or not infallible? Such also are bulls of Pius IX and Pius X, which have pronounced certain modern civil institutions deadly and prohibited free religious inquiry by students. The pontiff

would be a benefactor who over his own signature would issue a list of infallible judgments. Why should he not use his prerogative and prepare such a list just as he has prepared lists of prohibited books! Protestants as well as leading Romanist writers would, with such a list in their hands, no longer be in the dark in regard to certain decrees whether they belong to the class of errant statements of truth or not. The Council of Trent refused to furnish a list of authoritative traditions on the ground that such a list would bind the hands of the church in after ages.

§ 4. The Vatican decree and Scripture. The dogma of papal infallibility has not a word in the Scriptures in its favor. The Vatican decree, quotes the single passage, Luke 22: 32. "I have made supplication for thee—Peter—that thy faith fail not and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren." In quoting it, Pius IX perverted the meaning and in so doing, he either gave proof that he is fallible or that he has the prerogative of declaring that the sacred writers meant something else than they said. Christ in addressing Peter was not referring to objective truth formulated in a creed. He was referring to Peter's personal fidelity, that is the faith that was in him. Christ's prediction came true. Peter was tempted and denied Christ three times and Peter was restored. The objective truth of Christianity was not reëstablished but Peter's own religious purpose was reëstablished.

In addition to this fatal objection that the pope perverted the meaning of Christ's words is the other objection that Christ was addressing Peter personally and that there is not a hint that his words were intended for any alleged successor in Rome. When the pope applies the words to himself, they logically become a prediction of his possible fallibility. Arguing against the decree of papal infallibility, Archbishop Kenrick defended the view that in speaking to Peter our Lord had in mind "trust or confidence and that the word faith was never used by our Lord to mean the system of doctrine, the latter being the only sense in which it can be

used as an argument in support of papal infallibility." As Dr. Paterson has said, "the exegetical argument of the Vatican announcements simply presents the best that could be done with very unpromising material."

If we follow Peter's career, it is evident that the Apostle made at least one mistake which was one of the most pernicious mistakes that could be imagined. Had his fallacy prevailed, the Christian church would have shrunken to the limits of a Jewish sect. Yielding to certain, who came down from Jerusalem to Antioch, Peter withdrew himself from the Gentile Christians and refused to eat with them on the ground that they were not conforming to the Hebrew ceremonial. He made circumcision a condition of receiving the benefits of the Gospel. Fortunately, Peter was set right, yet for a time he was a heretic. Paul resisted his fellow-Apostle to his face and the Council of Jerusalem, called upon to deal with the matter, disapproved Peter's position and asserted the freedom of grace for those of the uncircumcision as well as for those of the circumcision. On this single case in the annals of the Apostles, papal infallibility is wrecked, as a dogmatic fiction.

§ 5. **Papal infallibility tested by history.**—The Scriptures aside, the decree of infallibility breaks on the Gibraltar of historic facts. The Fathers knew nothing of it. The first seven œcumencial councils knew nothing of it. The early creeds beginning with the Apostles' Creed knew nothing of it. The Schoolmen started it as a pious opinion and advocates —in the Middle Ages—sought to establish it by falsifying and inventing documents. Later, the Jesuits and Alphonzo de Liguori circulated gross fabrications to spread it. Finally, a supreme pontiff, appealing to the fiction that the doctrine belonged to the body of ancient traditions declared the dogma a necessary dogma of the church. Here are some of the undoubted mistakes of popes doctrinal and moral, and cases of forgery invented to accredit the dogma.

1. Errors endorsed by early popes:—Zephyrinus, 201-219, and Calixtus, 219-221, taught the heresy of patripas-

sionism. Liberius subscribed an Arian creed and addressed the Arians of Egypt as his beloved brothers and the presbyters as his fellow-bishops,—an apostacy attested by Athanasius. Against Liberius as "the prevaricator," Hilary invoked the anathema and Jerome spoke of Liberius as guilty of "heretical depravity." Felix II was a pronounced Arian. Zozimus, 417, at first, pronounced Pelagius, orthodox, after his predecessor Innocent I had condemned Pelagius as a heretic.

2. The case of Honorius I, 625-638.—The heresy of Honorius I was made a test case by Bishop Hefele in a noted pamphlet issued at the time of the Vatican council—*die Honorius Frage*. Honorius was expressly condemned as guilty of profane heresy by the sixth œcumenical council, 681, and by Leo II. The decision was approved by the three papal delegates present at the council and repeated by the seventh and eighth œcumenical councils, 787, 869, both presided over by papal legates.[3] In their oaths on taking office, the popes down to the eleventh century condemed Honorius, joining him with Arius and other false teachers. Roman breviaries as late as the sixteenth century contained this condemnation. Honorius' heresy was monotheletism, the view that Christ had a single will. Different theories have been proposed by certain Romanist scholars to clear the pope of the doctrinal error, but all of them fail. The two letters that Honorius wrote to the Eastern emperor are clear evidence as Hefele showed that the pope was infected with heresy. If the explanation be justified that Honorius was not a monothelite but pretended to be one and sought to mislead the emperor with the intention of preserving or restoring the unity of the church, then all the worse, for it makes Honorius guilty of following the principle that evil may be done that good may ensue. The dogma of infallibility falls with the heresy of this single pope. If one link is faulty, the chain breaks.

3. Truths condemned as heresies.—Among the positions declared to be heretical in lists issued by popes and accepted

as infallible by Roman Catholic writers are the following: Among Wyclif's propositions pronounced heretical by Martin V were the propositions that the Gospels contain no record that Christ instituted the mass and that to believe that the Roman church is supreme over all churches is not a condition of salvation. Among the articles of John Huss condemned as heretical were the articles that heretics should not be handed over to the civil power to be put to death, and that the church is the body of the elect. Leo X pronounced as "pestiferous, pernicious, scandalous and destructive of obedience to the Roman church as the teacher of the faith." Luther's proposition that "the burning of heretics is contrary to the will of the Spirit." Among the articles condemned in Clement's elaborate bull, *unigenitus* of 1713:—are the articles that grace is received through faith only and that all should be allowed to read the Scriptures. The bull *in cœna domini* went to the limit in damning moral derelicts and offenders against the Roman see. After being used for several centuries and condemned in a special tract by Luther, it was given its perfected form by Urban VIII, 1627, and declared to be a perpetual law for all bishops and for all priests sitting in the confessional. With great solemnity, it was read in St. Peters from year to year on Maundy-Thursday until the offensive custom was abolished by Clement XIV, 1769-1774. Little wonder that the bull was forbidden in France and that princes of other countries rose up against it! Invoking the name of the Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, it placed side by side corsairs, falsifiers of papal bulls, Turks and Saracens, Hussites, Wycliffites, Lutherans, Calvinists, Zwinglians and Anabaptists, and anathematized them all as unbelievers, apostates and heretics. The papal blast also anathematized magistrates who in criminal cases dare to proceed against ecclesiastics and all who invade the rights of the pontiff in Rome, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica.

4. Submission to the pope made a condition of salvation. —In the bull, *unam sanctam*, 1302, Boniface VIII declared that submission to the Apostolic see is an essential condition

of salvation and that the pope has authority to use both swords, ecclesiastical and civil, which means that by his command he may inaugurate wars.

5. Papal integrity.—Certain popes have broken their oaths, as did Pascal II to Henry V, Clement VII to Francis I, and Pius VII to Napoleon. In all these cases, duress is treated as a sufficient ground for regarding an oath not binding. In his bull confirming the *unam sanctam*, Leo X falsely affirmed of the councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople, 680, and Nice, 787, that the bishops composing them "humbly begged the pope's approbation" to secure the ratification of their decrees.

6. The Vulgate edition of 1590.—The edition of the Latin Bible prepared by Sixtus V was declared by Sixtus to be "true, valid, authentic and to be used as above question in all public and private discussions." Pronouncement could scarcely be more precise and Sixtus further explicitly stated that, in order to preserve the edition from mistakes, he had made it with his own hands. Alterations he made punishable with excommunication. In the face of these declarations the edition, when it appeared, was found to have no less than two thousand mistakes. To save the pope's honor—*salvo honore*—Cardinal Bellarmine proposed that all the Sixtine copies be destroyed and a new edition issued under the name of Sixtus with the false statement in the preface that the mistakes of Sixtus' edition were printers' errors.[4] When the new edition appeared under Clement VIII, 1592, the preface actually gave Sixtus as its author although it was written by Bellarmine, as Bellarmine in his autobiography himself assures us!

7. Bible scholarship.—Leo XIII approved as genuine, I John 5:7, that "there are three that bear record in heaven the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." The passage according to all textual authorities is not found in the oldest manuscripts.

8. Papal fulminations.—Curses, scarcely if ever exceeded in virulence, have been issued by popes against individuals

who have resisted their claims. Two only will be cited here. In the anathema, laid by the papal legates on the altar of St. Sophia, 1054, objurgating the Greeks, the words ran, "Let them be anathema maranatha, together with Simoniacs, Arians, Donatists, Nicolaitans, Severians, Manicheeans and all heretics, yea, with the devil and his angels. Amen, Amen, Amen!" In 1346, Clement VI, execrating the emperor Louis the Bavarian, called "upon the Lord to strike him with insanity and blindness and with madness of mind and upon the thunderbolts of heaven to descend upon him." It invoked upon him "the wrath of God and the Apostles Peter and Paul, prayed that it might burn against the emperor in this world and the next and summoned the universe to war against him and the earth to swallow him up alive." Further, Clement not content with damning the emperor damned his house to desolation and his children to exclusion from their abode and invoked for the unfortunate man the horror of beholding with his own eyes his children destroyed by their enemies. Would that Clement and some other popes had had the mild spirit of the heretic, William Penn. In a letter to the English secretary of state, Penn suggested that, "it ought to satisfy the most rabid sectarian that he can forbid his rival a share of heaven without also banishing him from the earth." Can it be thought of as an article of faith that a mortal man capable of such cursings is invested with infallibility by God!

9. Papal acts repudiated by popes.—John XXII, d. 1354, in opposition to two predecessors, maintained that the Apostles did not live in absolute poverty and branded as heretical the opinion that they did. The Society of Jesus, chartered by Paul III and Paul IV was abolished by Clement XIV, 1773, who cited twelve of his predecessors who had condemned the order for one cause or another and declared that it had disturbed the whole world and broken up the peace of the church, Clement annulled every privilege the order had enjoyed and pronounced the order "suppressed, abrogated and abolished and to remain abolished forever."

All this the pontiff did on the basis of "certain knowledge and by virtue of his Apostolic plenipotentiary power," In spite of this abolition, the order was restored by Pius VII, 1814. The abolition of an ecclesiastical order may, it is true, be treated as a matter of discipline and not of doctrine, nevertheless, doctrine or discipline, the charges on which the Jesuits were outlawed were offences against most important moral laws and religious rules.

10. The inquisition for heresy and witchcraft.—Three separate inquisitions for the destruction of heresy were expressly inaugurated or sanctioned by three pontiffs. If solemn papal utterances, repeated again and again are to be regarded as infallible, then religious persecution unto death is as much an ecclesiastical right as the Ten Commandments are a part of the Old Testament. In 1215, Innocent III inaugurated the papal inquisition. Forty years later, Innocent IV legalized torture. In 1478, Sixtus IV sanctioned the Spanish inquisition. The Roman inquisition was organized by Paul III and administered with special zeal by Paul IV, 1555-59. The latter pontiff declared that sentences leading to the letting of blood in torture or by death involve no censure for clerics who might pronounce them. He told the French ambassador that, if the taint of heresy was ever so slight, the party should be delivered to the flames, no matter what his rank might be. Pastor speaks of Paul's atrocious severity—*entsetzliche Strenge*. The burning of religious dissenters was pronounced by Leo X to be of express inspiration from heaven. The pontiff wrote to the Elector of Saxony, July 8, 1520, that he had penned his words condemning Luther's declaration that heretics are not to be burned "under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who in such matters is never absent from the Holy see."

As for witchcraft, Innocent VIII, by his bull of 1484, was responsible for the deaths of thousands of persons in Germany and other parts. He credited the report that men and women, bewitched of the devil, were destroying crops in parts of Northern Europe and making women sterile and men

impotent and he called upon the Dominican inquisitors to proceed against the unfortunate creatures. Pope after pope before Innocent VIII credited the crudest tales of demonology. Gregory IX, 1233, asserted that the devil was in the habit of appearing in the shapes of a toad, a pallid ghost and a black cat at assemblies where there was indiscriminate sexual intercourse between women and denizens of hell.[5] Such views, after Innocent's bull was issued, were embodied in the manual for witch hunters, the *malleus maleficarum*, issued to enable inquisitors to detect witches and declared by Lea "to be the most portentous monument of superstition the world has produced." In this work, the Dominican authors testified that of forty-eight witches brought before them and burned, everyone had confessed to having practiced whoredom with demons for from ten to thirty years. Editions of the manual were published with papal approval. Innocent VIII was not the last pope who called for the execution of witches. He was followed by Leo X. In 1521, Prierias declared that certain regions continued to be infested with them. That Luther, Calvin, Richard Baxter, Cotton Mather, and other eminent men among Protestants down to John Wesley accepted witchcraft as a real fact, no one disputes. The difference between these eminent men and the Roman pontiff is that no claim is made for any of them that he was infallible. The Roman pontiffs are looked to as vicars of Christ, set to teach and rule. How can anyone accept men as infallible whatever be their title who pushed the inquisition whereby multitudes were imprisoned for life or burnt and religious wars of extermination set on foot!

11. Wars.—Popes not only sanctioned and commanded wars for the extermination of heretics but also for the extension of territory, for the overthrow of princes and for the enslavement of tribes. Especially active was Sixtus IV in the fifteenth century in stirring up strife and involving Italy in wars for the aggrandizement of his nephews. A predecessor, Nicholas V, 1452, in *dum diversas*, authorized Prince

Henry of Portugal to make war upon the infidels, Africans and Mohammedans, to conquer their territories and to enslave their persons.—See *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 1910, p. 16. In authorizing the first crusade, 1095, Urban II laid down the rule that it is no murder to kill excommunicated persons provided it be done from religious motives. Urban's decision was incorporated in the canon law. Innocent III, perverting the Vulgate translation of Deut. 17: 12, made the passage read, "Whoever does not submit himself to the judgment of the high priest, him shall the judge put to death," and applied it to himself as pope. Leo X and the Fifth Lateran council appealing to the Books of the Kings declared disobedience to the pope punishable with death—*Petri successoribus . . . quibus ex libris Regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut quis non obedierit, morte moriatur*—Mansi, xxxii: 968. The treatment of Queen Elizabeth and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day will be taken up at another place.

12. Civil laws annulled.—Innocent III, 1215, annulled essential clauses of the *magna charta* and declared them annulled forever—*in perpetuum*. After receiving from John submission and the crown of England, the pontiff joined the king in seeking to break down the barons and resist their protest against royal absolutism. Innocent's words ran "on behalf of the triune God and by the authority of the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as our own, we wholly reprobate and condemn a compact of this sort and under threat of anathema forbid its observance by the king, and also any demands which the barons may make that it be observed." The papal bull went on that "Whatever obligations have been entered into on its account—*magna charta*—we do wholly render null and void so that at no time it may have validity." Far from favoring the cause of popular liberty, the Roman pontiff further pronounced the charter "base and violent, most illegal and iniquitous, making much for the derogation and reduction of the king's rights and honor."

In 1493 when Alexander VI divided the Western con-

tinent, "discovered and remaining to be discovered" between Spain and Portugal, he made the decree valid forever—*in perpetuum*. This grant the pontiff based upon the authority belonging to him as the vicar of Christ and he put under anathema any one who might dare to infringe upon the rights of Spain and Portugal.[6] If it be urged that these two documents of Innocent and Alexander do not properly come under the definition of papal infallibility, the reply is that, if matters of popular rights and the perpetual tenure of a vast continent are not of doctrinal and moral intent, they are at least supremely practical and presumably may have an untold bearing on the happiness of mankind.

13. Scientific opinions pronounced heretical.—Upon the basis of Scripture, the Copernican system was declared by the pope false and heretical. The decree is clearly within the realm of doctrine as it declares what the Scriptures allow and forbid. Galileo, who advocated the system, was at first ordered to maintain silence, and later, after breaking silence, condemned to confinement in his villa in Florence. At the first trial, 1616, the cardinals pronounced the proposition that the sun is in the center of the universe and stationary absurd and false in philosophy and formally heretical because it expressly contradicted the Scriptures. Further, it condemned the propositions that the earth is not the center of the universe and that it actually moves every day likewise false and absurd in philosophy, and, from a theological standpoint, an error in faith.[7] A month later the Congregation of the Inquisition repeated the sentence and forbade the circulation of the works of Copernicus. When in 1633, Galileo was tried the second time by the Roman inquisition, he was threatened with torture, if he did not retract, and he was condemned "as vehemently suspected of heresy." The decision, signed by seven cardinals, three times declared the Copernican view false and altogether contrary to the Holy Scriptures—*falsa et omnino contraria*—and several times classed it among the heresies which are "contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Roman church." The decision was

adopted by Urban VIII who sent it to all papal nuncios with the instruction that it be read by confessors and others "in order that these things might be known to all." Later, 1664 the decision was confirmed by Alexander VII. The Index of 1704 contained the prohibition forbidding "all works that teach the mobility of the earth or the immobility of the sun."

In regard to the Copernican theory, it may again be urged that Luther and other Protestant Reformers and Lord Bacon were just as much opposed to it as were popes and cardinals. The reply again is that no intelligent Protestant ever pretends to regard Luther or Calvin infallible. Nor do they reprobate Urban VIII and the papal commission for having voiced the state of knowledge of their day. They made a mistake and the mistake nullifies the dogma of papal infallibility.

To the classes of papal errors, already adduced, might be added an indefinite number of papal approbations solemnly given to ecclesiastical tales which the testimony of Scripture and common sense reject. Here belong such stories as the story of the scapulary, the removal of Mary's reputed house from Nazareth to Italy, and the approbation given by Clement V to the pretended true crosses displayed in different parts of Europe as genuine and Clement's decree that the wood of Calvary has the singular power of multiplying itself indefinitely. The same Clement went so far as to command angels to come to his help, an assumption which was condemned by the University of Paris no less than by Wyclif, Huss and Wessel. In these latter days, Pius IX, 1863, confirmed the decision of the Congregation of Rites 1668, that the blood stained vials found in the catacombs contained the blood of martyrs and, in 1903, the Holy Office sanctioned as remedies for the sick little chalk images of Mary dissolved in water and made up into pills. One of the Gregories condemned Raymundus Lullus for declaring that Christ's mercy warrants the belief that the majority of men will be saved, a belief Thomas Aquinas rejected. If the

dogma of papal infallibility is true, then the benevolent institutions of Protestantism, such as the Bible societies and missions are un-Christian and Protestantism itself of the devil. In his encyclical of April 20, 1884, Leo condemned the Masonic order as engaged in the business of Satan's kingdom, as having for its ultimate purpose to bring about the ruin of all that the church was instituted to accomplish and to sow among the masses a boundless licence of vices. Against the wiles of its members, men of devilish spirit, he invoked the aid of Mary "who had overcome Satan from the moment of her conception."

§ 6. **Papal failures in moral crises.**—The Vatican decree of infallibility does not go so far as to make the Roman pontiff impeccable. After a pope's death, masses are said for the repose of his soul. Like all other ecclesiastics he is apt to be detained for a time in purgatory. It is conceivable that popes have been reprobates as Dante and Wyclif held and the councils of Pisa and Constance affirmed. Religious infallibility, we would naturally suppose, would include exemption from personal sin, for antecedently, it seems most improbable, that God would confide to ambitious and sensual pontiffs the infallible prerogative of announcing saving religious doctrines. During the tenth and eleventh centuries pope after pope filled the papal office of whom the Roman Catholic Möhler declared that "hell swallowed them up." One less scholarly, Cardinal Bellarmine, himself made out a considerable list of wicked popes without descending to Alexander VI and Paul III. Of crises where, it would seem, the pope might have done well to use his infallible authority to prevent the loss of multitudes of lives and vast suffering, and did not use it, have been the Thirty Years' War—a religious conflict—and more recently the war of 1914. The same may be said of bequests popes have made of high honors. They ought to have known better than to have conferred the Golden Rose on Isabella of Spain as did Pius IX or as Leo X did long ago upon the elector, Frederick, Luther's protector, or to have pronounced Henry VIII Defender of

the Faith. In the crisis of the World War, Benedict XV urged peace and called upon the nations to pray for peace, a frame of mind shared by multitudes of Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. Had the pontiff given a decision indicating on what side the right lay, the war might have been abbreviated and its horrors reduced. At any rate, it would have been a moral act of high order for him to have done so as the infallible vicegerent of God. In defending the papal silence and neutrality, Cardinal Mercier explained that the pontiff did not dare "assume the responsibility for the immense upsetting of conscience which would have resulted, if he had told the German Catholics that their war was wicked. Had he done so, the Germans would not have obeyed him, their holy father, and such disobedience would have made them mortal sinners." In a letter to Cardinal Pompili, 1922, referring to his encyclical on peace, Pius XI wrote, "Far be it from us the idea of taking sides in the questions that are troubling the peoples." Protestants do not think they are far out of the way when they condemn the silence of pontiffs who claim to be infallible when vast worldly issues and the happiness and lives of multitudes are at stake. Infallible though the Roman pontiff has been pronounced to be, he has nevertheless at times suspended his own decrees, as did Clement V Boniface's decree so far as France was concerned, and Pius X the application of his laws of marriage in Austria and certain other states. Benedict XV seems to have acted in the same way when he called the Russians "our distant children" when, for centuries, papal edicts had treated them as rebels, schismatics and even heretics.

Protestants call no man "lord, lord," and recognize the liability of all men to err, even the most learned although they may have the Scriptures in their hands. Protestants are bound to revise the doctrinal statements of the past, if they are found to misrepresent the truths of the Scriptures and to renounce the views of teachers no matter how much they were once held in honor, in case they are found to be

untenable. They have openly expressed repentance for measures which better judgment now condemns. The Massachusetts legislature recalled the sentence of banishment against Roger Williams. It also repudiated the trials at Salem for witchcraft which it pronounced "that unhappy tragedy." Deacon Samuel Sewall, one of the judges, stood up in his church in Boston and confessed that it was a delusion of the devil and that he had done wrong in sentencing alleged witches to prison and to death. At the spot in Geneva where Servetus was burnt the representatives of the French Protestant churches have placed a monument with an inscription renouncing the principle which made possible the execution of the Spaniard three hundred years before. It runs: "We, respectful sons of Calvin, our great Reformer, condemning an error which was the error of his age and firmly attached to liberty of conscience according to the true principles of the Reformation and the Gospel have raised this expiatory monument Oct. 27, 1903." If some pope would openly renounce the principle of damning non-Roman Christians and express regret for decrees that brought men to death for their religious opinions and the exultation shown by his predecessors for such acts as the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, the dogma of infallibility would suffer but the truth and the coöperation of Christians be advanced.

On the ground of Scripture, history and observation, Protestants deny that the Roman pontiff is under appointment from above to rule the Christian church, and reject his claim to be the infallible teacher of Christian truth as a human assumption born of pride or ignorance. The papal monarchy is man's invention. The dogma of papal infallibility dishonors the Scriptures and the office of the Holy Spirit who is promised to every man who will seek His aid.

CHAPTER XVI

MINISTRY AND PRIESTHOOD

Preach the Word, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and teaching. Fulfill thy ministry. II Tim. 4: 2, 5.

THE Roman communion is presided over by a body of officials known as the priesthood-*sacerdotium*—Protestant communions by a body known as the ministry. The title "clergymen" which applies to both classes is very ancient and is derived from the Greek word *kleros*, meaning "lot" as when the disciples cast "lots" for the election of Matthias, Acts 1: 26 and Peter used the word for all Christians as God's "heritage" or "chosen" people. I Pet. 5:3 Romanist and Protestants agree that clergymen should be known for their piety, character and intelligence, but differ widely in regard to the origin of church government and its proper form, the credentials of clergymen, the effect produced by ordination, the grades of the clergy, the distinction between the clergy and the laity, the marriage of clergymen and the extent of their obligation to the civil authority.

§ 1. **Church government.**—By the Roman theory, church government is of explicit divine appointment and the Roman scheme is the legitimate form. At its head stands the pope. With him, as high priest, is joined the priesthood which consists of several degrees or orders and has its functions by virtue of episcopal ordination. Any one not ordained by a bishop and presuming to perform clerical functions is pronounced guilty of sacrilege. For promotion, the priest is dependent upon the bishop and the bishop upon the pope, as in the last instance, the priest is also. The Roman Catholic body is the most compact and, from a worldly

standpoint, the most efficient of organisms. The machinery of its government is as perfect as human skill has ever conceived. The priests and the bishops are a solid army led by one supreme commander who is invested with plenary power. The Roman pontiff is absolute ruler over the church by reason of alleged supernatural appointment and endowment both as ruler and teacher. According to the Vatican council, "the strength and solidity of the entire church is in the primacy of Peter." The papal form of government is a monarchy and the condition of being in the Roman church is that the members yield to the papal monarch implicit obedience. He who disobeys the pope, the earthly potentate, disobeys God, the heavenly potentate. The system may be repressive of individualism and freedom of thought and progress. It is built upon the principle of implicit obedience and fosters unquestioning submission.

The Protestant position is that church administration is a matter of human preference and expediency. The form of administration is not of divine or Apostolic appointment and is to the faith or doctrinal belief of the church what clothes are to the human body. Our Lord did no more than call Apostles and send out the seventy. He appointed no ranks of the ministry and conferred no sacerdotal authority. After his resurrection there arose within the churches a class of persons known by different names and performing different functions, such as prophesying, evangelizing, teaching and ruling. The exact nature of the church organization of the Apostolic age has been for centuries a matter of discussion and disagreement. Protestant communions, as they understand it, follow it as a model with such modifications as conditions seem to make prudent and desirable. The proposition laid down by the New England Puritans in the Cambridge Platform, 1648, that all the parts of church government are particularly described in the New Testament is no longer held by their spiritual descendants. Even Calvin did not go that far. Luther regarded the ministry as a matter of expediency and not of

divine appointment. He and Calvin likewise, though they prescribed government by presbyters, recognized government by bishops. The churches of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which are Lutheran, and derived their sanction from Wittenberg are presided over by bishops, and Calvin recognized the episcopal constitution of Poland. Bullinger and Beza recommended English churchmen to acknowledge the Anglician bishops. Knox included superintendents—another name for bishops—in his form of government for Scotland, at least as temporary officials. Presbyterians and Lutherans and other Protestant bodies may at any time decide to concentrate in individual presidents authority which is now conferred upon a body of presbyters. A thoroughly Protestant position was laid down by the Scotch Confession of Faith when it stated that "in the house of God, it becummis al things to be done decently and in ordour. Not that we think any policie and ordour in ceremonies can be appoiynted for all ages, times and places. For as ceremonies sik as men have devised are bot temporall, so may and aucht they to be changed when they rather foster superstition then that they edify the kirk using the same."

§ 2. **The ministry and the New Testament.**—The inclusive term used in the New Testament for persons in authority in the church and Christian congregations is the ministry—*diakonia*—a word employed to denote any service done in the name of Christ, whether it be preaching, instruction or charitable work. It was for "ministry" that the seven deacons were appointed. To "the ministry of the Word" the Apostles chose to restrict themselves and it was for "the work of the ministry" that the Apostles, presbyters, evangelists, pastors and teachers were set apart, Acts 6:1, 4; Eph. 4:12. Matthias was elected to be Judas' successor to take part in the "ministry," Acts 1:17. Phoebe was a "minister,"—the Greek word being deacon,—of the church in Cenchrea. To be "approved a minister of God and Christ" was Paul's highest aspiration and his call to be a "minister" he regarded as a gift of God, Acts 20:24; Eph.

3:7. The Apostle urged Timothy to make "full proof of his ministry." The inclusive agency of the Gospel was known as "the ministry of reconciliation" and "the ministry of the saints," I Cor. 16:15; II Cor. 5:18.

The functions of the ministry were performed by persons who bore the titles Apostles, prophets, evangelists, angels of the churches, bishops, pastors, teachers, presbyters and deacons. Such titles as "pope," "vicar of Christ," "holy father" are not found in the New Testament. The title priest—*hiereus*—is never used in the New Testament of the official leaders of the Christian congregations but, when used of Christans, it is used of all Christian believers as when Peter and John spoke of believers as a "royal or holy priesthood," or as made "kings and priests unto God," I Pet. 2:5; Rev. 1:6. Christ, when he used the term "priests," was invariably speaking of the priests of the Hebrew dispensation. Paul and John called themselves servants, ambassadors, apostles, fellow-elders, ministers of Christ, but never priests. It has been well said by Glover that if the New Testament had "meant priest, it could have said priest." The only Christian priest it knows of in distinction from all believers is Christ himself. The very object of the Epistle to the Hebrews was to assert the abolition of the Jewish priesthood and the fulfilment of the priestly function for all time by Christ. He is the anti-type of the Jewish high-priest. He made the infinite offering of himself, an offering of which the sacrifices of the temple were prophetic types. The Jewish high-priest entered often into the most holy place of the temple. Christ entered once for all into the holy place, not made with hands. When the Jewish high-priest died, his office passed to a successor. Christ has no successor. The Levitical priesthood is explicitly contrasted by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews with Christ as the only high priest. To Christ the priesthood was transferred and through him all may draw nigh to the throne of grace. Polycarp in his letter to the Philippians called him "the eternal priest."

With the priesthood in the Hebrew and the Pagan religions altar and sacrifices were necessarily conjoined. In the New Testament, the Jewish altar is mentioned several times and the only time an altar is spoken of in connection with the Christian dispensation, it signifies the cross, were Christ by the offering of himself atoned for the sins of the world,—Eph. 5:2; Heb. 13:10. The Christian sacrifices other than the sacrifice on the cross, spoken of in the New Testament, are the consecration of one's self to God, the offering of our bodies as a "living sacrifice" and the "spiritual sacrifices" of prayer, praise and charitable deeds, —Rom. 12:1; Phil. 2:17; Heb. 13:16; 1 Pet. 2:5. Paul also spoke figuratively of the Gentiles as a living offering presented by himself unto God.

Romanists accredit the alleged institution of a priestly order in the Christian church by the false translation of the Greek word "presbyter" made by the Vulgate and followed by the Rheims version and countenance is given to the error that the New Testament recognizes an order of Christian priests in the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer which uses interchangeably the words "priest" and "minister." In the New Testament, a clear distinction is made between the Greek word for priest—*hiereus*—from which the word "hierarchy" comes, and the Greek word presbyter—*presbyteros* translated elder. Priests were officials of the Jewish temple; presbyters of the Jewish synagogues which existed for instruction and not for the offering of sacrifices. In the interests of the sacerdotal principle, which was the ruling principle in the church in his time, Jerome arbitrarily varied his translation of the single word presbyter by the several Latin words senior, major and old men as well as priest and presbyter. In the account of the Council of Jerusalem, the expression "apostles and presbyters" is used five times, Acts 15:2-16:4. In the passage Acts 14:23, which states that Paul and Barnabas "appointed presbyters in every city," Jerome translated the word correctly "presbyters," as he did the passage

in which Paul bade Titus—1:5—to appoint "presbyters in every city." It would have been almost fatal to Jerome's theory of the priesthood to have suggested by translating the original "priests" that single congregations had several priests. On the other hand, in the passage I Pet. 5:1—where Peter called himself "fellow-presbyter," Jerome translated it "consenior," a deliberate attempt apparently to set aside the plain meaning that Peter was putting himself in a class with the body of presbyters.

More definitely, the Rheims version may be accused of the deliberate attempt to foist upon the New Testament a special order of Christian priests. Almost uniformly it translates the Greek word "presbyter" as if it were *hiereus*, that is, "priest." Paul and Barnabas are made out to have appointed "priests in every city" and Paul as having directed Titus to ordain "priests" in every city. Likewise, as also the Vulgate, it renders the "presbyters of the church" whom James—5:14 recommended to be called in cases of sickness, "priests." The purpose of putting a class of "priests" into the New Testament is definitely shown in the treatment to which Jerome and the Rheims version subjects the crucial statements of Acts 20:17, 28 where the sacred writer has in mind the same persons, that is members of the church of Ephesus whom Paul had called to Miletus. In the earlier verse they are called "presbyters," in the later verse "bishops." To obscure their identity, the Vulgate translates the first passage, Paul called "the older ones-*majores natu*-from Miletus" and the Rheims version translates it "*the ancients*," and both translate the second passage, "Take heed to the church of God, over which the Holy Ghost hath placed you *bishops*."

It is a disappointment to find the new Roman Catholic Westminster version perpetuating the false rendering of "presbyter" by the English word "priest," as in James 5:14. The same error is put into children's minds by Roman cathechisms, as by the catechism of Christian doctrine

approved by the Roman hierarchy of England, where James is represented as bidding "the priests of the church" to be called to the sick. In its chapter on order, the Tridentine catechism says the ancient fathers, called ministers, "presbyters and priests"—but it does not refer to the New Testament for this verbiage.[1]

§ 3. **The Roman Catholic ministry.**—By the Roman Catholic system, the ministry consists of "bishops, priests and other ministers" who together make up "a new, visible and external priesthood"—*sacerdotium*—which is also called the hierarchy. This ministry is of divine appointment, however, the bishops principally—*præcipue*—make up the hierarchical order and are set "to rule the church of God." The Decrees of Trent are explicit in exalting the priesthood and defining its functions and pronounce more than a dozen anathemas on as many alleged errors concerning the ministry held outside the Roman communion. They derive the priestly office from the institution of the Lord's Supper, when Christ "constituted the Apostles a priesthood and to their successors in the priesthood the power was committed to offer up his body as a propitiary sacrifice and to absolve and retain sins," and also from Christ's commission to the Apostles to forgive sins.

The culmination of the priesthood in the Roman pontiff is emblazoned on the base of the dome of St. Peter's in the words, Here starts the unity of the priesthood—*hinc sacerdotii unitas exoritur*. Sacrifice and priesthood were joined together as inseparable by the Council of Trent. The single distinct passage which it claimed for the "translation" of the Aaronic priesthood into the new Christian priesthood is Heb. 7:12, which runs "It was necessary that another priest should rise after the order of Melchizedek and not be reckoned after the order of Aaron. For when the priesthood is changed, a change of law necessarily follows." The meaning of the writer seems to be the very reverse of the meaning given by the councillors at Trent. The priesthood of Christ, and that alone, was under con-

sideration by the writer, not an order or succession of Christian priests.

The priest's duties according to the Roman law are to offer—that is the sacrifice of the mass, rule, teach and absolve sin,—*potestas regendi, magistrandi et remittendi.* The endowment or grace received by the priest in ordination lifts him above the loftiest kings and the most devoted saints. As affirmed by the Tridentine catechism, "the priest represents God Himself on earth. No higher function can be imagined. Priests are justly called angels and also gods." Their honor is unequalled by anything else on earth. The titles of the Roman priests as summed up by Cardinal Gibbons are: "king, shepherd, father, judge, whose office it is to pass sentence of pardon on self-accusing criminals, and physician because he heals their souls from the loathesome distempers of sin." The superlative excellency of the office is set forth by the cardinal in these words: "As far as heaven is above earth, as eternity is above time and the soul above the body, so far are the prerogatives vested in God's ministers higher than those of any earthly potentate. An earthly prince can cast into prison or release therefrom. The minister of God can release the soul from the prison of sin and restore it to the liberty of a child of God." No matter how ignorant or even criminal the priest may be, he possesses this virtue indelibly by reason of his ordination. By the Roman system the priest is the mediator between man and God, and it is impossible to be reconciled to God unless the sacraments which the priest blesses are received.

§ 4. **The Protestant ministry.**—With Protestants, the ministry is not a distinct order exalted above other Christians but a body of men who by reason of spiritual knowledge and experience are recognized as fit for the office of preaching and pastoral care. The minister's functions are to expound the Scriptures by public and private teaching, administer the sacraments, maintain order and discipline in a given congregation and in his own conduct to set the example of godliness. He is a spiritual guide, not a dipenser of heavenly

virtue. His office is not that of a priest to impart a grace but to deliver a message. The essence of the Apostle's counsels to Timothy was "to preach the word." Wyclif and Huss made a sound life the condition of performing the office of the ministry and insisted that a priest in the state of mortal sin is incapacitated from performing priestly functions. It is possible that Chaucer had Wyclif in mind when he wrote his famous description of a godly pastor:

> "A better priest I trow that nowhere non is,
> He waited after no pompe ne reverence:
> Ne maked him no spiced conscience,
> But Christes lore and his apostles twelve
> He taught, but first he folwed it himselve."

Preaching as the Christian minister's chief function, was restored by the Reformation. During the Middle Ages it had fallen into desuetude. Wyclif in England and Huss in Bohemia had exalted the sermon in their writings and by their own pulpit efforts. Wyclif said again and again that "preaching of the Word of God is a more precious occupation than the administration of the sacraments," and that it is "the mooste worthy acte that priestis don heere among men." Luther was a mighty preacher, as were also Calvin, Zingli, Latimer and Knox. Wherever Protestantism has gone, a free pulpit has flourished. Of the clerical office, as he found it in the fifteenth century, Calvin said, "the pastoral office, as it was instituted by Christ, has long been in disuse. No man is a true pastor who does not perform the office of teaching. Scarcely one in a hundred of the bishops ever enters the pulpit to preach."

§ 5. The two views compared.—Protestants have the pages of the New Testament on their side. The priestly theory is a product of ecclesiastical development. It is almost inconceivable that, if Christ meant to institute a priesthood, he should not have employed the honorable word "priest," so familiar from Hebrew usage, to designate

officials in the kingdom he was establishing. In his injunctions to Titus and Timothy, where Paul was concerned to set forth the duty of the ministerial office, there is not the remotest hint of the priestly function. The transition from the New Testament ideal of the ministry to the idea of a sacerdotal order was first fully made apparent in the third century by Cyprian of Carthage. It started with the innocent comparison drawn between the Christian ministry and the Levitical priesthood. Writers in the latter part of the second century, like Clement of Alexandria, continued to speak of the Hebrew sacrifices as forerunners, not of material sacrifices but of Christian prayers. Irenæus, in his recently discovered Apostolical Preaching, has no reference to a sacrificing ministry. In speaking of the Christian priesthood he speaks of a priesthood of moral holiness and Apostolic self-denial. Tertullian continued to insist upon the priesthood of all believers. His North African successor, Cyprian, found in Christ's words, "Go, show thyself to the priest," a warrant of the divine institution of a priestly order and by Cyprian's time it had become common to call Christian ministers "priests."

§ 6. **The Apostolic succession.**—As Protestants differ about the nature and authority of the priesthood, so they differ about the theory of Apostolic succession, so-called. By this is meant the channel through which the Christian ministry derives its credentials and its endowment.

The Roman church claims an unbroken line of clerics since the days of the Apostles. These clerics, bishops and priests, have inherited through the Apostles special grace and have had committed to them the deposit of faith of which they are the perpetual guardians,—Council of Trent, 13: 1-4. According to the old episcopal or Cyprianic theory, when the bishops sit together in an œcumenical council or otherwise agree, their judgments are indisputable. This theory has been modified by the Vatican decree which concentrated the teaching as well as the ruling functions for the entire church in the Roman pontiff. Leo XIII—*de unitate*

—treated it as a divine law that not only the bishops singly but that the bishops as a body are subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.

The theory of the Apostolic succession, as thus held, is set aside by Protestants for the following reasons. The Apostles were a distinct body, one of whose marks was that they had been eye-witnesses of the Lord's life and his resurrection. This was the criterion in the election of Matthias to the Apostolate, and Paul, laid stress upon it when he affirmed that he had "seen the Lord."—Acts 1 : 21 ; I Cor. 9 : 1-5. As if the number were a closed number, John, in his Gospel, always used the expression "the Twelve" for the Apostolic group. In the Book of Revelation he wrote of "the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb." The theory, which derives the bishops from the Apostles as their successors is at variance with the Ignatian episcopacy, whereby the bishops were treated as the representatives of Christ and the presbyters as the representatives of the Apostles. In speaking of the Rule of Faith, Irenæus says that it was handed down through the presbyters.

If value is to be put upon the mechanical succession of Christian ministers from the Apostles, the Protestants have the right to claim it as well as the Romanists. Luther and other Reformers were presbyters, and had valid ordination. But Protestants—with the exception of a portion of the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal communions—do not regard either presbyters or bishops as essential to the church. It was well said by the late Dean Rashdall that, if the church which got rid of prophets is a true church, so may a church be a true church which has gotten rid of bishops.[2] By the Protestant rule, the criterion of a valid ministry is aptness to teach, and, above all, a call from God. Men who have these credentials are in the regular succession to the ministry of the New Testament, which was a charismatic ministry, that is a ministry endowed with charisms or gifts of the Holy Spirit. If in the realm of civil affairs it has come to be accepted that

the "nobility" does not consist of persons able to trace a tolerably long lineage but persons who live nobly, in the spiritual realm, so it would clearly seem, persons are in the Apostolical succession who have Apostolic qualities, and fulfil Apostolic requirements.

§ 7. **Clerical celibacy.**—Another subject which divides the Roman and Protestant communions is clerical marriage. The Roman church requires its clergymen and the "religious" to be unmarried, a requirement which since Innocent III, has been applied to sub-deacons.—canon 132, 949. Protestants hold that by the New Testament the state of marriage is proper for every man, clerical and lay. The Council of Trent pronounced the anathema upon "those who say that clergymen ordained to sacred orders or regulars, professing chastity, may contract a valid marriage" and also upon those who affirm that "it is not more blessed to remain in the state of virginity or celibacy than to be united in matrimony." The obligation of clerical celibacy is based on the three considerations that celibacy is favorable to superior sanctity and helps to exalt the clergy above the laity,—canon 124, 125.—that the priest, unencumbered by domestic duties, is more apt to give his full attention to the concerns of his office and that he is more apt to give undivided obedience to his superiors, bishops and pope. Gregory VII asserted that the church cannot be free from the power of laymen unless the clergy are free from marital bonds.

Priests who sin against the rule of continence are guilty of sacrilege,—canon 132, 1072. To the clerical obligation of keeping aloof from marriage, Bellarmine and others have applied Paul's injunction to Timothy that "No soldier entangleth himself in the affairs of this life,"—II Tim. 2: 4. It is hard on this interpretation that in this passage Paul went on to bid bishops to have one wife and to speak of them as having children. Marriage after ordination incurs excommunication. The pope alone has power to dispense the priest from his vow of celibacy. The difficulty of securing such dispensation increases with the rank of the clerical

order. Among the notable cases of papal dispensation granting clergymen the right to marry or retain their wives, were the permissions given to the English clergy by Julius III, 1554, and to the French clergy by Pius VII, 1801. The canon law is elaborate in its prescriptions bearing on the relation of priests to women and excludes from the priestly domicile all but the priest's mother, sister, aunt or niece. In the case of certain sects now under papal obedience, as the Maronites and the Greek Uniates, the canon law makes an exception and allows their priests to marry. This accounts for married priests in the United States belonging to the Roman communion and ministering to Ruthenians and kindred peoples.

The Roman church does not treat celibacy as a requirement of divine appointment but as one of the three so-called evangelical counsels or recommendations, the other two being poverty and obedience. An evangelical counsel is a recommendation and is opposed to a precept which is a requirement. The commands not to steal and to love God supremely are precepts all Christians are obliged to obey. The rule of celibacy may be relaxed at any time, or annulled by church authority as was taught by Thomas Aquinas. Pope Pius II, as reported by Platina, announced that, as there had been good reasons at one time to decree celibacy, so in his day there were better reasons for abolishing it.

As a prescription of expediency and whether the vow of celibacy fits a man the better to perform ministerial functions than the married state, must be judged by the facts of experience. The Protestant manse must be compared with the priest's dwelling and the habits of Protestant clergymen with the habits of priests. The influence of the home and the influence of the celibate life must be studied side by side. If pastoral service and reputation are made the test, the ministers of Scotland and the priests of Spain may be compared or a like comparison made for other countries.

The law forbidding clergymen to marry is contrary to the original provision whereby God instituted the family, to

Christ's example and words, to the examples of marriage among the Apostles and Paul's express injunctions. Christ referred to the original rule when he said "have ye not read that God made them at the beginning male and female" and that "for this cause shall a man leave father and mother and cleave to his wife,"—Matt. 19:6. Christ not only honored marriage by his presence at the marriage occasion in Cana but likened the kingdom of heaven to a bridal festival. If his saying that "there be some eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" be interpreted to mean a physical rule, then the rule is incumbent upon all Christian people to remain unmarried, for the words were not spoken to clergymen and the church should make a law applying the requirement of celibacy to all. The ideal in that case would be a marriageless and childless condition of society, and the Shakers and the Harmonists, who have now died out, should be recognized as having realized the ideal Christian commonwealth. The observance of the alleged law by all would mean the doom of the race to extinction, and, old Hierax of Leontopolis, Egypt, would deserve the highest honor as a teacher, for he is reported to have asserted that only unmarried persons may be saved. Had Christ meant to change the law by which Hebrew priests were married, and make celibacy obligatory for Christian ministers, he would not have chosen Peter as one of his disciples, and he would have said so in unmistakable terms. As for the Apostles, we know that Peter was married at the time Christ called him for Christ healed Peter's wife's mother of a fever, a fact of sufficient importance to be recorded by the first three Evangelists. Twenty years after the mother-in-law was healed of a fever, Peter was still married and was in the habit of taking his wife with him on his journeys as were also other Apostles, so Paul said,—I Cor. 9: 5. The fiction that Peter put away his wife was invented by Jerome and other writers from their own brains to promote a church requirement of the fourth century.

Philip also, one of the seven deacons, was married and had daughters,—Acts 21: 8.

Paul's treatment of marriage not only affords little encouragement to the celibate theory; it condemns it. In his earlier period, when he wrote to the Corinthians—I Cor. 7-9—he seems to have been led by circumstances to regard the unmarried state as the preferable one. "He that is unmarried," he said, "is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord, but he that is married is careful for the things of the world, how he may please his wife." The case of the gross immorality in the Corinthian church, which had been brought to Paul's attention, perhaps influenced his pen. When Paul wrote he was giving advice not for ministers but for all degrees of Christians. Fortunately, in giving his advice, he distinctly stated that he was speaking not by divine appointment. He was giving his personal views. Above all, Paul, at the time of giving his advice, was not writing for the second or tenth centuries. He wrote with the feeling that the present dispensation was near its close. "The time is shortened," he said.

Years after he wrote to the Corinthians and at the close of his career, Paul spoke words of different import. The dispensation had not come to an end. In his letters addressed to Timothy and Titus and to the Ephesians, the Apostle not only spoke in high approval of the marriage relation but positively commended clerical marriage, if he did not actually command it. He compared the relation of a man and wife to Christ's relation to the church and he likened the church to a family. Can a priest or minister claim any sanctity when he sets aside these comparisons? The Apostle warned against prohibition of marriage as one of the signs of the evil times that were impending,—I Tim. 4: 3. Above all, he wrote that the "bishop must be the husband of one wife, having his children in subjection with all gravity,"—I Tim. 3: 2; Titus 1: 6. The word "must" is compulsive and means "it is fitting," "it is the proper thing," as, when Christ said, "I must be about my Father's busi-

ness," he meant that it behooved him to be about his Father's affairs. Paul's injunction to Timothy has always been taken by the Eastern church as meaning that a priest may marry but not more than once, and by the Russian church as meaning that the priest must be married once.

In the Protestant church, Paul's words to Timothy are taken in their natural sense, that the minister must avoid polygamy or concubinage. Paul did not forbid a second marriage. He forbade having two wives at the same time. In the face of Paul's words and Apostolic practice, the Roman church, in insisting upon the celibacy of the clergy, resorts to one of two interpretations of the words "the bishop must be the husband of one wife." The interpretation for the average church member is that by the wife is meant the church. A bishop must be the husband of the church and of it alone. This interpretation seems most untenable, in view of Paul's further words, calling upon the bishop to "rule his children well." The second interpretation is that the bishop before he enters the clerical calling must at one time in the past have been the husband of one wife, but be married no longer. This interpretation is against the original Greek. The verb is in the present tense. The words are not, "the bishop must have been," but "must be" the husband of one wife. Cardinal Bellarmine, who commends this interpretation, seeks to make out a case by illustrating Paul's words by the group of "widows," of whom Paul also wrote to Timothy,—I Tim. 5:9. A woman, to be taken into the group of "widows," the Apostle said, must have been married once and be three score years old. The comparison is of the cardinal's invention, but, if the cardinal's suggestion were accepted, the Apostle's words would make against the admission of single women to convents and celibate men to the priesthood and a man to enter the priesthood would have to be a widower, and 60 years old! As a final defense of the celibate estate, Cardinal Bellarmine argues that Paul must have meant that priests are to be married to the church inasmuch as all the Apostle's other

counsels for the priesthood were moral in their nature.[3] Is it possible that the cardinal forgot that Paul recommended Timothy to "take a little wine for his stomach's sake"?

To sum up the matter, the Roman church in commending priestly celibacy is out of accord with the last and emphatic injunctions of St. Paul and the practice of St. Peter and other Apostles. Clement of Alexandria, speaking of those who rejected marriage, exclaimed "Will they reject even the Apostles, for Peter and Philip begat children and Philip also gave his daughters in marriage?" Clement also reports that Paul himself had been married.

§ 8. The rule of celibacy and ecclesiasticism.—Clerical celibacy as an obligation was unknown in the church until late in the fourth century, at the earliest. The growth of the celibate idea resulted from false notions concerning the merit of ascetic habits, from the spectacle of the hermits, who, eschewing the marriage tie, fled into the desert and lived solitary lives, from the example of the celibate priests of Apollo, the unmarried priestesses of Ceres, and the seven vestal virgins who were bound by their vows until they were thirty, and the practice of the Eastern cults which had established themselves in Rome. Down to the year 400, distinguished clergymen were married. Origen's father, Leonidas, was a bishop. Tertullian was married. The father of Gregory of Nazianzus was a bishop. Gregory of Nyssa, the eminent theologian, also a bishop, was married. The catacombs contain inscriptions of married presbyters and their wives.

An epoch in the history of clerical marriage is marked by the Council of Nice, 325, which refused to make celibacy a law. The proposal was made and the opposition to it was led by Paphnutius, a confessor, who in time of persecution had had an eye gouged out and a knee injured. He himself had observed the law of continence all his life, but appealed to the members of the council not to lay a burden on the clergy which neither they were able to bear, nor their fathers had been able to bear. It seems inconsistent that a proposal

which was rejected by an œcumenical council should be maintained as a rule in the Roman church. It would probably have been much better for the church if Jerome, one of the most passionate of all the advocates of the celibate rule, had had the wholesome companionship of a good wife. It was from him that the ugly statements came that "marriage peopled the earth, virginity heaven, that two is a bad number for the unclean beasts went into the ark two by two," and that "the wood of marriage must be cut down by the axe of virginity." Scarcely anyone has ever expressed lower opinions of women than did Jerome who himself in his earlier period was given to profligacy. In 385, the same year, as it happens, that Christian heretics were for the first time executed, Siricius, Bishop of Rome put himself on the side of the anti-marriage party and sixty years later a distinct prohibition of clerical marriage was issued by Leo I.

During the Middle Ages the celibate law was enjoined again and by papal edicts, and Thomas Aquinas declared that "it is of the very nature of a solemn vow, that the man who takes it loses the power over his own body by surrendering it to God in perpetual continence. The religious life is a kind of spiritual death whereby a man dies to the world, and lives to God." The violation of the vow was open and widespread. Gregory VII, the flaming advocate of celibacy, forbade married priests to say mass and commanded them to put away their wives or concubines. Bishop Hefele—*Gesch.* p. 339—freely admits that in Gregory's day concubinage among the clergy was general. Gregory's contemporary, Cardinal Damiani, in his Gomorrhianus, gave a dark picture of clerical morals prevailing at the time. A Paris synod met Gregory's decree by declaring it "unreasonable and unendurable." The bishop of Constance ordered his clergy to get married at once. The situation in England, about 1100, described by Anselm's biographer, Eadmer, was that "almost all the greater and better part of the English clergy were derived from the sons of priests."[4] During the

rule of the harlots, 904-936, several popes had popes for their fathers. Adrian IV, 1254, was the son of an English priest of St. Alban's, and a greater than he, St. Patrick, was the son of a deacon and the grandson of a priest. In 1338, Benedict XII dispensed concubinary priests at the rate of four gros tournois, and some time later fixed the price of such a priest about to be promoted to a bishopric at thirty of these coins.—Tangl, p. 96; Lea. p. 52. It was customary in France, as in other countries, for bishops to collect the *culagium* or tax upon priestly concubinage. Writing of conditions in the sixteenth century, Ignatius Loyola reported that priestly concubinage was universal when he set out to do his work,—Alfred Feder, S. J., *Lebenserrinerungen d. hl. Ignat.*, p. 104.

Against the papal regulation, the Reformers set themselves, both by writings and by renouncing their vow, as an arbitrary and un-Scriptural requirement. A living writer, Glover, has put the matter sententiously when he remarks that, "Luther scandalized Europe by marrying a nun, but he recaptured family life for religion by doing it." In his *Conclusions*, Zwingli, said "I know of no greater scandal than the prohibition of marriage to priests, seeing they are permitted for money to have children." In his Address to the German Nobles, Luther suggested that the pope had no more right to forbid a man to marry than to forbid him to eat or to digest his food or to grow fat. Referring to the pope's interpretation of the words, "the bishop must be the husband of the church," the former monk pointed to the pontiff's extreme zeal in carrying out the law by joining a single priest to three, twenty or even a hundred wives; that is, setting them over three, twenty or a hundred churches. He also wisely demanded a law forbidding women to take the vow until they were thirty. In his sermon preached at Stamford, Bishop Latimer said, "they cannot deny marriage by any Scriptures, but that the marriage of priests is as good and godly as the marriage of any other man, for wedlock is honorable among all men and the wedding bed undefiled."

Protestant Confessions with one accord set aside the law of celibacy as a human invention, out of accord with the law of creation and the New Testament. The XXXIX Articles declare that "it is lawful for bishops, priests and deacons, and for all other men to marry at their own discretion," and the Westminster Confession pronounced "popish monastical vows of perpetual single life, far from being a dogma of higher perfection, a superstitious and sinful snare in which no Christian may entangle himself."

When the Council of Trent confirmed the rule that clergymen must be unmarried, it was in the face of appeals that the rule be annulled. So determined have the Roman authorities been to enforce the rule that noted Roman teachers have gone to the extent of declaring that a greater sin is committed when a monk or nun enters into a marriage contract than when they commit whoredom. Cardinal Bellarmine, in defending this position, uttered the astounding words that "the nun who marries after taking a vow, does worse in marrying than in committing fornication; for in the latter case she can return to her obligation, while if she marries she makes herself incapable of keeping her vow." and "that wedlock, after a vow has been taken is not wedlock but something worse than adultery,"—*de mon.* 2: 30-34. Recently the German scholar, Hugo Koch,—*Kathol. und Jesuitismus*,—speaking from his experience as a Roman Catholic, said that "the priest who marries is excommunicated, while a priest who violates a boy or a girl does not lose his place in the church and easily gets absolution. The one has broken a law of the church; the other only a law of God. The latter remains a good Catholic."[5] Exalting the celibate habit, Cardinal Gibbons, who lived amidst Protestant surroundings and ought to have spoken otherwise, made the marvellous statement that "the world has hitherto been converted by unmarried clergymen and only by them will it continue to be converted." If the words were justified, Protestants would be obliged to blush over the inefficiency of the long line of married ministers in this

country, from the first arrivals at Plymouth Rock down to the present generation of Protestant clergymen in this and other countries.

§ 9. **Ministry and laity.**—In the Roman church the ministry and laity are separated not only by a distinction of spiritual duties, but of personal and spiritual rank. The priesthood is called "the spiritual estate." The Tridentine catechism teaches that "the priests of the New Testament far exceed all other people in honor, nor is the priesthood equalled by or like unto anything else on earth." Bellarmine compared the pope to the sun, the emperor to the moon, the clergy to dukes, monks to those who are on the watch-tower, and the laity to the soldiers of the army. Four centuries earlier, Cæsar of Heisterbach compared the pope to the sun, the emperor to the moon, bishops to the stars, the clergy to the day and the laity to the night. And before Cæsar, Pope Gregory VII, in the most emphatic language, declared that the priestly dignity excels all others. It is characteristic of the Roman position that in its catalogue of saints there are few names except the names of monks and nuns, bishops and priests. When a priest dies, the canon law,—1205-1209,—stipulates that he be buried in a separate place from laymen, or at least in a more prominent—*decentior*—place than they, thus carrying the un-Scriptural distinction beyond this life.

Protestantism knows no class distinction among Christians. Its position was set forth by Luther in his Address to the German Nobles, when he said that "It is a pure myth that popes, bishops, priests and monks are to be called the spiritual estate. All Christians are the spiritual estate." By the Protestant principle, obedience to Christ is the only test of the worth of Christians. The holy and heavenly calling lifts Uncle Tom up to the dignity of kings and the humblest Christian serving-maid, faithfully serving in the household, to the side of the loftiest saints. By grace are they equally justified and by the words of our Lord will they be judged, when he said, "He that is faithful in that which

is least, is faithful in that which is much." God is no respecter of persons.

In the Roman communion the laity is denied all share in the administration of the church. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, said Cardinal Bellarmine, "is not derived from the body of Christians but from the pope and through him from the bishops. The people have nothing to do with the choice or the calling of priests."—*de cler.* 1 : 4. The canon law deals with the layman as a passive subject. It lays upon him the duty of receiving the sacraments, obeying the priest and keeping out of any society not created or commended by the church—canon 684, *sq.* The law has no precept requiring laymen to read the Scriptures or to hold family prayer. On the other hand, Protestant directories of worship, avoiding precise precepts, are for the most part content to lay down governing principles and to refer the layman as well as the clergyman to the Scriptures as the source of authority for all human conduct and to conscience enlightened by their teachings.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SACRAMENTS

BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION

BY the Roman system, the priest performs his ministry chiefly through the sacraments and, without the virtue imparted to them by him, the sacraments have no value except in the case of baptism. When properly consecrated and administered by the priest, the sacraments are the sure vehicles of heavenly grace. The priest acts as the almoner of the Most High, vested with plenipotentiary power to dispense or withhold spiritual food, yea to bestow or withhold eternal life. In the Protestant system, the sacraments are means of grace and of value only through the faith by which they are received and not through the person by whom they are administered.

The sacramental system is the chief legacy inherited by the Roman communion from the Middle Ages. Sacramentalism is scholasticism at high tide. In no other department were the Schoolmen so industrious in working out their theological conceptions and at none other did they so signally display their intellectual resources. The sacramental territory was almost virgin soil. The mediæval exploration of the subject is to be compared with the labor given by the early church to the study and formulation of the doctrines of the Trinity and the person of Christ. All the greater mediæval theologians, except Anselm, treated the sacraments at great length. The Council of Trent, took over the mediæval sacramental theory and practice, and devoted one-half of its decrees to its exposition. The Tridentine catechism devoted to it more than one-third of its space. The

Baltimore Plenary catechism gives three-eighths of its questions and answers to the sacraments and the catechism of Pius X, one hundred and forty-six questions out of a total of four hundred and thirty-three. Cardinal Bellarmine—*de sacr.* 1: 26,—who gives to the sacraments one-third of his treatise, affirmed their necessity unto salvation as administered in the Roman way when he said, "the sacraments belong alone to the Catholic church which Christ founded. Heretics are outside the church and in the synagogue of Satan."

Romanists and Protestants agree in accepting Augustine's definition that a sacrament is a "sign of something sacred, the visible symbol of an invisible grace." From this point on they go separate ways. They differ about the number of the sacraments, their inherent virtue and the place occupied by the priest in their administration.

§ 1. **The word, "sacrament."**—The word "sacrament" does not occur in the English Protestant versions of the Scriptures. In Jerome's Vulgate and the Rheims version, it is used in a number of cases to translate the Greek word mystery—*mysterion.* The Latin word sacrament—*sacramentum*—was first used among Christian writers by Tertullian about 200, who spoke of baptism as the "sacrament of water" and the "sacrament of faith," and also of the "sacrament of the eucharist." Among the Romans, the word meant the oath of allegiance taken by soldiers to the military standard or a deposit left by litigants. The former sense Pliny, writing about 110 A.D., seems to have had in mind when he reported that the Christians pledged themselves by an oath—*sacramentum*—not to do murder or any other wrong. The Vulgate renders the Greek the mystery of his will, the mystery of godliness and the mystery of the seven stars, "the sacrament of his will," "the sacrament of godliness," and "the sacrament of the seven stars."—Eph. 1: 9; 1 Tim. 3: 16; Rev. 1: 20.

§ 2. **Number of the sacraments.**—Protestants hold that two sacred ordinances were appointed in the New Testament,

baptism and the Lord's Supper. Our Lord bade the disciples go into the world and baptize and instituted the Lord's Supper, as a perpetual memorial of himself. No other observances did he command unless it be foot-washing. Baptism and the Lord's Supper, were described by two of the earliest writers of the church, the author of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Justin Martyr. The Roman church claims that there are seven sacraments, namely baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction ordination and marriage, all appointed by Christ. Anathemas were pronounced by the Council of Trent on all daring to affirm that the seven "were not instituted by Christ or that there are more or less than seven or that they are not necessary to salvation." The council interspersed its treatment of the sacraments with no less than 93 separate anathemas. The Roman priest takes the oath that, "there are truly seven sacraments instituted by Christ and necessary for the salvation of mankind." According to the Roman theology the seven are not of equal virtue. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are called the two most efficient—*potentissima*, and Thomas Aquinas said that, strictly speaking, these two only are essential for salvation and the others necessary only as a horse may be necessary for a journey. In view of the stress laid upon the sacraments as vehicles of divine mercy and help, it is difficult to explain how saints and hermits, like Paul of Thebes who survived for 90 long years in the desert, got along without sacrament or priest.

Until deep in the Middle Ages authoritative teachers differed greatly concerning the exact number of the sacraments. Augustine and Chrysostom know strictly only of two, although Augustine calls exorcism and the giving of salt to catechumens, sacraments and several times also marriage. In the eleventh century, Peter Damiani spoke of twelve sacraments. Later, Abælard and Hugo of St. Victor spoke of five and St. Bernard of ten, including the investiture of bishops and foot-washing.[1] The Third Lateran Council, 1179, included among the number burial

of the dead. The uncertainty was brought to a close by Peter the Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas, d. 1274, who fixed the number at seven, the number adopted by the Council of Ferrara, 1439.

It is only by putting strained and unnatural interpretations upon Apostolic words that the five disputed sacraments can be traced back to Christ and the Apostles. To the question, "How do you know that there are seven sacraments, the Catechism of Pius X gives the answer, "Because they stand for our seven spiritual needs which correspond to the seven principal needs of our natural life. Man is born, grows, needs food and medicine and special help when he is weak." The answer given by the Plenary catechism is that, "because the church always taught this number, and the church cannot be mistaken." The following considerations are elaborated to establish the number seven by Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine and other Roman teachers. 1. The symbolical significance and sanctity of the number seven in the Scriptures, especially the seven expiations of the Old Testament,—Ex. 29,—the seven days in the week, the seven gifts of the Spirit, the seven spirits before the throne, the seven golden candlesticks, the seven trumpets and the seven churches in Asia. 2. The law of congruity, that is the adaptation of the seven sacraments to relieve the seven defects and infirmities of the soul and to give spiritual strength, baptism adapted to the want of spiritual life, confirmation to give strength to those recently born, the eucharist to overcome the temptation to fall into sin, penance to cover sins committed after baptism, extreme unction to clear away sins left by penance, ordination to meet the lost condition of mankind, matrimony to aid in resisting concupiscence. 3. Their correspondence to the so-called seven virtues,—baptism, confirmation and the eucharist corresponding to faith, hope and love; ordination to enlightenment, penance to righteousness, marriage to temperance and extreme unction to endurance. Following Augustine, the Schoolmen, delighted to compare the sacraments to the soldier's badge and dwelt on the grace

which they furnish for the spiritual struggle in which the Christian warrior is engaged.

Protestants set aside the number seven as an ecclesiastical invention. Their view, as stated by the XXXIX Articles, is "that there are two sacraments ordained by Christ. The five commonly called sacraments, that is confirmation, penance, order, marriage and extreme unction, are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel. They have no visible sign or ceremony ordained of God."

§ 3. **Efficacy of the sacraments.**—The Roman teaching is that the sacraments have efficiency through an intrinsic virtue which they contain when properly administered by the priest and of themselves transmit supernatural grace. The words of the Council of Trent are that they contain and confer grace—*continere et conferre gratiam.* All denying the definition are placed under the anathema. With the sacraments, according to the council, all true righteousness—that is saving religion—either begins or, being begun, is increased or, being lost, is regained. The Plenary catechism says that they "always give grace if we receive them with the right disposition," a seeming modification of the Tridentine position, according to which the sacraments work unless a hindrance—*obex*—is put in the way. The doctrine as stated by the canon law,—628—is that the sacrament was instituted by Christ to permanently signify and confer grace. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* uses the expression, that "they cause grace in the souls of men."

The Schoolmen compared the sacrament to drugs, which the Great Samaritan furnished for the wounds of original sin, and actual offences. Bonaventura entitled his chapter on the subject, Sacramental Medicine. To follow Hugo of St. Victor, God is the physician, man the invalid, the priest the ministering agent, grace the antidote, the sacramental symbol the vase. The physician gives, the priest administers, the vase contains the spiritual medicine which heals the sinner. Ultimately the efficiency of the sacramants is due to Christ, who gives to the priest the power to consecrate, but

the symbols used have no saving virtue and confer no grace unless consecrated by the priest.

The Protestant view is that the two sacraments have no virtue in themselves. Like prayer, howbeit perhaps in a larger measure, they are means of grace. The virtue depends upon the faith of the recipient, as he apprehends Christ. This teaching transfers the efficacy from the agency of the minister to the disposition of the worshipper, and is well stated by the Westminster Shorter catechism, when it says that "the sacraments become effectual means of salvation, not from any virtue in themselves or in him who does administer them but only by the blessing of Christ and the working of his Spirit in them that by faith receive him."

Luther first attacked the mediæval sacramental system, in his *Babylonish Captivity* and limited the sacraments to baptism, the eucharist and penance, accepting the last in a modified way. He treated them as having been held during the Middle Ages bound in prison by which he meant that their true meaning had been obscured by elements of human devising. Zwingli emphasized the sacraments as signs representing what is absent, Calvin as signs exhibiting what is present. No better general statement was given by the Reformers than was given by Bullinger, when he said that, "the holy sacraments have not in themselves grace and do not as from themselves give God's grace, but are signs of the mystery of our inward communion with God. They are also witnesses and seals of God's promise and grace. They present to us, offer to us and renew to us God's goodness and gifts and remind us of our duty." Unless God works through them, said Calvin, they can avail no more than the sun shining on the eyeballs of the blind.[2]

§ 4. **The administration of the sacraments.**—In the Roman church, the valid administration of the sacraments depends upon the intention of the ministering priest and his use of the prescribed formula. If the priest have not the purpose to consecrate the sacrament or, if he have the purpose and omits a part of the prescribed formula, the

sacrament is without virtue. They are "to be administered with the greatest reverence and care, both as to time and ritual," so the canon law, 731, directs, since they all have been instituted by Christ and are the chief means of sanctification and salvation. The personal habits of the priest, worthy or unworthy, do not affect the virtue of the transaction. If, according to the councils of Constance and Trent, the priest is in mortal sin when he administers the sacraments, his administration is valid. Protestants also hold that the high meaning of the Lord's Supper and baptism demand that they be administered with solemnity and generally agree that it is expedient to restrict their administration to ministers, but do not forbid laymen, that is, unordained persons to administer them.

The positions of the Protestant over against the Roman Catholic are the following:—1. There are only two sacraments or ordinances appointed by Christ and known to the New Testament. 2. The sacraments do not contain grace or work by a virtue inherent in themselves. They do not possess the power "of working sanctity and righteousness in us" as the Tridentine catechism puts it. 3. Their efficiency does not depend upon the exact words used by the administrant but upon the active faith of the recipient.

§ 5. **Baptism.**—With both Protestants and Romanists, baptism is the first of the sacraments and the introductory rite into the Christian church and its privileges. It is called in the Roman theology, the door to the church and to the kingdom of heaven—*janua ecclesiæ et regni cælorum.* Both are agreed that Christ appointed that baptism be administered with water and in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. In New Testament times, the rite seems to have been administered also in the name of Christ alone,—Acts 2: 38; 8: 16; 10: 48; 19: 5,—a mode still in vogue here and there as late as the thirteenth century, as Bonaventura bears witness. Such baptism was declared invalid by the Lateran council of 1215 and the Council of Trent, Trid. Cat. 2: 2; q. 16. It is not probable that a Protestant body

would take this position. That prince of mariolators, Alfonzo de Liguori, went so far as to allow in baptism the name Mary—*in nomine B.V.M.*—to be used after the name of the persons of the Trinity, provided the addition be only the expression of a warm devotion to the virgin.—Gury, q. 657.

Protestants, with the exception of the Baptists, Disciples and some smaller bodies, agree with Roman Catholics in sprinkling or pouring as a proper mode of baptism, and also in administering the rite to infants. Immersion which is generally acknowledged to have been the original mode, is universally followed in the East, and was practiced in the West far down in the Middle Ages. Thomas Aquinas preferred it as the safer mode. Luther also preferred it, and Calvin accepted it as the original mode, but regarded the form as of secondary importance.

The difference between Romanists and Protestants in regard to baptism relate to its necessity as a requirement for salvation. By the Roman view baptism is the sacrament of regeneration. It is necessary for salvation. It delivers from original sin and its guilt and also from the guilt of actual sin committed up to the time of its administration. It was for this reason that the Emperor Constantine postponed his baptism till the close of his life. Although all prior sin with its guilt and punishments is washed away in baptism, concupiscence or lust as the fomenting agent of sin remains. In itself, concupiscence is not sin and carries with it no guilt until it becomes active through the consent of the will. Following the Tridentine doctrine, the Plenary catechism teaches that baptism "cleanses from original sin and makes us Christians, children of God and heirs of heaven."

Baptism gives an indelible mark. It cannot be repeated. Although it is a saving ordinance, its efficacy ceases when the person baptized gives way to mortal sin. Persons baptized but dying excommunicate are lost. The Roman church admits two exceptions to the necessity of baptism, martyrs who have received the baptism of blood, and those

who desire to be baptized and die beyond the reach of anyone to administer the rite. The Roman rule, however, deprives of hope, the heathen and all infants dying in infancy, unbaptized. Cardinal Gibbons says that, "A child is deprived of heaven when a parent deprives it of baptism." The Plenary catechism teaches that "without baptism, we cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." In view of the supposed saving power of baptism, it was not unusual in the Middle Ages to baptize Jewish children against the protest of their parents, a custom which Thomas Aquinas condemned. The Jesuit missionaries along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes gloried that they had touched water to the foreheads of children, thus changing "little Indians into little angels," though they did so furtively and without the parents' knowledge. Perhaps, wrote Father le Mercier, "the devil was enraged because we had placed a great many of these little innocents in heaven."

The view that baptism is a saving ordinance is based on our Lord's statements, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," and "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."—John 3: 5; Mark 14: 16. The doctrine drawn from these passages is offset by other passages and by individual incidents in the New Testament.

It is recommended in Roman formularies that the name of a saint be given to the child being baptized to serve as an example and for the protection which the saint can give,—a direction lately repeated by the Catechism of Pius X. On the other hand, Calvin and the Genevan constitution, forbade the names of saints being given to children of the Swiss city.

The Protestant position is that while baptism is made a duty by Christ's command, it is not a condition of salvation. As stated by the Westminster Confession, "It is a sin to condemn or neglect baptism, nevertheless grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it." The view now

held by Protestants is that, in view of the infinite value of the atonement and God's abundant mercy, the benefits of salvation extend far beyond the number who have been baptized. This was the view urged by Zwingli upon the basis of God's election which is not tied to baptism. To the objection drawn from our Lord's words that "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," the reply is made that the faith required by the passage implies previous instruction and means rational faith and therefore the passage cannot refer to children. It is significant also that the second clause of the passage bearing on eternal punishment does not mention baptism, "he that believeth not shall be damned." Among persons not baptized and commended in the Scriptures are the dying thief, and also Melchizedek and Job who did not even belong to the Mosaic dispensation. On the other hand, Simon Magus, in spite of his baptism, remained in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity,—Acts 8: 13, 23.

Protestants also deny that baptism has regenerative power. The application of water effects no magical change. It is an outward sign of an inward and spiritual blessing. The forgiveness of sin which it symbolizes is the gift of God and observation as well as the Scriptures show that the rite and the divine benefit are not always joined. Paul spoke seldom of baptism with water but often of inward obedience and faith. Protestants follow the statement of the Lutheran Common Service Book that prayer should be made that "God may of his goodness receive the child by baptism into the church of the Redeemer and make it a living member of the same," and regard it as a matter known only to Him, whether the person baptized is regenerate or not. The Book of Common Prayer is an exception to the other Protestant formularies by allowing the view that regeneration accompanies baptism so that the minister after performing the rite uses the words, "Seeing that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ." The XXXIX Articles speak of the sacraments "as certain sure witnesses and

effectual signs of grace by which God doth work invisibly in us."

§ 6. Who may administer baptism?—The administration of baptism is not confined to ordained ministers either in the Roman church or in the Protestant churches. In cases of necessity, when a minister may not be reached, others may baptize. In such cases, by the Roman view, the validity of the rite depends upon the proper intention on the part of the person baptizing and his use of the trinitarian formula. Thomas Aquinas pronounced valid, baptism administered not only by Christian laymen and women but also by Jews, heretics and infidels, provided a priest cannot be had, and provided the baptism be administered in the name of the Trinity and with the intention to baptize. In giving this view, he was actuated by the desire as he wrote, to open as widely as possible the door to the kingdom of heaven. It was adopted by the Council of Trent which pronounced the anathema upon all those who deny the validity of such baptism. Thus, if Mr. Robert Ingersoll, had administered baptism and in doing so had the proper intent and used the proper formula, the baptism would have been valid.

Protestants, while granting to laymen the right to baptize, would probably reject the view which gives to an infidel that right on the ground that baptism is not essential in the scheme of grace. When a Protestant is to be received into the Roman church, he is rebaptized, provided the priest has any doubt that in the previous baptism the conditions which the Roman rule lays down were not met. In such cases, baptism is administered conditionally, the celebrant using the words, "If thou art baptized, I do not baptize thee again, but if thou art not baptized, I baptize thee into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." In this respect, some Protestants are less liberal than Roman Catholics and repeat the administration of baptism to converts from the Roman communion. In following this course they are inconsistent and, if logical, would be forced to deny the validity of the baptism of

Luther, Latimer, Calvin and the other early Protestants who received baptism from Roman priests.

The differences then in regard to baptism are the following:—With the Roman Catholic, baptism is a saving ordinance. It regenerates. It is absolutely essential, so that all who die without being baptized are lost. With Protestants, baptism is a symbol of the forgiveness of sins. It is an obligation but not essential to salvation. The Quakers reject the outward symbol altogether and yet believe unto the forgiveness of sins.

§ 7. **Confirmation.**—Confirmation, or chrism as it is also called, is the second sacramental requirement of the Roman church. It was taught by the Council of Trent to be a true and proper sacrament, and to confer strength—*robur*—enabling the recipient to become a perfect soldier of Christ. It perfects the grace given in baptism and for this reason the rite is known also by the Latin words, *perfectio* and *consummatio*. Except in unusual cases, when the authority to confirm is given to a priest, the rite is administered by a bishop and an anathema is pronounced upon those who deny confirmation to be the bishop's prerogative. The sacrament is not essential to salvation, and it is not to be repeated. For Protestants passing over to the Roman communion, it is obligatory.[3] The age of confirmation was set at seven by Pius X.

Confirmation according to the Protestant view is an ecclesiastical ordinance, and has no specific warrant in the New Testament. The passages, sometimes quoted for it, use the expressions, "the laying on of hands," as where persons who were baptized receive the Holy Ghost,—Acts 8: 14; 19: 5, and also "unction" and "confirmation" and "being sealed," I Thes. 2:20; Phil. 1:7; Eph. 4:30. In the last three cases a heavenly gift is referred to, but no association with baptism is hinted at. Thomas Aquinas was content to base the sacrament of confirmation on the general promise of the Holy Spirit, John 16:7. In laying down the rule for pastors to explain that "confirmation was instituted by

Christ," the Tridentine catechism quoted from two popes of the second and third centuries, Fabian and Melchiades, and cited Acts 1 : 24, "they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." So much stress did Cardinal Gibbons lay upon the rite of confirmation, that he declared that "the hands of the Protestant Episcopal bishops are spiritually paralyzed by the suicidal act of the Reformers who deny its sacramental character."

With most Protestants "joining the church" or "making a public profession of religion" is tantamount to confirmation. In the Anglican, Protestant Episcopal, Lutheran and other Protestant communions where the rite of confirmation is retained, it is regarded as a ratifiation of the promise made in baptism. It does not confer grace. Where persons have been baptized in infancy and join the church they act upon Christ's words when he said, "whoso confesses me before men, him will I confess before my Father, which is in heaven." The ceremony involved consists mainly in the promise which the party makes in the sight of the congregation. The value of the observance depends upon the inward purpose of the person making the confession and not upon the act of the minister.[4]

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LORD'S SUPPER

Here would I feed upon the bread of God
Here drink with thee the royal wine of heaven
Here would I lay aside each worldly love
Here taste afresh the calm of sin forgiven.
—Horatius Bonar.

ON the subject of the Lord's Supper and the manner of its observance the Protestant and Roman communions differ widely. Instead of being a unifying service, drawing all Christians together in fellowship with one another and with a common Lord, it has frequently called forth heated and bitter discussions as twice during the Middle Ages and at the time of the Reformation between Luther on the one hand and Zwingli and the Swiss Protestants on the other. Luther's obstinacy at the meeting with Zwingli in Marburg, 1529, when he insisted upon his own views on the Lord's Supper and rudely refused to come to a friendly agreement with Zwingli, was one of the causes of the check which the Protestant movement received in Central Europe. His impossible theory of consubstantiation that Christ is "in, with and under" the sacramental elements of bread and wine was set aside by his fellow Reformer, Melanchthon, and is now generally given up by Lutherans throughout the world, though not by all.[1]

The different conceptions of the Last Supper which prevail among Romanists and Protestants show themselves in the terms they use when speaking of the ordinance. The ancient church called it the eucharist, a word meaning thanksgiving and derived from Christ's act in "giving thanks" before he distributed the bread and the wine. The

Romanists speak of it as the most blessed sacrament, the sacrament of the altar and the mass. Among Protestants, the names used in the New Testament are current, the Lord's Supper and the communion,—I Cor. 10: 16; 11: 20—as is the case in the XXXIX Articles and the Westminster Confession. The Book of Common Prayer calls it the holy communion. With Romanists, the table is called the altar; with Protestants the Lord's table or the communion table. In the Protestant churches, the eucharist is a sacramental service in which all Christians have part. In the Roman church it is both a sacramental service and a sacrifice, in which a real offering is made to God. For the broken loaf—and Christ broke the bread—the Roman ceremonial has substituted the wafer or host—*hostia*—the Latin word for a sacrifical victim.

§ 1. **The institution of the Last Supper.**—The meal which our Lord ate with his disciples on the night before his crucifixion is described by Matthew, Mark and Luke, and by Paul, I Cor. 10: 16, 17; 11: 23-29. Our Lord's discourse about himself as the bread from heaven reported by John in the sixth chapter of his Gospel is regarded by most biblical students as having a prophetic bearing on the Lord's Supper. Other certain or probable references to the observance are Christ's fellowship with the two disciples whom he met on their way to Emmaus—Luke 24: 30—when he was known to them "in the breaking of bread," the custom of the primitive believers in Jerusalem—Acts 2: 46—who continued daily with one accord in the "breaking of bread at home," and the meeting at Troas on the first day of the week when Paul found "the disciples gathered together to break bread," Acts 20: 7. The Teaching of the Twelve gives eucharistic prayers. A detailed description of the observance was given by Justin Martyr about 140.

The description of the Lord's Supper given by Matthew, runs as follows:—"As they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed and brake it, and he gave to the disciples and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' And he took the cup and gave thanks and gave it to them saying, 'Drink ye all of it. For

this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins.'" Luke adds, "This do in remembrance of me" and Paul further adds, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death until he come."

§ 2. **The importance of the ordinance.**—The eucharistic service early came to be the central part in the worship of the Christians. It was held in such reverence that, in order to keep it free from profanation, it was observed in secret, no one being present but the full members of the church. In places the habit grew up of putting a cup of consecrated wine in the grave of the dead, a habit condemned by the Council of Carthage, 397. To no single subject did the Schoolmen devote more attention than to the eucharist. Much as Protestants differ from the treatment which the Schoolmen gave, they are bound to recognize the solemn religious purpose by which they were moved. Thomas Aquinas gave to his treatment four hundred pages. Albertus Magnus wrote a distinct treatise on the subject, which in the printed edition of his works covers four hundred and thirty-five pages. Gradually, under the name of the mass, the sacrificial element was magnified and made of more importance than the idea of communion. The dogma built up by the Schoolmen and the elaborate eucharistic ritual which they produced were adopted in full by the Council of Trent. The council launched no less than twenty-four anathemas against Protestants for their distinctive views. The Reformers with one accord turned back to the simple meal as it is described in the pages of the New Testament, setting aside the mediæval definitions and much of the mediæval ceremonial which they pronounced human inventions.

Roman Catholics and Protestants agree that the Lord's Supper was appointed to be a perpetual ordinance in the church, that it is intended for baptized and believing Christians, that bread and wine are the elements to be used and that Christ's words instituting the ordinance are to be repeated in the administration. The tenets upon which they

differ are the following: 1. The virtue of the ordinance, 2. the transubstantiation of the elements, 3. the withdrawal of the cup from the laity, 4. the adoration of the host and 5. the sacrifice of the mass. These differences will be taken up in detail.[2]

§ 3. **The virtue of the eucharist.**—By the Roman definition, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper has the virtue of removing guilt and communicating grace, when it is properly administered by the priest. When the priest repeats the words, "This is my body," the consecrated bread comes to have inherent in itself a divine virtue and is the Lord's flesh. Those who partake of the Lord's flesh between their teeth, so Thomas Aquinas taught, rise like lions. The sacrament, so the Council of Trent teaches, is an antidote which frees the partakers from daily faults and preserves them from mortal sin. It confers the remission of venial sins, and gives peace of conscience. These benefits accrue to all who partake of the bread, provided they do not oppose an obstacle,—*obex*. Further, according to the council, the intent of the sacrament is fulfilled when the priest has himself partaken of the bread and wine. Thomas Aquinas said, "The perfection of the sacrament does not consist in its use by the faithful, but in the consecration of the elements."

The intrinsic virtue ascribed by the Roman theory to the eucharistic elements, Protestants deny. The benefits of the sacrament are received by faith and faith alone. The elements of bread and wine are symbols and nothing more. In partaking of them, believing recipients obey Christ's command and share his promise. They recall with gratitude Christ's passion and death, confess their sin and unworthiness and offer themselves anew in devotion to Christ. In partaking and having communion with Christ, they commune with one another as participants in the same salvation and heirs of the same heavenly inheritance. Like the passover under the old dispensation and like the Fourth of July, both commemorations of important national events, the Lord's Supper is a memorial observance, commemorating Christ's

sufferings and a confession of the saving power of the cross, but it is something more. It has the assurance of Christ's living presence. Protestants unite with Thomas Aquinas when he says, "The Lord's Supper contains the whole mystery of our salvation," meaning by the words that the ordinance sets forth in a figurative way Christ's propitiation on the cross. For Protestants as for Romanists Christ fulfils the promise which he gave to his disciples and meets with believers, but he reveals himself only to their faith. His presence is a spiritual presence. The act of the celebrant makes no change in the elements and communicates no virtue to them. As Luther said in his Freedom of a Christian Man, nothing is required for a worthy reception of the communion but faith resting on Christ's promise.

§ 4. **Transubstantiation.**—The exaggerated ascription of an inherent virtue to the consecrated elements of bread and wine received an easy though unreasonable explanation in the theory of transubstantiation. The theory is perhaps the most arbitrary and unreasonable of the teachings handed down by the theology of the Middle Ages. Transubstantiation was declared a dogma by the Fourth Lateran council, 1215, and according to the Roman teaching must be believed in order to salvation. The dogma is that, when the priest lifts up the bread and chalice repeating the words, "This is my body . . . this is my blood," the bread and the wine cease to be bread and wine and are changed into the very body and blood of Christ. The original substance of the two elements no longer inheres in them though the accidents or qualities of the bread and wine remain, namely taste, color, weight, shape. When the communicant eats the wafer, he takes Christ's very body into his mouth. According to the Tridentine catechism Christ's "real body," that is "the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary and sits at the right hand of God," is as truly on every altar where the priest ministers as his natural body was on the cross on Golgotha. The definition given by the Council of Trent is that, "our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly,

really and in substance contained under the species of those tangible things, bread and wine . . . so that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, Christ is contained, offered up and taken—*continetur, offertur et sumitur.*" At another place, the council defined more particularly in this way, that "by the consecration of the bread and wine, a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the body of Christ and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is properly called transubstantiation." It pronounced anathemas upon all who deny that the entire Christ is in the elements, or assert that he is there only dynamically or in a figure, or that faith alone is sufficient to secure the benefits of his presence. The Catechism of Pius X states that the "eucharist contains really the body, blood, spirit and divinity of our Savior." In the centuries before the Reformation, the conviction of the transmuting power of the priest's act had gained such strength that the act was called "creating God" and taking the communion, "receiving God," and the officiating priest was called, "the creator of God." The expressions were held up to condemnation by Wyclif, Huss and others. They continue to be used by Roman theologians to this day.

§ 5. The growth of the dogma of transubstantiation.—Not until about 850 did the eucharist become the subject of active theological discussion. However, from the earliest times, highly figurative language was used by some of the Christian writers for the virtue and efficiency of the sacramental elements, although they did not state the theory of transubstantiation. At any rate, their language is ambiguous. Ignatius, writing to the Christians of Smyrna, spoke of the bread as "the flesh of our Saviour, which flesh suffered for our sins." In his letter to the Ephesians, he spoke of it as "the medicine of immortality," and he wrote to the Romans that he "desired the bread of God which is the flesh of Christ and for a draught of his blood which is love incorruptible." Justin Martyr said that "the food which is blessed by prayer and from which our blood and flesh by

transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of Jesus who was made flesh." Perhaps, it was the intention of the writers to emphasize by the realistic language to the non-Christians the central position of the atonement in the Christian system. Ignatius by his appositional clauses shows that he did not conceive of the bread and wine as being the real body of Christ. Other Christian writers, avoiding tropical language, taught the dynamic or spiritual view, as did the Teaching of the Twelve, which speaks of the eucharist as spiritual food and drink, and interprets them as "life and knowledge given through Christ."

The discussion of the eucharist was opened by a tract written by Paschasius Radbertus about 850. Without using the word transubstantiation, this writer stated the belief that the "eucharistic bread is none other than the flesh of Christ which was born of Mary, suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb." Paschasius was opposed by Ratramnus, monk of Corbay, and other ecclesiastics. Seven hundred years later Ratramnus' tract was put on the Index by the Council of Trent. Two hundred years after Paschasius, in the middle of the eleventh century the controversy was reopened by Berengar of Tours, who, with Ratramnus before him, asserted the dynamic or spiritual theory. Berengar anticipated most of the arguments used at a later time against transubstantiation which he called an absurdity and a popular folly—*ineptio, vecordia vulgi.* The Synod of Rouen, which tried and condemned him and burned his books stated the communion belief of the time that "our Lord's entire body is not only sensibly in the sacrament, but is truly touched by the hands of the priest and broken by him, and bitten by the faithful with their teeth." Gregory VII protected Berengar while condemning his views. Thomas Aquinas followed the view of Paschasius and taught that "not only is the flesh of Christ partaken of but Christ's whole body, that is, bones, nerves and other parts of that sort,"—*ossa, nervi et alia hujusmodi.*

The text of the Lateran dogma of transubstantiation,

1215, which fixed the theological term, is that Christ's body and blood are contained in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by divine power—*transubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate divina.* The council pronounced those rejecting the dogma heretics and denied them Christian burial. The denial of transubstantiation became one of the chief grounds for the burning of heretics in England from Sweeting and Brewster, 1511, and John Fryth in 1533, who denounced the adoration of the elements as plain idolatry, down to Hooper, Ridley and other prominent Reformers during the reign of Mary. In his last series of Articles, as has been said, Henry VIII made the heresy punishable with death.

The Lateran dogma was strenuously opposed by Wyclif who, as the chronicler says, "began in 1381 to determine matters upon the sacrament of the altar." In his treatise on the eucharist and in other writings, he anticipated the Protestant or dynamic view and all the arguments which may be drawn from the Scriptures and observation against the Roman theory. Christ, he taught, is in the elements "virtually and spiritually," as a king is in all parts of his dominions and as the sunbeam is in the pane of glass. He classed the doctrine of transubstantiation among inventions and opinions of the modern church—*novellæ ecclesiæ.* "What," he wrote, "could be more terrible than that the priest should daily, in breaking the host, break the Lord's body!" He represented the doctrine, as "grounded neither in holy writt ne reson ne wit but only taughte by newe hypocritis and cursed heretikis that magnifyen there own fantasies and dremes"—*de euch.* p. 78, 81.

§ 6. **The New Testament idea restored.**—The Protestant Reformers restored to the sacramental elements of bread and wine their natural meaning and rejected the mediæval theory of transmutation as a human fiction without Scriptural evidence. The XXXIX Articles spoke of transubstantiation as "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, over-

throwing the nature of the sacrament and as having given occasion to many superstitions." The Westminster Confession affirmed that the Roman dogma is not only "repugnant to the Scriptures, but even to common sense and reason." The Book of Common Prayer also sets itself against the Roman doctrine when it says that "the holy communion is to be received in remembrance of Christ's meritorious cross and passion and as a perpetual memory of his precious death and sacrifice." Strong words were used by the Scotch Confession, 1560, which spoke of the dogma which "the papistrie hath perniciouslie taucht and damnablie believed."

The grounds for believing in the doctrine of transubstantiation as given by the Plenary catechism are the words Christ used at the institution of the sacrament, and the constant practice of the church since Apostolic times. The catechism adds that the Scriptural proof for the real presence "is stronger than for any Christian truth." The answer furnished by the Catechism of Pius X to the question, "Why do you believe that Jesus Christ is truly in the eucharist" is "I believe that Jesus Christ is truly in the eucharist because he said that the consecrated bread and wine were his body and blood and because the church has so taught: nevertheless it is a mystery, a great mystery."

The proofs given by Roman theologians are the literal interpretations given to the word *is*, used by our Lord when he said "this is my body" and the literal interpretation of Christ's words reported in the Gospel of John, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, for my flesh is meat indeed and my blood is drink indeed." In reply, Protestants, following the Reformers, hold that the literal interpretation of the word *is*, is unnatural and that the highly realistic expressions reported by John in the sixth chapter of his Gospel are offset by other statements of the same chapter which show that Christ was speaking figuratively. The argument drawn from the word *is* "This is my body "contradicts its meaning

in other places when Christ was making a comparison between himself and his power with material things and their operation. Protestants give to the words the natural interpretation "This represents my body." When Christ said, "I *am* the vine," "I *am* the door," "I *am* the way," he did not mean that he was a real vine with stem and root, or a real door with bolt and hinges, or a path for the feet to tread upon, but that these material things were figures of the spiritual relation in which he stands to his followers. It was natural that Christ should follow the usage of the Old Testament which often employed figurative language to represent spiritual things, as when prophets and psalmists said that "God *is* a sun," "God *is* a rock," "God *is* a shield," "God *is* a fountain of waters," not meaning that God is a combustible orb or that he is hard or is made of brass or is a flowing spring. Christ rebuked Nicodemus for taking his words "Ye must be born again" literally, as if they referred to physical birth. If Christ's words, "This is my body" are to be taken in the realistic sense, then we should accept "the cup" which contains the wine in its literal meaning and drink it for Paul said, "As oft as ye drink this cup . . . whosoever shall drink the cup of the Lord . . . the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ,"—I Cor. 10: 6; 11: 25–27. By the same rule of interpretation, Christian believers who partake of the communion are "bread" for Paul said, "we who are many are one bread, for we all partake of one bread,"—I Cor. 10: 17.

Throughout the New Testament figurative language is used to teach religious truths. When John the Baptist pointed out Christ as "the Lamb of God" he did not mean that Christ was a real lamb. When Paul wrote that "Moses and the Israelites drank of the spiritual rock that followed them and that the rock was Christ," he did not mean that Christ was a real rock. John called the seven churches of Asia the seven stars—Rev. 1: 20—and meant nothing more than that churches like stars are set to give light. He also called Christ the lion of the tribe of Judah—Rev. 5: 5—but

he did not mean that Christ was the king of beasts. When Joel called on his generation to "rend their hearts and not their garments," and Paul expressed the prayer that "Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith," it was not the physical heart they had in mind. Augustine long ago observed that "Christ is many things metaphorically which, strictly speaking, he is not. Metaphorically, Christ is at once a rock, a door and a cornerstone, a shepherd, a lion and a lamb. How numerous are such similitudes! But if you wish the strict significations, then he is neither a rock, for he is not hard and dumb, nor a door for no mechanic made it, nor a cornerstone for no builder constructed it, nor a shepherd for he is no keeper of four-footed animals, nor a lion for it ranks among the beasts, nor a lamb for it belongs to the flock. All such titles are by way of analogy,"—On John, Nic. Fathers, 7: 262.

The second Scriptural argument for transubstantiation, based on the sixth chapter of John, loses its force when it is found that the physical construction put upon Christ's words that his flesh is to be eaten and his blood drunk is corrected by other words spoken at the same time which were intended to be parallel and refer to spiritual acts. Christ also said "He that cometh unto me shall never hunger and he that believeth on me shall never thirst . . . and him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out,"—John 6: 35. Moreover, after having spoken of the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood, Christ said to his amazed disciples. "It is the spirit that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit and life." The expressions "eating my flesh and drinking my blood" and "coming unto me and believing on me" meant the same thing, and the blessings attributed are the same, namely spiritual blessings. "Coming unto me" was an habitual expression with Christ to indicate the saving relation in which he stands to believers. When he said, "If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink," he did not mean physical thirst or bodily approach.

Apart from Scripture, the doctrine of transubstantiation is open to objections of the weightiest moment drawn from observation and logic. By every test of the eye and taste, the bread and wine after consecration remain unchanged. The dimensions, the color, the taste, the corruptibility are the same after as before the sacramental act. Transubstantiation would necessitate transaccidentation that is the change of substance would involve the change of the qualities. "All the Christian clerks," Wyclif said truly, "cannot tell the cause why accidents be left without subjects." Arnold's ed. III: 407. The bread on the altar, if kept, becomes mouldy like any other bread. The wine remains liquid and may become sour like any other wine. Thomas Aquinas himself said that the consecrated bread, if eaten, will give nourishment to the body and the wine, if taken in excess, will make drunk. Again, if a change actually took place, the elements on the altar would naturally assume Christ's bodily form for Christ said, "This is my body,"—*soma, corpus*. He did not speak of his flesh,—*sarx*. The Tridentine catechism fallaciously compares the change on the altar to the change of the water into wine at Cana and the change of food into the substance of our bodies. The water at Cana lost its color and its taste; the sacramental wine does not. With digestion, food loses its semblance and substance.

The dogma of transubstantiation, likewise, belies the philosophical principle that a material object cannot be in more than one place at the same time. Hundreds and thousands of times at the same moment, according to the Roman theory, the amazing miracle of transubstantiation occurs from Melbourne to Rome. It is no wonder that Thomas Aquinas declared that it is more difficult to understand transubstantiation than to understand creation out of nothing. Sir Thomas More in his Answer to Frith has this to say of Augustine's statement "that the body with which Christ arose must be in one place and that it continueth in heaven till Christ shall come to judge the quick

and the dead,"—that Augustine "might mean by these words not that Christ's body may not be in two divers places at the same time but that it must be in one place and that is to say in some place, one or the other, or that he must have one place for his special place that is heaven," *Works* p. 835 sq. James Anthony Froude pronounced transubstantiation the strangest of all superstitions. On the other hand Cardinal Newman, Froude's contemporary, wrote, "I did not believe the doctrine until I was a Catholic. I had no difficulty in believing it, as soon as I believed that the Roman Catholic church is the oracle of God and that she had declared this doctrine to be a part of the original revelation," *Short Studies*, ii, p. 49; *Apologia*, p. 239. Newman's principle makes an ecclesiastical decision of superior value to the plain meaning of language, reason and the senses.

Still another objection to the doctrine of transubstantiation is the monstrous and at the same time necessary conclusion that at the Last Supper Christ partook of his own body and blood. Roman Catholic writers do not shrink from it but assert that the night before his crucifixion Christ held in his hands his own body and blood, ate and drank them himself and gave his own body and his own blood to the disciples to be eaten and drunk. In the hymn which Thomas Aquinas wrote for the service of the mass, the Schoolman gave expression to this belief,

"The king sits at the meal
"Surrounded by the Twelve.
"He holds himself in his hands,
"He who is the food, eats himself."
"*Se tenet in manibus, se cibat ipse Cibus.*"

The materialistic theory of the Roman church, forced upon the Schoolmen the question, what becomes of Christ's body and blood, when the host falls on the floor or a drop of the wine falls on the altar cloth, or corporale? The rule was adopted that if a drop of the wine fell on the altar cloth, the cloth was to be washed in water and the water to be drunk by the priest. But the more puzzling question was

forced, what effect the host would have if eaten by a mouse? Would it give the benefits of eternal life to the mouse? This question was the subject of the keenest Scholastic speculation. Its answer involved the entire theory of the sacramental virtue of the host. Bonaventura took the more gracious view that, under such circumstances, Christ is withdrawn and the bread becomes again natural bread. Thomas Aquinas, however, stuck to his guns and taught that the bread remains the body of Christ but that the mouse, not being born to use the host as a sacrament, eats it "in a natural way and not in a sacramental way,"—*non sacrimentaliter sed per accidens*—a distinction which it required the mind of a Schoolman to appreciate.

The Protestants reply to the theory of transubstantiation is that it is based on an unnatural interpretation of Christ's words in instituting the sacrament, and contradicts observation and logic. The theory is made repulsive by the thought that Christ ate his own flesh, and the required assent to the impossible thing that in the upper room there were two full Christs,—his personality which the disciples saw, before them and his personality which they held in their hands. Thomas Aquinas went as far as scholastic subtlety or evasion ever went when he gave three reasons why the qualities of the bread and wine remain unchanged and the substance of the bread and wine at the words of the priest disappears. 1. It is repugnant to the habits of Christians to eat uncooked flesh, 2. to prevent the charge of cannibalism by scoffers, looking on at Christians while they partake of the eucharist, 3. in order to develop faith.

To the theory of transubstantiation and the materialistic eucharistic theory of the Roman church the XXXIX Articles oppose the clear Protestant statement that, "the body of Christ is taken and eaten only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, the means whereby it is eaten, being faith." The Westminster Confession runs, "Worthy receivers do inwardly by faith, really and truly, yet not carnally and corporally but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ

crucified and all the benefits of his death." The truth is put simply by the Gallican Confession, "All who bring a pure faith to the sacred table of Christ receive truly that of which the Lord's Supper is the symbol. Christ feeds and strengthens us with the substance of his body and of his blood and this is done spiritually."

§ 7. **The adoration of the host.**—The worship of the host naturally follows from the miracle of transubstantiation. If the consecrated bread on the altar be the real body of Christ, then it is properly an object of worship. In Roman churches, when the priest elevates the host, a bell is rung and the priest and congregation bend the knee and render adoration. This worship, called—*latria*,—is the worship which is due to God himself. All who deny that the host is to be adored, the Council of Trent placed under the anathema. Other customs naturally followed such as the benediction of the sacrament when incense is used and the host is solemnly placed in the monstrance, and the reservation of the sacrament for worship.[3]

The adoration of the host was set aside by the Protestant Reformers as a human invention. The XXXIX Articles specifically forbid the elements to be "reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." The so-called black rubric of the Anglican Prayer Book declares that "adoration ought not to be done either unto the sacramental bread or wine, bodily received, or unto any corporeal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, for the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural states and therefore may not be adored. The natural body and blood of our Saviour are in heaven and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more than one place."

The adoration of the host called forth the appointment of a yearly festival, known as Corpus Christi by Urban IV, 1264, and it became the custom to carry the host, placed in a monstrance, through the streets, and for the people to bow down and worship.[4] In 1881, the eucharistic congresses

were begun to promote the cult of the host and have been spoken of as "glorified corpus christi festivals." The first congress was held at Lille, France, and others followed at Avignon, 1882, Liège, 1883, London, 1908 attended by ten cardinals, Montreal, 1910, Lourdes, 1914, Amsterdam, 1924, and other places. The last congress held in Chicago, 1926 under the direction of Cardinal Mundelein was perhaps the most spectacular event which has occurred on the continent and attracted thirteen cardinals including the pope's own representative, Cardinal Bonzano, together with two hundred bishops and archbishops from abroad. On June 21, so the estimate ran, half a million people gathered in Soldiers' Field and witnessed mass as it was celebrated by the papal representative on an altar built one hundred and fifteen feet above the ground. It was estimated that a million persons took communion in Chicago the day before. The next congress is appointed to meet in Sydney, 1928.

§ 8. **The withdrawal of the cup from the laity.**—A palpable departure from the express precept of Scripture is the Roman custom of withholding the wine from laymen. The priest alone drinks the wine, draining the cup. The practice of withholding the cup was a matter of gradual growth and proceeded in part from prudential considerations to avoid sacrilege by the spilling of the wine and in part from a purpose to emphasize the importance of the priesthood in distinction from laymen. Thomas Aquinas, who used every possible argument to justify the usage, spoke of it as being introduced into but few churches in his day. Among the arguments used by Thomas was the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand when no wine was distributed. If the illustration holds good, then fish used at that miracle should be substituted for the wine in the eucharist. A hundred and fifty years after Thomas' death, the Council of Constance threatened with excommunication any priest venturing to give the cup to the laity on the plea of preventing sacrilege by the spilling of Christ's blood on the floor or on the beards of the com-

municants and its becoming sour or turning to ice when kept for the sick. The council also alleged the specious doctrine of concomitance which was taught by Alexander of Hales, d. 1245, and the Schoolmen who followed him. According to this fiction, the entire Christ—divine and human, body and blood, sinews and bones—is in the bread and likewise the entire Christ is in the wine. Alexander went so far as to demand that the cup be denied to laymen for the specific purpose of teaching them the new doctrine. The Council of Trent, adopted the doctrine of concomitance in the declaration, that "Christ, whole and entire, is under the species of the bread and the whole Christ is under the species of the wine." It also added that "they who receive one or the other are not deprived of any grace necessary to salvation" and it anathematized those who deny the doctrine. The Tridentine catechism added to the reasons previously given for withholding the cup that "some people have such a distaste for wine that they cannot bear even its smell, and that there are places where it is exceedingly scarce and hard to be got." The catechism, however, states that the chief reason is "to show to the people that the entire Christ is in each element." A desperate argument was based by Dr. John Milner for withholding the cup upon the observances of the Lord's Supper after the resurrection related in the New Testament at which the "breaking of bread" only is mentioned. Suppose, in answer, a person today should ask another to "break bread with him," would it mean that bread and not water was to be served?

The restriction of the cup to the priest is a plain violation of Christ's command, for he bade all to drink of the cup. After taking the cup, he said, "Drink ye, *all*, of it, for as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show forth the Lord's death until he come." If one wanted to make an argument, there is greater reason why the wine should be given to all than that the bread should be given to all. Cardinal Gibbons evades Christ's clear command by asserting that Christ meant it only for the Apostles. If this was

Christ's intention why did he not also intend that the Apostles alone should eat the bread, and that the Last Supper should not be repeated or, if repeated, be without bread and wine.

The words of Paul—I Cor. 11:27—have sometimes been appealed to in defence of withholding the cup from laymen, when the Apostle said "Whosoever eateth this bread *or* drinketh this cup in an unworthy manner shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord." The interpretation is made in defiance of the verse which immediately precedes and the verse which immediately follows and wholly misrepresents the Apostle. In the preceding verse he states that Christ bade the disciples, "Eat the bread *and* drink the cup," and, in the verse that follows, the same thing, "Let a man eat of the bread *and* drink of the cup." Paul's meaning in the intermediate verse is that, bread and wine are to be used, but if either the bread or the wine is used in an unworthy manner, guilt will be incurred. He had in mind the excessive drinking practised by the Corinthian church at its love feasts. The Hussites were granted the privilege of distributing the wine to laymen, a privilege withdrawn by Pius II. Princes visiting Rome are sometimes given the cup.[5]

§ 9. **Ritual practices.**—Among the practices prescribed for the mass which are not essential to it and yet are matter of prescription in the Roman church—*non necessitate sed precepta ecclesiæ*—are the following:—1. Water is mixed with the wine, an ancient custom mentioned by Justin Martyr. 2. Sins must be confessed to the priest before the sacrament is partaken of. 3. Frequent communion, even to daily communion is urged,—canon 863. 4. A nuptial mass is celebrated before marriage. 5. The communicant is expected to fast from midnight in preparation for the sacrament which may not be celebrated earlier than one hour before dawn or later than one hour after mid-day. 6. In order to avoid the suspicion of heresy, the Roman Catholic must take the communion at least once a year,

preferably at Easter time, and it must also be taken when death is impending, for "the viaticum sustains the soul on the voyage to eternity"—*nel viaggio all' eternita*—as Pius X's catechism puts it. 7. Except by special permission, priests may celebrate only a single mass a day, except on Christmas and All Souls' day. 8. The host is to be kept in a pyx or sacrarium above the altar with a lamp burning before it,—canon 1271.

All such ritual practices, Protestants hold are matters of expediency and choice. For their own customs, Protestants respect differences and allow liberty, whether it be to commune at the Lord's table every Sunday, as Luther proposed, or at intervals during the year, or at four prescribed times a year as appointed by the Reformed church of Geneva, with a sermon or without a sermon, with the singing of hymns or without the singing of hymns, as congregations may prefer. Calvin's preference was for a monthly celebration. With reference to the ecclesiastical custom, as the Reformers found it, Calvin said—*de ref.* p. 73, "if in the olden times people went once a year to the Lord's table, they thought it enough, the rest of the year being spectators of what was done by the priest." As a preparation for the communion, Protestants lay stress upon Paul's injunction that they who would partake worthily, should examine themselves before going to the Lord's table. Most Protestants as has been before stated, would probably agree that no sufficient reason can be drawn from Scripture for denying to a group of laymen the right to celebrate the communion among themselves. The sacrament, as Luther said, does not belong to the priest alone. It belongs to all Christians. The sacredness of the observance does not make the presence of a minister essential. The commemoration of Christ's sufferings and death on the cross by the festival of the Lord's Supper is for all who look to Christ as their Savior and depend upon him for the grace of spiritual life.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS

It is but a communion, not a mass,
No sacrifice, but a life-giving feast.
—Tennyson.

EQUALLY opposed to Scripture with the dogma of transubstantiation is the Roman dogma of the sacrifice of the mass.[1] The word "mass" was derived from the Latin words *missa est* meaning "the service is at an end,"—words spoken at the close of the service of the catechumens, which was followed by the service attended by full communicants only. The principal part of the latter service was the Lord's Supper.

§1. **Definition.**—In the mass the priest is said to offer on the altar a true sacrifice with Christ as the victim,—*hostia*. The only difference between the sacrifice consummated by the priest and the sacrifice on Calvary is that in the mass the victim is a bloodless and painless offering. The Council of Trent taught that in both "the victim is one and the same, the manner of offering alone being different" and that, in instituting the eucharist, Christ bequeathed to the church "a perpetual oblation by which our sins may be expiated and our heavenly Father be turned away from wrath to mercy." In taking his vow, the priest professes "that in the mass, there is offered unto God a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice," and in his ordination he is given by the bishop "the power of offering sacrifice in the church."

The following particulars are included in the Tridentine definition: 1. The sacrifice of the mass is a visible sacrifice and visible because man's present nature demands something that appeals to the senses. 2. It is unbloody. 3. The victim

is the same as the victim who suffered in a bloody manner on the cross. 4. The mass may be celebrated in the presence of the people or with a single person present, an attendant, who repeats the responses and who, in the case of necessity, may be a woman who, however, must stand at a considerable distance from the altar, can. 813. 5. The unworthiness of the priest does not affect the virtue of the consecration inasmuch as it is Christ who "offers up himself on the altar to God, the Father, under the form of bread and wine." 6. The sacrifice is offered to God alone and never to a saint. Such words are never used as "I offer to thee, Peter." Masses, however, may be offered in honor of saints and in this case the church implores their help. 7. For the help of souls in purgatory, the most efficacious of all human performances is the mass. The Council of Trent pronounced no less than nine anathemas upon those who deny that the mass is a true sacrifice offered to God, that it is propitiatory, —profiting those absent as well as those present,—that masses in which the priest alone partakes are lawful, that they are properly offered in honor of saints, that priests are ordained by Christ to offer his own very body and blood and that some parts of the service should be read in a lower tone than other parts.

The offering of Christ on the altar is the central act of the Roman worship, the most sacred rite performed in the sanctuary.[2] It is celebrated, so the Council of Trent directs, with an elaborate ceremonial,—symbolic rites, lighted candles, rich and often most costly priestly garments or, in the case of masses for the dead, in black vestments. It is a dramatic spectacle in which the scheme of redemption is set forth to the eye. In the Middle Ages it took the place of the sermon and piety of worshippers was nourished as they looked on at the mysterious and supernatural transaction in which the tragedy of the cross was repeated. For the devout, it is a most moving and significant drama. There, on the altar the atonement is wrought over again and "the most heinous crimes and sins receive forgiveness through

the offering," for the mass has the same merit as the cross. Its superior value over the eucharist as a communion is that it has life-giving efficacy for those who are absent as well as for those who are present, for the dead as well as for the living. The efficacy of the transaction is just as great when the priest who ministers is alone as when a congregation is present. Nevertheless, the people are urged to be present.—can. 1273. As a miracle, it is of staggering significance for over and over again and at the same moment on innumerable altars, Christ's sacrifice takes place.

§ 2. **The Protestant repudiation.**—Protestants regard the sacrifice of the mass, as not only incompatible with the Scriptures and derogatory to the sacrifice on the cross made once for all, but also subversive of reason. The Scriptures clearly represent that when outside the walls of Jerusalem, Christ was crucified, the work of propitiation for the sins of the world was completed. In that Christ died, said St. Paul, he died unto sin once. With one consent, the writers of the New Testament proceed on the principle that there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins and that Christ, our passover, having been sacrificed for us, no need of further sacrifices exists, 1 Cor. 5:7; Heb. 10:26. The Book of Common Prayer speaks of Christ's "oblation of himself on the cross as a full, perfect and sufficient oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." The early Protestant Confessions not only repudiated the mass, but often denounced it as idolatry. The Schmalkald Articles prepared by Luther, 1537, pronounced the mass "the greatest and most terrible abomination." The XXXIX Articles call masses "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." The Scotch Confession, "utterly detesting and renouncing the doctrine that priests offer a propitiatory sacrifice," pronounced the mass "blasphemous and derogatory to the sufficiency of Christ's only sacrifice." In no less vigorous language, the Westminster Confession, one hundred years later, declared "the popish sacrifice of the mass to be most abominably injurious to Christ's one only sacrifice, the alone

propitiation for all the sins of the elect." Bishop Latimer,—to quote a single English Reformer, in his Sermon on the Plough, said, "According as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, so would Christ himself be exalted that thereby as many as trusted in him should have salvation. . . . They would have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory, by a sacrifice expiatory or remissory. . . . Let us trust upon Christ's only death and look for none other sacrifice propitiatory than the same bloody sacrifice, the lively sacrifice, not the dry sacrifice but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, 'It is finished, I have wrought man's redemption and despatched the matter.' Christ, our passover, is offered, so that the thing is done and Christ hath done it once for all and it was a bloody sacrifice."[3]

§ 3. **The argument.**—For the appointment of the mass, the Council of Trent depended upon the single passage, "This *do* in remembrance of me," to which it gave the arbitrary meaning, "This make in remembrance of me," Luke 22:19. The memorial observance of the Last Supper in which worshippers remind themselves of the sufferings and propitiation of the cross, is thus changed into a creative and priestly act whereby Christ himself re-incarnate is sacrificed again. If Christ had meant any such thing, he had at his hand more than one word meaning "to offer or sacrifice," which he could have used and which are found in the New Testament. Why did he not anticipate any misunderstanding of the most solemn ordinance he left to mankind and say, "This *offer* in remembrance of me." The word "offer" was not only familiar but by the services of the temple a select word.

To justify the teaching that the mass has propitiatory merit for those who are absent from the celebration both the living and souls in purgatory, the Roman church puts the most arbitrary meaning upon the word "many" reported in the passages of Matthew and Mark, "This is my blood which is poured out for *many* unto the remission of sins." The natural interpretation of the word is that Christ was

referring to the wide influence of his atonement, but the Roman theology refers it to the influence of the sacrament as administered by the priest. With equal propriety the benefits of the Last Supper and also of the atonement might be restricted to the Apostles who were present for, according to Luke, Christ's words were "This is my blood which is poured out for *you*." The Tridentine catechism went back to the Old Testament and found a prediction of the mass in the words of Malachi—1:11—that "in every place a pure oblation is offered to God," a passage in which the prophet evidently had in mind contrite and broken hearts and not a material sacrifice.[4]

The Roman mass is irreconcilable with the reports given in the book of the Acts, the Apostolic epistles and what we know of the Apostles themselves. As plainly as language can do so the Epistle to the Hebrews declares that there can be no repetition of Christ's offering. All material sacrifices, the writer affirms, have been abolished. Christ "died" unto sin once and through his blood, obtained eternal redemption for us, having "entered in once for all into the holy place." If the Roman mass had been contemplated by Christ, it is amazing that Paul gave no hint of it in his ministerial counsels addressed to Timothy and Titus and that, in the meetings in which the Apostles took part, there is no report that they offered mass. As the source of all their hopes, the Apostles looked to the cross on Calvary as the altar of sacrifice and never to another propitiatory altar. "Through the blood of his cross," said St. Paul, "hath he made peace, reconciling us in the body of his flesh through death." Peter declared that it is with the precious blood of Christ as of a lamb without spot or blemish we are redeemed. The third great Apostle, John, said that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sins"—I John 1:7. If these three Apostles had any conception of an unbloody sacrifice repeating the sacrifice on Calvary, would they not in some connection or other have made a statement that Christ had left a command to repeat his sacrifice. In

the face of the silence of the Apostles, Cardinal Gibbons does not hesitate to say that "tradition with its hundred tongues, from the time of the Apostles to our day, proclaims the perpetual oblation of the sacrifice of the mass." For the Protestant, one plain text of Scripture is worth more than many traditions, even though they be heaped mountain high. In the light of history, Dr. Gibbons' statement is false. Early Christian writers speak of other sacrifices but never of the repetition of the sacrifice of the cross. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, with which the cardinal had abundant opportunity to be acquainted makes the statement that "on the Lord's day, we come together and break bread and give thanks, having before confessed our transgressions that the sacrifice of *ourselves* may be pure." The sacrifice—*thusia*—is not a sacrifice of Christ, but of the worshippers themselves. The manual's statement is in accord with the words of St. Paul who spoke of a sacrifice of ourselves and the sacrifice of the Gentiles. The same word, *thusia*, is used by the Apostle for the offering of our bodies as "a living sacrifice," and for "the sacrifice of faith," Rom. 12:1; Phil. 2:7. Why was the Lord's Supper called by the early Christians the service of thanksgiving—eucharist—and not a sacrifice of Christ, if it was regarded as a renewed offering of Christ? In conformity with the New Testament conception, Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho called "prayers and thanksgivings the only perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices made to God." "The righteous soul," said Clement of Alexandria—*Strom.* VI, VII—"is the real holy altar. The Christian's entire life is a holy festival. His sacrifices are prayers and praises, Scriptural readings before meals, psalms and hymns during meals and before retiring, and prayers again during the night." This author contrasted the sacrifices of prayers and thanksgivings which the Christian makes with the soul and the material sacrifices made on Jewish and Pagan altars. Peter's expression, "spiritual sacrifices"—I Pet. 2:5—was wrought into the mind of the church.

Cardinal Gibbons, arguing further for the mass, confuses the mind of the unwary by exclaiming, "Why do you Protestants pray and go to church and submit to baptism and take the communion, if the sacrifice on Calvary was all-sufficient!"

If it were necessary to make answer, the answer would be that prayer, the assembling of themselves together by Christians and baptism, are plainly commanded in the New Testament but the repetition of Christ's offering of himself on the cross nowhere hinted at.

In the second century, offerings were made at the celebration of the communion, but they were the offerings of the elements by the people and the offering made by the people of themselves. Justin Martyr reports that the people brought bread, and a cup containing wine and water to the "president of the brethren" having charge of the service and that the president offered at considerable length thanksgivings to the Father through the name of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, after which the elements were distributed to the congregation, and a portion taken to those who were not present. Down to the twelfth century, the people continued to present the eucharistic elements for the communion to be used as a thank-offering. About that time the most mysterious change occurred, whereby the offering was regarded as an offering up of Christ, instead of an offering to Christ. The change which is most difficult to explain and all that can be said is that it was in the interest of the sacerdotal and personal preëminence of the priesthood and the result of scholastic speculation elaborating the fiction of transubstantiation. The ability to "create God" upon the altar lifted the priest above all dignities and made him the arbiter for the living and dead of their eternal destiny. It is possible that the religious drama of the Middle Ages, in which priests often took part, had something to do with the change whereby the altar was exalted and the crucifixion scene of Calvary alleged to be repeated.

The sacrificial conception of the eucharist led to the

practice of saying private masses and masses for the dead, called also black masses, or requiem masses from the first words of the Latin service "give eternal repose"—*requiem eternam dona*. The saying of such masses became the chief occupation of the priests in the sanctuary and chantries. The altar became as much the place for offering a propitiatory sacrifice for sins and crimes, as the market place for the daily sale of wares. The abuse of repeating masses became so obnoxious that synods limited the priest to the celebration at the same altar on the same day to three masses. The canon law restricts the number to one a day except on Christmas and All Souls' Day. The souls in purgatory for whom masses are said, include ecclesiastics of the highest rank as well as the lowliest layman. On March 24th, 1922, the first anniversary of Cardinal Gibbons' death, such a mass was sung in Washington for the repose of the prelate's soul by the rector of the Roman Catholic university. When Monsignor Joseph John Sühr, vicar-general of the diocese of Pittsburgh, died in 1922, he left $500 for masses to be said "for his own soul and the souls of his parents." A week after the assassination of Gabryl Narutowicz, President of Poland, mass for the repose of his soul was said in the church of St. Stanislaus, New York City, December 24th, 1922, Archbishop Hayes taking part. Masses for a defunct person may be continued for an indefinite period for it is unknown how long a person is being detained in purgatory. One of the frequent complaints which have come down from mediæval England are the complaints of executors that legacies intended to provide for masses for the departed were used by priests who did not follow the provisions made in wills and that priests lived in "revelling and lechery" while the testators languished in purgatory. The law of the Roman church prescribes that a fixed fee,—*stipendium*,—be given to the priest by all attending a mass.—can. 824–830.

§ 4. **Miracles of the host.**—The realistic or mechanical theory of the elements used in the eucharist and of its virtue was reponsible during the Middle Ages for unnumbered

fictitious miracles. Such miracles were reported not only by Cæsar of Heisterbach, Etienne de Bourbon and other popular writers but were attested by Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura and other eminent theologians, and convents where they occurred were changed into shrines and places of pilgrimage. Pious writers related cases in which the host was seen exuding blood and Christ was seen rising out of the host and returning to it. In one case it was narrated that, after an abbot had consecrated the elements, Christ was observed to be sitting on the abbot's hand as a child. The child rose to the dimensions of a man and then returned to the host when the abbot partook of it. In another case, during a dance in which priests took part, the pyx was overthrown and the five hosts it contained scattered. In vain was search made, until, when the people were departed from the building, the sacred objects were found on a ledge in the wall where an angel had placed them for safety.

More remarkable were the bloody host of St. Trond, Belgium, and the bleeding host of Wylsnack. Of the host at St. Trond, Cæsar of Heisterbach reports that he witnessed it with his own eyes. A woman who had kissed her lover with the host in her mouth, thinking thereby to inflame her lover's passion, found she could not swallow the sacred object. Concealing it in a napkin, she revealed her experience to an itinerant bishop. The two opened the napkin and discovered three drops of fresh blood. The abbot of Trond was called in and it was found that half of the host was flesh and half bread. The blood was preserved in a vase among the sacred relics of the town and became a famous goal for pilgrims and is held sacred to this day. The bleeding host of Wylsnack, not far from Berlin, which was shown first in 1383, was examined twenty years later by a commission appointed by the Archbishop of Prague, with John Huss as one of its members. The commission pronounced it a fraud but in spite of the report, the shrine continued to be visited even after the Reformation as one of the most famous places of worship in that part of Europe. Among the

miraculous helps ascribed to the Wylsnack prodigy, was the experience of a knight, who after devoting his armor to the holy blood, was successful in killing his rival in a duel. Robbers who made vows to it were able to break their prison-bars. Not the least remarkable of the experiences associated with consecrated hosts was the experience of a peasant who put a host into his beehive. Not only did the host remain in tact, it was worshipped by the bees, which reverently constructed a miniature sanctuary containing an altar on which they deposited the sacred object. The bees from the neighborhood joined in the adoration, assembled and sang sacred melodies. In view of these singular occurrences, the peasant, accompanied by his bishop and priest, proceeded to the beehive and reverently removed the host while the bees expressed their sacred feelings by singing songs.

As late as the very close of the fifteenth century, the consecrated host was looked upon as a charm and the reason which Savonarola and the Dominicans gave for refusing to go through the flames at Florence was that they were not allowed to carry it with them. Two prodigies reported a hundred years later, by Cardinal Bellarmine—*de euchar.* 3:8 may be repeated here. The one is of a mule to which St. Anthony of Padua took a host. When the saint called upon the animal to revere it, the mule left its hay and forgetting its hunger, approached the holy emblem, nodded its head, bent its knees and adored. By this incident, so the cardinal continued, heretics were converted. The second prodigy was the case of an English heretic who was brought before the English archbishop in St. Paul's, London. When the heretical man asserted that the worship of a spider was more reasonable than the worship of the host, immediately a horrible spider let itself down from the roof and would have entered the blasphemer's mouth but for those who stood by and prevented it.

The alleged miraculous agency of the host was not confined to the Middle Ages and the reports of Cardinal Bellar-

mine A striking modern instance is the case of the hosts of Siena whose history, so it is reported, goes back two hundred years. In 1730, a silver ciborium containing many hosts was found to be missing from the cathedral. Later, the hosts were discovered mixed up with coins in an alms-box where the thief had thrown them,—three hundred and forty-eight hosts and six parts. The discovery being made, a Franciscan reported that on the morning of the theft, he had consecrated two hundred wafers and added them to one hundred already in the sacred vessel. By order of the Archbishop of Siena, great honors were paid to the recovered objects. Without going into the intervening history, it is enough to say that in 1789, the ruling archbishop, in the presence of priests and noblemen, opened the ciborium and found two hundred and thirty-one hosts and eighty-nine fragments, "firm and fresh as if newly made." These were placed in a new ciborium and have been opened several times since, the last time, June 14th, 1914, in the presence of "the professors of science and the chemists of Siena and its university." The wafers reduced to 228, were found to be "starchy and perfectly preserved" and on being put in distilled water, one of the fragments became soft and swelled. All present joined in reporting that the substance of the wafers showed no signs of decay. It was decided to expose the ciborium with its contents for adoration and those who go to worship are recommended to sing, "I adore thee every moment, O living bread of heaven, great sacrament—*te adoro, ogni momento, o vivo Pan del Ciel, grand sacramento.* The preservation of these elements was deservedly pronounced by the present archbishop of the Italian city a prodigy. A detailed description was published in the *Catholic Historical Review* for January, 1923, and, without a hint that the things reported are not indubitable facts, the review says that "the question is not how the number of the hosts had diminished in the course of years but how it came to pass that any are left."

Setting aside all such tales as fancies, the Protestant goes

back to the Scriptures and reads again the plain words with which our Lord appointed the memorial feast of his death, "Do this in remembrance of me." The eucharist is a commemorative meal in which Christians meet together in obedience to Christ's command, give thanks for the sacrifice he made on Calvary on their behalf and renew the vow of allegiance to him. The eucharist is no repetition of the sacrifice on the cross and no change takes place in the bread and wine through the words offered by the minister. The bread and wine are to be looked upon with respect when they have been set apart for a holy purpose, but they have no virtue in themselves to impart spiritual grace to those who partake. The eucharist is a communion in which Christ is spiritually present as he is present wherever two or three are met together in his name and where there is true faith, Christ is present most effectually because the symbol is visible to the eye and the observance is hallowed by the intention of the worshippers and the use of the words which our Lord himself used and the promise he gave. There, in the elements, Christ's death is presented figuratively and Christ is apprehended by the worshipper through faith after an heavenly or spiritual manner. With the English martyr, Bishop Ridley, Protestants may join in saying reverently, "I worship Christ in the sacrament, not because he is included in the sacrament, but like as I worship Christ in the Scriptures, not because he is included in them." For the Roman Catholic the virtue of the eucharist arises from the transubstantiation of the elements through the alleged supernatural power given to the priestly administrant. For the Protestant its virtue comes from the faith of the believer and the obedience to Christ's command.

The treatment of the alleged miracle of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass has proceeded from no desire to disparage the piety of Roman Catholics. Protestants recognize that the soul's intention is the controlling element of true worship and that, no matter what the theory of the nature of the bread and wine may be after

they have been consecrated, or set apart by simple prayer, the devout worshipper will receive the blessing promised. Nor are they in this age inclined to deny that intelligent Roman Catholics look beyond the altar on which the unbloody sacrifice is said to be made to the cross of Golgotha as their only hope. Nevertheless, the two distinctive dogmas of transubstantiation and the mass are to be regarded as ecclesiastical fictions for which the language of our Lord on the night in which he was betrayed gives no warrant.

CHAPTER XX

PENANCE AND INDULGENCES

Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.—The Lord's Prayer.
We believe that thou shalt come to be our judge.—The Te Deum.

PENANCE, the fourth in the list of the Roman sacraments, is alleged to destroy the guilt of sins committed after baptism. Following a usage going back to Tertullian about the year 200, the Council of Trent called penance the second plank on which the shipwrecked mariner makes his escape as baptism is the first plank. The council treated the Roman priest as the indispensable agent acting as an intermediary between the sinner and God and endowed with the power of pronouncing absolution. The Protestant Reformers rejected the sacrament and its theory and taught that every believer has immediate access to Christ and the throne of grace and is assured of pardon apart from any priestly agency, Heb. 4:16. In no part of his treatise did Cardinal Bellarmine charge Luther, Melanchthon and Calvin more frequently with lying than he did in his chapter on the sacrament of penance and Luther with telling worse lies than the others—*crassiora mendacia*. In attacking the Roman practice as he found it, Luther drew heavily upon the dictionary for epithets. Indulgences he wrote "are a hellish, devilish deception; theft and robbery practised by the antichrist by which the Roman Nimrod sells all the sins of this world and of hell itself, and all to get the people's money," Weimar ed. 7:403. In considering the subject of the chapter the distinction must be kept clearly in mind between penance, the ecclesiastical and compulsory institution in which the penitent sinner and the priest are

co-agents, and penitence, as taught in the New Testament, a free act of the soul going out to God who alone has power to forgive sin.

§ 1. The origin of the Roman sacrament of penance.— Like the sacrifice of the mass, the Roman institution of penance is an ecclesiastical invention. The New Testament knows nothing of it. Not till about 1150 was the sacramental feature fully developed. The sudden change from the New Testament idea of forgiveness to the Roman theory of priestly confession and forgiveness is one of the most mysterious transitions in the history of the church. The steps which led to it are obscure. The early post-Apostolic writers knew of no confession of sin except to God directly. Clement of Rome declared that as David confessed his sins unto the Lord, so Christians are to confess to God. The Teaching of the Twelve prescribed that the confession of transgressions, is to be made in the congregation, a prescription which follows our Lord's words, Matt. 18: 17. The Christian apologist, Aristides, reports that a heathen coming into the church "confesses to God, saying, 'In ignorance I did these things,' and God cleanses his heart and his sins are forgiven him." At an early period and in the interest of Christian fidelity and church purity, the churches prescribed public penitential exercises for persons who had fallen away from their baptismal vow and sought reinstatement in the Christian fellowship. These exercises, known as the penitential or disciplinary system, were not the same in all parts of the church, if indeed they constituted a formal requirement in all the churches. The rule was for penitents to bow before the presbyters and appeal to the brethren to supplicate God for mercy in their behalf. A special place was set apart for them outside the sanctuary proper, until they were given full recognition. Absolution and full recognition took place in the presence of the congregation. The penalties for transgressions included fasting, lying in ashes and sackcloth, and especially prayers to God. For "mortal sins," such as murder, idolatry and sacrilege and for

denying Christ in time of persecution, the North African leaders, Tertullian and Cyprian knew no forgiveness on earth. With this rigor the early Roman church was not in sympathy.

Just when the practice arose of doing penance or making confession before the priest in private cannot be determined. The practice was in vogue in the fourth century, when it was mentioned by Chrysostom, together with fasting, prayer and almsgiving, as one of the nine modes of doing penance, and was not compulsory. In later centuries penitential manuals were written and rules were issued by synods prescribing the penitential acts or compensations to be made for special sins. In the middle of the twelfth century Gratian, the canonist, reports that two opinions were held in the church, each "supported by wise and religious men," namely, that confession to God is sufficient for pardon and that confession before the priest is necessary. About the same time, Peter the Lombard—d. 1164—treated confession to God as sufficient for the forgiveness of sins but stated that in his day the three opinions were held, namely that confession to God was all-sufficient, confession to a priest was necessary and confession to a layman was valid. Fifty years later, 1215, the Fourth Lateran council made confession to a priest once a year a requirement of good standing in the church. With this decree the new era in the history of effectual penitence and priestly pardon was opened. Within the thirty years which followed the requirement had a vigorous theological advocate in Alexander of Hales—d. 1245—who treated priestly confession as a dogma and taught, that without the priest's absolution, there is no forgiveness. Thomas Aquinas followed Alexander and treated the subject of penance at great length. In the development of the novel sacramental theory, influence was exerted by the spurious tract "True and False Penitence," circulated under the name of St. Augustine. The tract was quoted as authority until the seventeenth century. The vast importance which the Schoolmen attached to the dogma is shown by the

space which they devoted to it; Peter the Lombard, for example, writing two and one-half times as many pages on the subject as on the eucharist and Bonaventura four times as many.

No mediæval practice had more vigorous opposition at the hands of Wyclif than the new dogma of priestly confession. The chief occupation of the friars, he said, was hearing confessions and giving absolution. They plied it with the threat of purgatory, and as an easy means of getting revenue. As oxen were bought, Wyclif said, so were pardons. Assoyling—absolution—was substituted for preaching. Rich men had no fear about breaking the moral law for they bought forgiveness for money. The simple priestly statement "I assoyle thee of thy synnes" was taught to be sufficient to cover the most heinous offenses. 'Shrift to God,' the Reformer said, 'is put behind, and privy shrift is authorized as needful for the soul's health. Confession to the priest is a wild blasphemy, a new found thing, an invention of Innocent III, and brought in late by the fiend. Our Lord never used it or taught it. The church corrupted itself when it allowed the priest to be a partner with God in the forgiveness of sins.' Friars, he also charged, found in the confessional an opportunity to corrupt women. In the prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer represents the friar of the day as "an easy man to geve penaunce."

§ 2. **The Roman dogma.**—The mediæval theory was taken over by the Council of Trent, whose decrees on the subject are among its most elaborate as well as most polemic statements. They teach that the sacrament of penance was instituted by Christ when he said to the disciples, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."—John 20:23. It is necessary "for the recovering of the faithful to God" who, after baptism, fall away to lust, envy, malice and other grave sins in thought, word, or act and as often as they fall. The sacrament was appointed in order that the penitent may know by a perceptible outward transaction, that his sins are pardoned,

as the paralytic, and those who stood by knew that Christ's words were fulfilled by the paralytic's ability to take up his bed and walk, Matt. 9:6.

The Roman sacrament consists of four parts, all of which are necessary: contrition, confession to the priest, which is also called auricular confession, works of satisfaction and absolution by the priest. The first three are acts of the penitent and constitute the matter of penance. Absolution, the act of the priest, is called the form of penance. Contrition is the inward sorrow for sin and the purpose to turn away from it and not sin again, but contrition of heart is not enough. The Tridentine decrees, following the Schoolmen, go so far as to make attrition sufficient. Attrition is the mental conviction that sin deserves punishment, but does not include trust in God and a purpose to turn away from sin. It is the fear of hell. The Catechism of Pius X defines it as "displeasure over sins committed through the fear of punishments eternal or temporal, yea, the terror of death." In Luther's day, attrition was called Judas-repentance or gallows-repentance—*Judasreue*, *Galgenreue*. According to the Roman view, this half-way repentance will carry the sinner through, provided he passes on to the next three parts of the sacrament. Luther, in his sermon on Indulgences, preached a year before he posted up the XCV Theses, was very severe on the theory of attrition and contrasted it with true penitence, which he said consists of real sorrow of heart and the purpose to obey God. In another place, he declared that the devil and all the damned have the feeling of attrition, for they also believe and tremble and that by this doctrine, Judas was the best of penitents, for he was urged on by remorse so that he put himself to death.[1]

The second part of the sacrament means telling a priest the sins committed. Confession to God is not enough. Confession, so the Plenary catechism defines it, is the telling of our sins to a duly authorized priest for the purpose of obtaining forgiveness. Satisfaction, the third part of the sacrament, consists of the works or exercises which the priest

imposes upon the penitent. The works are in a real sense compensatory, as the Tridentine catechism teaches, and are more than equivalents for the sins committed. They are likewise measures intended to develop caution and watchfulness against sinning again. The Tridentine decrees assert that these works or exercises should be "troublesome and painful, having some acerbity about them" or, as the Tridentine catechism puts it, penance is "a kind of laborious baptism." As the earthly physician, Bellarmine observes, prescribes for bodily ailments cauterizings, bitter herbs and the knife, so it is fitting that the spiritual physician, that is the priest, should prescribe penitential severities. The exercises usually prescribed by the priestly confessor are prayers corresponding to the pride of life, fastings corresponding to the lust of the flesh, and alms corresponding to the lust of the eye. At times in the church's history, the penalties have been severe, such as flagellations, confinement in a convent, arduous pilgrimages, as well as payments of money.

The fourth part of the sacrament of penance, absolution, without which the performance of the other three parts of the sacrament of penance are useless, corresponds to the act of the civil judge who frees the criminal from the sentence of deserved punishment. In the words of the Council of Trent, "the force of the sacrament principally consists in the words of the priest, I absolve thee,"—*ego te absolvo*. No one gains admission to heaven, so the Roman catechism asserts, unless its gates be opened by the priest, who, in absolving, acts as the vicegerent of God. Certain cases of absolution are reserved to the pope, who alone pardons for such offenses as sacrilege, the defilement of a nun, abuse of a priest's person, letting children die without baptism, and grants divorce with the privilege of remarrying.

To its definitions of penance the Council of Trent appended no less than fifteen anathemas, directed against those who deny, that penance is a sacrament instituted by Christ, that confession must be made to a priest at least once

a year, that the priest is the only person who can grant absolution and that absolution granted by a priest in mortal sin is of no effect.

§ 3. Alleged Scriptural basis of priestly absolution.—The Council of Trent based the sacrament of penance upon the Greek word *metanoia*, usually translated "penance" in Roman Catholic versions of the Bible and upon the three passages in which our Lord conferred the power of binding and loosing,—Matt. 16:19, 18:18, John 20:23. The translations "penance" and "do penance" wholly misrepresent the meaning of the words *metanoia* and *metanoieo*, which are translated in Protestant versions by "repentance" and "repent." What Christ and the Apostles meant was a change of mind. In the Vulgate, the verb is translated, though not always—*agite pœnitentiam*—and in the Rheims version "do penance." By this false translation the Scriptures were made to demand an outward exercise instead of a change of heart and an external ritual prescribed by the church instead of a change of disposition and purpose. When Jesus began to preach and called upon the people "to *repent* for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"—Matt. 4:17—he was not speaking of a system of penitential performances, but a change of mind, much as the Psalmist meant when he called upon God, "Create within me a clean heart and renew a right spirit within me." The Rheims version, as the Vulgate before it, makes Peter, on the day of Pentecost, call on his hearers to "do penance and be baptized"—Acts 2:38—a thing apparently illogical because it puts Christian acts before baptism. They both make Peter bid Simon Magus to "do penance," and Paul at Athens say that "God commandeth every man everywhere to do penance."—Acts 7:22, 17:30. In teaching the sacrament of penance the Council of Trent quoted three passages: "Be converted and do penance for all your iniquities," "Except ye do penance, ye shall all likewise perish," "Do penance and be baptized every one of you,"—Ezek. 18:30, Luke 13:5, Acts 2:38. Perhaps, if the councillors had known more

Greek, the mistake would not have been made. To this present day, Roman Catholic writers deliberately justify the sacrament by making this mistake. A writer in *Month*, 1925, p. 72, says that "our Lord inaugurated his preaching with the appeal, 'Do penance for the kingdom of heaven is at hand!'" The Greek word is synonymous with what Paul calls the renewing of the mind in such passages as "Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind" and "Be renewed in the spirit of your mind."—Rom. 12:2, Eph. 4:23.

When Luther posted the XCV Theses, he did not know the meaning of the Greek original and used the Vulgate translation, "do penance." Nevertheless, he had in his mind the idea intended by the New Testament when he went on to declare that "the entire life should be a penance" that is a life of piety and sorrow for sin, and further put restrictions upon the value of the sacrament as a sacerdotal act. The meaning of the word in the original was a subject of controversy between Tyndale and Sir Thomas More. Tyndale, in his *Answer* to More's *Dialogue*, said "the Greek words repentance and repent mean what we say in English, 'it forethinketh me or it repenteth me and I am sorry that I did it.'" More had charged Tyndale with mistranslating the Greek and asserted that Tyndale ought to have used the English word "penance." In his rejoinder, Tyndale charged that "More cannot prove that I give not the right English unto the Greek word. With confession they juggled and so made the people understand shrift in the ear which is clean against Scripture as they use it and preach it." Further, the English Reformer charged More with "knowing well enough, for he understandeth Greek and knew the real meaning long ere I." The sacred writers, when they used the word repent meant to have sorrow for sin and to turn unto God. A human priest was not in their mind.

§ 4. **The power of the keys.**—The power of absolution is covered by the so-called power of the keys, which is another name for the power of binding and loosing, called also the power of forgiving and retaining sins. Romanists mean by

the expressions chiefly the priest's act in the sacrament of penance. Protestants apply them in part to acts of church discipline. The power was entrusted on three separate occasions to three separate administrants, Peter, the Christian congregation and the body of the Apostles. Christ gave it to Peter when he said, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"; to the congregation when he said, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"; to the Apostles, after his resurrection, when he said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained,"—Matt. 16:18, 18:18, John 20:23. The words involve two questions which have been in dispute between Roman Catholics and Protestants: 1. To what persons did Christ entrust the authority? 2. Of what nature is the authority?

In regard to the persons to whom Christ gave authority to loose and bind, the Roman church limits it to the Apostles and their alleged successors. The Decrees of Trent "declared all those doctrines false and entirely alien from the truth of the Gospel which promiscuously extends the ministry of the keys to any others besides bishops and priests." This judgment annuls the Scriptures for Christ as explicitly conferred the power upon the congregation, or assembly of believers, Matt. 18:18 as he did upon the Apostles. The lodgment of authority in Peter and the Apostles, if it means its lodgment with a priestly class, is no more a lasting privilege than its lodgment with the congregation or assembly of believers is lasting. The Protestant Reformers, rebuking what they regarded as a usurpation of the priesthood over the Christian believer, emphasized the congregation as the proper depositary of the power. The pope, as the alleged successor of Peter is called in the Roman church the keeper of the keys—*claviger*—and the two keys

on the papal coat of arms represent his power to unlock the doors of the church and the gate of heaven to those who submit to the sacrament of penance.

The nature of the power of the keys has called forth three theories, the judicial theory, the declaratory or Protestant theory and the precatory theory. According to the judicial or forensic theory, which is the Roman theory, the priest occupies in spiritual matters the place which the civil judge occupies in the civil court. He pronounces a sentence and his sentence is law. Before the bar of God it acquits the sinner or condemns him. The priest's act, so the Council of Trent expressly taught, "is not a bare ministry of announcing the Gospel or of declaring that sins are forgiven, but is after the manner of a judicial act, whereby sentence is pronounced by the priest as by a judge." According to the declaratory theory, which is the theory of Protestants, a church, or a minister in the name of a church, announces the promises and warnings of the Gospel as they give assurance of God's favor or the sentence of God's punishments. It is in the power of the congregation or minister to do nothing more. According to the precatory theory, God's blessing is invoked as it is in the Apostolic benediction and the benediction recorded in Hebrews, the twelfth chapter.

The adoption of the judicial or Roman theory belongs in the thirteenth century. Before the year 1200, the three views, declaratory, precatory and judicial were held side by side. Peter the Lombard reports that in his day the prevailing view was that the priest in administering the sacrament of penance, made an announcement of the Gospel's promise and threat. As the priest's function in the old dispensation, so he argued, was nothing more than to bear witness that the leper had been restored to health, so the priest of the new dispensation has authority only to show or declare who are bound and who are loosed, who are in spiritual health and who are still in their sins—*potestas ostendi homines ligatos vel solutos*. However, shortly before the Lombard, Hugo of St. Victor d. 1141 pronounced other

views than the judicial view more laughable and frivolous than worthy of refutation and it remained for Alexander of Hales, to fully define the present Roman theory, that absolution given by the priest is actual absolution of guilt and punishment and that his sentence extends beyond this world to the realm of purgatory. The Schoolmen after Alexander with one consent, defended this view and Thomas Aquinas asserted that, if the priest is not able to remit punishment both here and in purgatory, then he cannot remit at all.

Although the question seemed to be closed by the treatment of these theological authorities, the declaratory interpretation of Christ's words continued to have advocates. Marsiglius, Wyclif, Huss and others limited the retention of sins to excommunication from the fellowship of the church on earth and insisted that it is incredible that pope or priest have power or wisdom to pronounce final judgment upon a sinner. Pope and priest are fallible and can only absolve those whom God has before absolved, and one whom God by His inscrutable decree has absolved can not be affected by a sentence pronounced by either. Marsiglius of Padua, anticipating the Protestant opinion, declared that the priest opens and shuts the door as a turnkey, but has no right to say who is to stay out and who is to go through. Wessel said that at best the priestly act is the announcement made by God's herald and nothing more—*ad maximum non est nisi præconis dei promulgatio,* and also that Peter and the Apostles, in binding and loosing were acting by the virtue of their ministry and not by virtue of any authority they possessed. All who yield to their announcements of the promises and threats of the Gospel are truly loosed from captivity to the devil and all who refuse to yield continue in his bonds. Wessel further defended the position that no one among all the saints is either by sex or condition prevented from binding and loosing.[2]

On the other hand, the Council of Trent stated that the penitent is bound to recognize in the priest the person and

power of Christ and that, like the absolute monarchs of old, he exercises the power of life and death. He does more. His sentence applies to both worlds. When he utters the words, "I absolve thee," heaven is opened. When he is silent or refuses to utter the words, heaven is closed. The Tridentine catechism expressly asserts that the Christian priest is not limited to the function performed by the Jewish priest and also teaches that Christ was referring to priestly absolution when he stood at Lazarus' grave and said to the disciples "Loose him and let him go,"—John 11:44.

Calvin and Luther dealt hard blows to the Roman claim of priestly power to grant absolution. Leo, in excommunicating Luther, stigmatized a dozen propositions on penance which the monk had laid down such as the propositions that the pope or a bishop have no more authority to remit guilt than the humblest priest and that, when no priest is present, any Christian, even a woman or a child, may exercise the authority conferred by Christ and forgive sin. Luther replied that Leo had damned saving faith as announced in the Gospel, a thing the devil had never done, and that whosoever hath true faith is already absolved, for Christ had said, "All things are possible to him that believeth," Mark 9:23, and it was through faith that God had cleansed the hearts of Jews and Gentiles alike. Calvin differed from Luther by making a distinction between the power of the keys given to Peter and the Apostles and the power given to the congregation. The latter power he defined as the power of discipline, while the power entrusted to the Apostles was authority to preach. In accordance with this view and upon the questionable interpretation of I Timothy 5:17 "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor." Calvin made "ruling elders" a distinct class of officials in the church.

The declaratory interpretation which makes the power of the keys, equivalent to the commission to announce the promises and punishments spoken of in the Gospel was followed by all the Protestant Confessions. The Augsburg

Confession taught that the power of the keys is "a power or commandment to preach the Gospel and to remit and retain sins, a power put into execution only by teaching or preaching the Word." The Heidelberg catechism says that "the office of the keys is the preaching of the holy Gospel and church discipline by which two things, the kingdom of heaven is open to believers and shut to unbelievers. The Westminster Confession declared that "the keys of the kingdom of heaven are the power to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent both by the Word and censures, and to open it unto penitent sinners by the ministry of the Gospel and by absolution from censures. [3]

§ 5. The Roman and Protestant views compared.—The use of the "key" as the symbol of authority and the expression "binding and loosing" of themselves give no certain clue to what our Lord meant. Their meaning must be interpreted in the light of the New Testament as a whole, which seems to favor the declaratory or Protestant view. In addition to his use of the word "key" when he addressed Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," Christ used it,—Luke 11:52,—in speaking to the lawyers, when he said "Woe unto you lawyers for ye took away the key of knowledge. Ye enter not in yourselves and them that were entering in, ye hindered." Here was meant instruction concerning spiritual things. The Pharisees taught the precepts of men and not the precepts of God. In other places in the New Testament, the word was used by John when he said, that Christ holds the "keys of death and hades" and has "the key of David." No doubt, John was referring to the same thing when he affirmed "Christ openeth and no man shutteth, and he shutteth and no man openeth," Rev. 1:18, 3:7.

The expression "binding and loosing" was in use among the Jews for forbidding and permitting. The Pharisees and scribes exercised this authority when, for example, they declared a fast day and when, as charged by our Lord, they

bind "heavy burdens, grievous to be borne and lay them on men's shoulders, while they themselves will not move them with their fingers,"—Matt. 23:4, Luke 11:46. Christ probably had the Pharisaical practice in mind when he bade all that were heavy-laden to come unto him promising to give them rest. It is also possible that Peter had the same thing in mind at the council meeting in Jerusalem, when he urged that no yoke be laid upon the neck of the Gentile Christians such as the Jews had not been able to bear,—Acts 15:10.

The declaratory interpretation of Christ's words is favored by the following positive Scriptural considerations:—1. Judgment belongs to God alone. God, the Father, "hath given all judgment unto the Son," John 5:21. The Apostles habitually bore witness that Christ is the judge of the living and the dead, and that all must appear before his judgment bar,—Acts 10:42, Rom. 14:10. 2. Christ distinctly affirmed that "No man can forgive sins but God only," Mark 2:7. 3. Peter and Paul preached that all who believe in Christ receive the remission of sins, Acts 10:43, 13:38. They based the believer's redemption invariably upon repentence and faith in Christ, and never on any authority inherent in themselves to forgive. In calling upon the Ephesian and Colossian Christians to forgive one another, Paul put it on the ground that God for Christ's sake had forgiven them. 4. Incidents in the life of Peter show that he was not conscious that any power to absolve sins was conferred upon him. When Simon Magus asked for the gift of the Holy Spirit, the Apostle did not bid him do penance or offer to absolve him. He bade Simon pray to God if, perchance, the thought of his heart might be forgiven. The only other case where Peter might be expected to have exercised the authority of absolving, if he felt that he actually had such authority, was in the case of Cornelius. When the centurion appeared before him, the Apostle uttered no formula of absolution, but, bade Cornelius "Stand up for I myself also am a man," and assured him

that divine grace was freely offered to Gentile as well as Jew.

5. The Lord's Prayer gives positive assurance of immediate absolution by God to those who ask Him, and calls upon men to forgive each other their trespasses. "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you." Christ invariably called men to himself or bade them go to God. Wyclif properly said "a layman may forgive a thief and the pope himself, as it is taught in the Lord's Prayer." The parable of the Pharisee and publican, Luke 18:10–14,—likewise teaches that God is to be directly appealed to for absolution. The publican exclaimed, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and Christ said of him, "This man went down to his house justified rather than the other." No mention is made of the mediation of a priest as necessary. So the Psalmist had looked directly to God, crying out "Have mercy upon me, O God. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin." Bishop Gilmour attempts to find in the parable of the prodigal son, a proof of the pretended power of the priest to absolve when the father forgave his son, Luke 15:11–32. The parable, it would seem, proves the very contrary. In the first place the father was so far as we know not a priest. In the second place, our Lord was intending to show that God forgives sinners who repent and go to Him as freely as the earthly father forgave his wayward and repentant younger son.

A strong extra-scriptural argument against the Roman view is that, in order always to absolve with accuracy, the priest would have to be endowed with supernatural power not only to look over the offender's outward acts but to look into the motives of the offender's heart, for God judgeth by the heart and not by the appearance. At the most, unless the priest have it revealed to him what God's judgment is, the priest's verdict can have no more value than the value which belongs to any good man's verdict. When any man, Protestant or Roman Catholic puts his hand on the Scriptures and adduces a promise of life and forgiveness, the

promise should be assurance enough for him who accepts Christ that his "transgressions are pardoned and his iniquities are covered." The publican needed no human priest and the Ephesians needed no human priest to absolve them.

A telling objection against the Roman theory is based upon the Roman teaching of baptism. The priestly power of the keys does not extend to baptism, the sacrament in which, by the Roman system, sin is forgiven and washed away. If the priest has power to forgive sins he ought to exercise that power when he administers baptism but this he does not pretend to do. As Wessel put it, the priest is no more a judicial absolver in the sacrament of penance than he is a purifier in baptism.

On the one hand, the Roman Catholic may accept the following words, which are the words of a member of the Redemptorist Order: The priest can say, "Lord, when I forgive, my arm is stronger than iron, for I break the chains of sin. My voice thunders like Thine for it bursts the bonds of hell. My word makes an enemy Thy friend. It transforms the slave of hell into an heir of heaven. The ability to forgive sin surpasses all created power in heaven and on earth. An earthly judge has the supreme power to declare guiltless an offender charged with crime. The Catholic priest has the power to make the guilty offender innocent."[4]

On the other hand, the Protestant minister turns the attention of the sinner to the heavenly Savior as the only judge who can forgive the guilty, and if he chooses, may use as expressing the revealed truth the words of Calvin's Liturgy, "Let everyone of you truly remember that he is a sinner, humbling himself before God, and believe that the Father in heaven wishes to be propitious to him in Jesus Christ. To all such, who after this manner do repent and seek Jesus Christ for their salvation, I announce absolution in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost." Or he may follow the solemn words of the Book of Common Prayer, "Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he

may turn from his wickedness and live, hath given power and commandment unto his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins. He pardoneth and absolveth all those who truly repent and believe His Holy Gospel." God is the only source of absolution, and faith and prayer are the infallible path to it.

§ **6. Penitential punishments.**—The history of church censures uncovers a chapter in the annals of our Christian ancestors in the Middle Ages which probably has no defenders today. Their merciless sentences were passed on the principle that the church has full power over the lives of men here and their destinies hereafter and culminated in the tribunal of the inquisition. The church rulers forgot the Gospel of grace and that all judgment belongs to God. The major penalties prescribed by the Roman canon law are excommunication, or the minor anathema, the greater anathema and the interdict. The minor anathema excludes the offender from the Lord's table and the other sacraments. The Council of Trent speaks of those who "are smitten with the sword of excommunication." The greater anathema differs by being pronounced with solemn public services. The interdict extends over a city, district or an entire country and deprives the inhabitants, at least of the open and public administration of the sacraments. These penalties were pronounced alike upon emperors, princes and vassals. The vassals of William II, Count of Provence, who had attempted to rob a convent, were cast off by Benedict VIII with an anathema containing the words, "Let them be accursed in their bodies and let their souls be delivered to destruction and perdition and torture. Let them be damned with the damned and let them be scourged with the thankless. Let them perish with the haughty." The anathemas pronounced against Huss and a century later against Luther by Leo X were as vehement as the anathema against Henry IV launched by Gregory VII, four or five hundred years earlier. Perhaps the last general anathema was Pius IX's

curse pronounced in 1870 upon the Italians who entered Rome and were a party to the vote depriving the Holy see of its temporal authority.

The fearful weapon of the interdict, a sort of spiritual starvation, was, no doubt, in cases used with good results against tyrannous princes, but often used to further the ambitions of pontiffs. Rome itself was put under the interdict, 1155, by Adrian IV, to break up the popular commotion raised by the preaching of Arnold of Brescia and Jerusalem in 1229 to show Gregory IX's displeasure at the refractory Frederick II's successful campaign in the Holy Land. Prague was subjected to the curse, on account of the moral and doctrinal reformation attempted by Huss. Innocent III's earlier interdict placed upon the lands ruled by Raymund of Toulouse, resulted in the destruction of that prince's house as well as heresy in Southern France.

American Protestants have cause for regret as they recall among other cases the notable instance of the exercise of the power of the keys in Mrs. Anne Hutchinson's excommunication in the First church of Boston, after Mrs. Hutchinson had been condemned by the Colonial court. The sentence read by the Rev. Mr. Wilson from the pulpit ran, "I do cast you out and in the name of Christ I do deliver you up to Satan. I do account you from this time forth to be a heathen and a publican. I command you in the name of Jesus Christ and of this church, as a leper, to withdraw yourself out of his congregation." The present-day temper of the Protestant churches and, as we believe also of the Roman church, is to be sparing in the use of church censures and to act in the spirit which our Lord commended when he said, "Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged," and in remembrance of St. Paul's words, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." The modern theory of the rights of private judgment has been, at least in large part, begotten by the spirit of long-suffering and mercy taught in the Gospel. Whatever interpretation is given to the power of the keys,

the power should be exercised in view of our Lord's words to the sinning woman "Neither do I condemn thee," and the words spoken on the Mount: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

§ 7. The value and danger of the confessional.—The confessional, the name given to the institution of telling one's sins to the priest in private and receiving the priest's sentence imposing works of satisfaction and later absolution, has been as warmly praised by Roman Catholics as it has been strongly condemned by Protestants. The position which Protestants take, is that scarcely has any other law been made by the Roman church which is so devoid of Scriptural warrant and so destructive of the freedom which belongs to every Christian. By the canon law, 908–910, confessional boxes are to be placed in churches and chapels and are to be strictly enclosed and furnished with a lattice work or a gauze wire window behind which the priest sits. Those designed for women penitents must be placed "in an open and conspicuous place." Confessions from women are restricted to the sanctuary except in cases of sickness or other bodily infirmities. The obligation to confess begins when the child has reached the age of seven and includes all Roman Catholics. The pope and the inmates of convents, as well as others, have their confessors. The confessor is bidden to remember that he acts as a physician as well as a judge, and to avoid asking curious questions, especially in regard to the observance of the seventh commandment, or to inquire into the name of an accessory to an offence. Young people especially must not be asked about matters of which by reason of their age, they should be ignorant,—can. 888, 889, 909, 910. Mortal sins must be confessed; venial sins need not be. The requirement is that the most hidden offenses be enumerated, sins of thought as well as sins of action. For, as in the medical art, the physician can cure only where the patient's maladies are fully revealed, so the priest can lend help only where his knowledge of the spiritual offenses is perfect, and forgive only those sins which are

confessed to him. The circumstances under which the sins are committed must also be told, for the punishments to be imposed or the comforts to be administered are modified by the circumstances under which the offenses are committed. Specific examples are given by the Tridentine catechism to show what is meant. If murder is the sin, the offender must state whether the victim was a layman or an ecclesiastic. If the sin be illicit intercourse, the offender must state whether the woman was free from marriage engagements, married, a relative, or a person consecrated by a vow. The first sin is pronounced fornication, the second adultery, the third incest, the fourth sacrilege. Again, if the sin be theft and the offender has stolen a guinea, his sin is less grievous than if he had stolen one or two hundred guineas. Confession of all sins is required to be made at least once a year. Confession must be made before partaking of the communion. The seal of the confessional is an absolute requirement. The priest under no circumstances may reveal what has been told him.

Notable attestations have been made to the value of the confessional by worthy Roman Catholics which it is difficult for Protestants to set aside. Cardinal Gibbons has said, "My experience is that the confessional is the most powerful lever ever directed by a merciful God for raising people from the mire of sin. In public sermons, we scatter the seed of the Word of God. In the confessional, we reap the harvest. In sermons, to use a military phrase, the fire is at random. In the confessional, it is a dead shot." On the other hand, Protestants base their hostile judgment on the absence of any hint of the confession of sin to a priest in the New Testament, upon facts of history and the testimonies of persons who have withdrawn from the Roman communion and have had excellent opportunity to know whereof they speak.

The Protestant Reformers, all of whom were brought up in the Roman obedience, with one accord, set their faces against the system as being pernicious as well as unscriptural. They regarded it as adapted to develop loose estimates of the

guilt of sin, and as depreciating the function of the conscience by compelling the offender who has broken God's law to submit to the decisions of a human confessor. The Council of Trent was no doubt justified when it represented the Reformers as treating the confessional as "a slaughter house of consciences." Protestants of today, at least in Protestant countries have had no such experience as their Protestant ancestors of the sixteenth century, but they recall the great abuses to which the institution of the confessional led not only in the Reformation period, but under the hands of the Jesuits at the courts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they have access to the offensive prescriptions of Alfonso de Liguori which are destructive of sound morals. Their positions are the following: In cities like Rome and in those countries where Roman Catholicism has almost exclusive power, the confessional has not raised the standard of social or domestic purity. Women frequent the confessional box almost to the exclusion of men, a fact which may seem to prove, that the alleged benefits of the sacrament are denied by men. Protestants are under the impression that the confessional exposes unmarried priests to unnecessary moral danger, as the practice of "solicitation" and the historic laws against priestly offenses at the confessional box seem to prove. The confessional seems adapted to dull and harden the moral sense of penitents who pour into a confessor's ear secret thoughts which ought not to be spoken except perhaps to the nearest blood relative. It encourages the habit of revealing domestic affairs which ought to be known only by the parties themselves who constitute the home. Dr. McCabe, writing from his experience in a monastery, says that the confessional has "a corruptive influence on girls." Nevertheless it is fair to say that the same author states that the reports of the abuse of the confessional by priests is exaggerated.

Above all the confessional contradicts the spirit and teaching of the New Testament. The Apostolic writings not only contain no suggestions of the institution, but the

principles they inculcate are against it. The injunction of the Apostle James 5:16—"Confess your sins one to another" gives no countenance to the church custom of priestly confession. The writer was not speaking of priests, or of absolution. He called upon Christians indiscriminately to confess their sins one to another, as he called upon them to pray for one another. Where is there a case in the New Testament of a priest giving absolution of sin or the remotest hint of such a thing? Christ came to lead men into the presence of God. He said: "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." "Through Christ," said the Apostle, "we have forgiveness of our sins." If Christ or his Apostles intended that believers should confess their sins to a priest why did they not say so? If, after we have prayed to God, "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors," we are under obligation to go to a confessor to be forgiven, why should we not also be obliged to go to the priest for our daily bread after we have offered the preceding petition "Give us this day our daily bread."

Protestantism, although it protests against the confessional as an institution unwarranted in the Christian scheme, includes among the functions of the pastor the advisory function. The pastor is the counsellor of all who are in perplexity of spirit or body and choose to go to him for advice. The "open door," as it has been called, stands for this ministerial function. In these latter days the advisory relation of pastors has suffered in consequence of the general circulation of the Scriptures and secondary religious writings and the relatively larger influence exerted by physicians, lawyers and men of other professions as givers of counsel. Protestants also recognize that godly and instructed laymen, men and women, may be as competent or even more competent to give wholesome spiritual counsel than ministers. Consultation on matters of religion and moral behavior is with Protestants a voluntary exercise. With Roman Catholics it is required. A Protestant confessional is a misnomer. The confessional implies compulsion. Protest-

ants know no law obliging them to confess their sins, except to God and the party offended, where the offense is against another. They recognize no mortal man with the right to say "I absolve thee," when the offense is against God. Long ago, Zwingli in his LXVII Conclusions expressed a true principle of Protestantism when he recommended persons in spiritual trouble to go to a minister or to some other person spiritually minded for consultation and advice, not for absolution.

§ 8. **Indulgences.**—Indulgences differ from other pardons granted by the priest in form or, in view of the historic use of the power of granting them, in the number of persons to which they are applied.[5] The word "indulgence," taken from the Latin means a pardon or exemption from a debt and is used by the Vulgate in Isa. 61:1 but not in the parallel passage Luke 4:18, "He has sent me to proclaim deliverance to the captives." The Roman rule, as has been said, allows indulgences for sins already committed, and has no reference to sins of the future. To what has already been said in a previous chapter, the following may be added: The Council of Trent devoted a single paragraph to the subject, derived the authority for indulgences from Christ, and pronounced the anathema on those who assert that the church has no authority to grant them. It also acknowledged the abuses to which the sale of indulgences had led and forbade "evil gains" derived from their bestowment. According to Gury, Beringer, Paulus and other Roman writers, an indulgence is to be disassociated from the sacrament of penance. It is an extra-sacramental remission of the temporal punishments due to sin which the sinner would otherwise have to undergo in the sight of God and is more than a release from the obligation to meet and work off canonical penalties. Such is the usual theological definition today. The papal indulgences of the sixteenth century certainly went further, and extended the release to the guilt of sin. The right to announce them has been restricted to the pope and bishops. Pius XI, 1923 extended the right

to cardinals, who are not priests, in their own titular churches. Their benefits accrue to the living and to souls in purgatory, who belong to the tribunal of the church militant. The Catechism of Pius X and the Plenary catechisms limit the remission to "temporal penalties due for sin and are plenary when all the temporal penalty is removed or partial when a part of it is removed." In the sixteenth century the German Diet of 1552 thought differently, and treated the remission of indulgences as given for all sorts of sins. Its decree ran "By the sale of pardons, besides being stripped of our money, Christian piety is extinguished and any one may promise himself impunity by paying a tax set on the sin he may propose to commit. Hence fornications, incests, adulteries, perjuries, murders, thefts, and all manner of crimes are perpetrated."

Indulgences profit the living by way of absolution and souls in purgatory by the way of the suffrages of those who are alive on the earth, that is by prayers, almsgiving, fasting and other good works.

In giving an indulgence the church draws upon the so-called storehouse or treasury of merits—*cumulus, thesaurus meritorum*—a mediæval invention outlined with exactness by Alexander of Hales and Schoolmen who followed him. This treasury consists of the merits of Christ, which are infinite, of Mary and also the merits of the saints which were above what they required for their salvation. It is a sort of savings-bank account upon which drafts may be drawn at will by the proper ecclesiastical dispensers. Clement VI, to whom we owe the finished definition, declared, 1343, that one drop of Christ's blood is sufficient for the world's salvation, but that Christ shed, as it were, a flood of blood and thus secured for the militant church a deposit of infinite value. This deposit is not intended to be kept hid as in a napkin or in a field but to be drawn upon and used. Clement added the comfortable doctrine that the more the fund is drawn upon, the more does it increase so that today it ought to be considerably larger than it was in Clement's time.

Wyclif, who was entering into full manhood when Clement sat in the papal chair, spoke of "the fond fantasy of spiritual treasure in heaven that each pope is made dispenser at will of the treasure, a thing dreamed of without ground."

In his bull of March 31, 1515, arranging for the sale of indulgences for the repair of St. Peters, Leo X "as the servant of the servants of God" drew from "the treasury of holy mother church and by the authority committed to him over souls in purgatory" and assured the purchasers of forgiveness for sins in this life and in the intermediate realm.

In spite of the moderation of the Tridentine treatment, the practice of dispensing indulgences on a large scale continued. Cardinal Bellarmine spoke of some as having a value of 15,000 to 20,000 years, and the recent Jesuit writer, Schneider, extends the limit to 60,000 years. Pius IX and Leo XIII were particularly liberal in granting them and lists of hundreds of them are in print which give hundreds of pardons of 100 days or 300 days or of a term of years, assured to those who offer once daily a brief ejaculatory prayer to Mary, or Joseph, or Michael or other angels. The efficacious prayer to the archangel Michael, appointed by Leo, runs "Defend us in the battle, lest we perish in the awful judgment to come." Mindful of his favorite theological teacher, Thomas Aquinas, Leo conceded an indulgence of 100 days to those who once daily begin their studies with the petition,"O blessed Thomas, obtain for us from God, through Jesus Christ, invincible faith, warm love, most chaste lives, and true knowledge." On the occasion of the 600th anniversary of Thomas' canonization, 1923, Pius XI further honored the saint by announcing an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines for the use of one of the Schoolman's prayers. Leo did not omit Alphonso de Liguori. As a reward for a prayer said once to this saint, Roman Catholics are entitled to 200 days of indulgence. A compensation of seven years and seven quarantines are granted for each daily repetition of a given prayer to the "precious blood of Jesus."

The Protestant is amazed at the multitude of these indulgences and the wholesale largess with which they are sold by Roman Catholic sodalities and fraternities, sisterhoods and convents, all with the permission of bishops and other prelates, or by immediate decrees of Roman pontiffs. If a devout person would choose to avail himself of a few of them daily, they would bring to him for each day's use, thousands of years of relief from penalties which might otherwise be imposed in the confessional or have been imposed. One of the famous indulgences for the dead, with a value of three hundred days, is the "Litany of the Most Holy Heart of Jesus" issued by Leo, 1889, containing fifty ejaculatory petitions, such as "O heart of Jesus," "fount of love and sanctity," "O heart of Jesus, the light of all the saints," "O Jesus, mild and gentle of heart." There is before the writer a paper promising an indulgence of 300 days for each day a crucifix is worn, called the Pardon Crucifix. It was granted by Pius X, June 1st, 1905, and on November 14th of the same year, its blessings were made applicable to the dead as well as to the living. The Pious Union of the Pardon Crucifix offers a crucifix which, if kissed, imparts "each time 100 days indulgence." Whoever says a part of the Lord's Prayer, or "I beg thee, Blessed Virgin Mary, to pray to the Lord our God for me," gains each time 7 years and 7 quarantines. More wonderful still, the promise is given that whoever at the moment of death with a contrite heart and fortified with the sacraments, kisses the pardon crucifix, "gains a plenary indulgence." If such offers, which are numerous, are distributed through leaflets and in manuals of devotion printed in America, what limit can be expected to be placed on the distribution of like favors in Roman Catholic countries? In 1898 a new check was put upon indulgences good for an excessive duration of time by the Congregation of Indulgences, which according to the Manual of Pius X's catechism, revoked all such favors extending beyond a thousand years, p. 510.

In view of the system of church indulgences what

becomes of the simple words of the psalmist "I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin—Ps. 32: 5. Mic. 61: 8? Or what shall we do with the words of the Apostle, "If we confess our sins, *he* is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness,"—I John 1:8? Wyclif, who lifted up his voice mightly against the indulgence practice, spoke as a Protestant might when he said "Let every man put his full confidence and trust in God's mercy and in his own good life and not in false pardons or vanities that men grant for love of money. For such tricks avail not but deceive men that trust in them." Arnold's ed. 3: 453.

CHAPTER XXI

ORDINATION AND EXTREME UNCTION

Habite ne maketh monk ne frere;
But a clean life and devotion
Maketh gode men of religioun.
—Chaucer.

FOR both Protestants and Romanists, ordination is the solemn induction into the sacred ministry. Wide differences exist between them over the origin and effect of ordination, the ranks or grades of the ministry, the person competent to ordain and the qualifications of candidates seeking ordination or orders.[1]

§ 1. **Origin and effect of ordination.**—By the Roman definition, ordination is a sacrament and communicates special grace as well as authority. Four things are ascribed to it by the Council of Trent. It is "properly and truly" one of the sacraments; it was instituted by Christ; it confers grace; it imparts an indelible mark. This definition the council based upon the alleged "testimony of Scripture, Apostolic tradition and the unanimous consent of the Fathers." The single passage quoted is Paul's call upon Timothy to stir up the grace which was in him by the laying on of hands,—II Tim. 1: 6. The ordained ministry by the Roman system is indispensable to the church. The grace or virtue which passes to the priest when the words are uttered by the ordaining bishop "receive ye the Holy Ghost," is the right to celebrate the mass, to absolve and retain sins and to guide the people that they may come to eternal bliss. Upon those who deny that the Holy Spirit is given, the anathema is pronounced. The power which the Roman priest is be-

lieved to have is a power to give spiritual blessings or withhold them as Joseph gave or withheld the food stored up in his granaries. It is called by the Tridentine catechism, "the power of the immortal God," and is regarded as imparted to the priest and indwelling in the priest. The Archbishop of Salzburg, Dr. Katschthaler, felt justified in using the following words—February 2nd, 1905—"Honor your priest for the priest has the power to offer and to forgive sins. Would not men marvel if one lived who, by his simple words, could make a negro white or could make a leper clean by saying, I will be thou clean? When the priest in the confessional says, I release thee from thy sin, he effects—*wirkt*—something even still greater. The priest's words effect forgiveness. God has given His omnipotence for this purpose to the priest, his vicar on earth. Even Mary, the mother of God and queen of heaven, is not able to do this. Although she is the spouse of the Holy Ghost, the mistress of the universe, all she can do is to pray for our absolution. Absolve sins, she cannot. The priest's second power is to change the bread into the body of Christ. Mary brought forth Christ, the Son of God, once. The priest creates him a hundred, yea, a thousand times, and under the priest's hands, as it were, Christ is reborn. There in the manger was the divine child, little and mortal. Here on the altar, under the priest's hands is Christ in his glory, incapable of suffering death, the only begotten Son of the Father by whom heaven and earth were created, who bears up the whole universe, and is subject to the priest's will." In contrast with this statement, are Luther's words, written in his commentary on the Philippians, "There before the altar our priest or minister stands, having been publicly called to his priestly function while we all kneel beside him and around him, men and women, old and young, master and servant, all holy priests together, sanctified by the blood of Christ."

In the Protestant system, ordination is an observance, not a sacrament. It was not instituted by Christ; it does not confer grace; it does not impart an indelible mark.

An ordained ministry is not necessary to the existence of the church. Ordination is the Christian recognition of persons as ministers, with authority to preach, to administer the sacraments and to do pastoral service. The act of ordination does not prepare a minister for the performance of his functions. It gives him no inward virtue, which he did not have before. It is the recognition that he has fitness for the ministerial office. Ordination, said Luther, "is nothing more than a certain rite of choosing preachers for service in the church." The Westminster Assembly's Form of Government speaks of it as "the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office." The Cambridge Platform a few years later, 1648, pronounced ordination to be "nothing else but the solemn putting of a man into his place and office in the church whereunto he had right before by election, being like the installing of a magistrate in the commonwealth."

In view of the alleged Apostolic succession, whereby bishops pass on grace and authority, received originally from the Apostles, the Roman church recognizes no ministers but those of its own ordination. Other ministers, so-called, are likened to the thief of the parable which "cometh but for to steal and to kill,"—John 10:10. As a rule, Protestant bodies accept the ordination of Roman Catholic priests and content themselves in case of their becoming Protestants with ascertaining the purity of their motives. To deny the validity of Roman ordination, would mean to call in question the right of Luther, Zwingli and other Protestant Reformers to perform clerical acts. These men went through no service of re-ordination. Calvin probably was never ordained by a human service. The view asserted by the Scotch Confession of 1560, that "The ministers of the papisticail kirk are na ministers of Christ Jesus: zea—quhilk is mair horrible—they suffer women whome the Haly Ghaist will not suffer to teache in the congreatioun, to baptise," sufficed for the strenuous times in which John Knox lived.

§ 2. The seven orders.—The Roman communion holds

that there are seven ranks or orders in the ministry, three major orders, priest, deacon and sub-deacon, and four minor orders, acolyte, exorcist, reader and doorkeeper. These seven, known as majorists and minorists, were in existence, according to the Council of Trent, "from the very beginning of the church," and the priesthood, diaconate and perhaps also the sub-diaconate, go back to the institution of the Apostles. The popular conception that the bishops constitute a distinct order, is contradicted by the Pontificale and the Council of Trent. Ordination to the seven orders is preceded by the tonsure. The age for the ordination of the deacon is twenty-three, of the priest twenty-five, of the bishop thirty, or one day before he reaches the age of thirty. The members of the major orders are bound for life to serve the church and cannot return to a worldly calling except by papal dispensation or, in case of a sub-deacon, by permission of his superior.

With the exception of the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church, Protestants agree in setting aside the distinction of three orders in the ministry and recognize a single order or at best, two orders of Scriptural appointment, presbyters, a clerical order, and deacons, a lay order. The English Reformers, when they assented to the distinction of bishop, priest and deacon, assented to it not as a New Testament requirement, but as a matter of expediency and a wise form of government. The Institutions of a Christian Man of 1537, denied the distinction of the orders, saying that, "in the New Testament, there is no mention made of any degrees or distinction in orders but only of deacons or ministers, and priests or bishops." Along this line, Cranmer, replying to Henry VIII, 1540, said that "bishops and priests were at one time one and were not two things, but both one officer in the beginning of Christ's religion."[2] Luther might have had ordination by bishops had he so desired, for the bishops of Sameland and Pommerania accepted the new order. The first of the new Lutheran ministers, Rörer, was ordained by Luther. In

the regulations of Calvin for Geneva and the Church of Scotland, and by the Westminster Form of Government and the Cambridge Platform, four permanent church offices were recognized as being of Apostolic origin, the offices of pastor, teacher, "elder of the people," and deacon. The offices of apostle, prophet and evangelist, Eph. 4:11 were pronounced "extraordinary which are ceased." The distinction of "pastor" and "teacher" which passed from Geneva to New England, was based upon a comma placed in the Greek text between the two words. Both officers administered the sacraments or, as they were also called, the seals.

§ 3. **Origin of orders.**—The office of deacon rests upon the appointment of the seven deacons by the Apostles—Acts 6. It included instruction for Stephen and Philip preached. The two terms "bishop" and "presbyter," in the New Testament, are two names for the same officer and are used interchangeably, and are to be compared with such double titles for the same person as minister and clergyman, doctor and physician, moderator and chairman. When the "elders" whom Paul summoned from Ephesus stood before him at Miletus, he addressed them as "bishops," Acts 20:17, 28. The Council of Trent took the position that presbyters and bishops were two different officers. The light of modern scholarship has made the distinction impossible. The name presbyter—elder—was taken from Jewish usage, the name bishop from Greek usage and meant overseer. The word "bishop" has been found on many Egyptian tablets as a frequent title of civil officials. When Paul, writing to the Philippians, addressed his letter to the "bishops and deacons," he must have meant the same persons, for it was his habit to appoint elders in every city,—Acts 14:23. Philippi was one of the places where he started a church and it is unlikely that the Apostle would depart from his usual custom and omit to appoint elders there. The three titles, bishop, elder and deacon are never put together in the New Testament as though they stood for three distinct offices and made up a whole. Jerome, the best critical student of his

age, a man who advocated episcopacy, declared that in the beginning there was no distinction between bishops and elders and that the distinction was the result of contentions in the church. Their identity is attested by most of the earliest post-apostolic writers, as Clement of Rome, the author of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Polycarp. Clement urged the Corinthians to obey their presbyters, against whom, so he wrote, one or two persons had made sedition. He did not speak of a superintending bishop and if there had been such an officer, it is inexplicable that he did not mention him. In saying, "Christ is from God and the Apostles from Christ and that the Apostles appointed their first fruits to be bishops and deacons," he must have meant by "bishops" the persons known also by the name presbyters who exercised the office of "episcopacy" or of overlooking the affairs of the congregation. The Teaching of the Twelve speaks of only two officials in the local church, bishops and deacons whom it bids "render the service of prophets and teachers." Polycarp called upon the Philippians to submit to "the presbyters and deacons" and did not mention a bishop in his greeting sent to the church at Philippi. Ignatius was an exception to the writers of the early half of the second century when he laid particular stress upon the person whom he called "bishop." However, he did not address his letters to bishops but to congregations. Writing to the Philippians, he spoke of delegates from that church travelling to Antioch to congratulate him on the prosperity of the Antiochean church now as bishops, now as presbyters, now as deacons. With Ignatius, the high churchman of the early church, the bishop seems to have been a presiding officer sitting in the midst of a college of presbyters as Christ sat at the head of the college of Apostles.

By the year 150, the government of the churches had undergone a change and, so far as we know, the office of bishop as distinct from the presbyters prevailed widely, if not universally. This is what is now known in some quarters as the "historic episcopate." The appointment of a

distinct officer as a president in the board of presbyters, agrees with the usual method for the management of corporate bodies. Congregations would easily come to recognize one of their officials as being endowed above his fellows with the gift of maintaining order, giving counsel, speaking to edification and distributing the alms offerings and treat him as the "president," the name used by Justin Martyr about 140. A century later episcopacy or the form of government which included bishops as superior officers, was given explicit statement by Cyprian, the chief organizing genius of the early church. The North African, himself Bishop of Carthage, treated bishops as successors of the Apostles appointed to govern the churches and stated the doctrine that to them had been confided the deposit of Christian truth and the duty of defining what the truth is. He went much further and made the bishop essential to the very being of the church, without whom there could be no church, or, as he put it "the church is in the bishop."

The Roman church, so far as church administration goes, was Cyprianic until it adopted the dogmas of the papal supremacy and infallibility. But it is and was unscriptural in making its form of government a necessary mark of a Christian church and pronouncing other forms than its own unwarranted and a mark of heresy. No particular form of administration was appointed by the Apostles unless it be government by presbyter-bishops and deacons. Protestants hold that church administration is a matter of preference and expediency and new exegencies may be met by the creation and appointment of officials with new functions such as evangelists, missionary physicians and missionary teachers and also nurses, after the example of Priscilla, Phœbe and Persis.

§ 4. **Forms of ordination.**—The New Testament word translated "ordained" in the Authorized Version, has properly been changed to "appoint" in the Revised Version. The term "ordination" suggests a formal and uniform cere-

mony of which the New Testament probably knows nothing. So far as the outward act of ordination goes, Roman Catholics and Protestants both agree in the venerable practice of laying-on-of-hands, although Calvin in the Geneva Ordinances recommended that it be laid aside for a time. Christ seems not to have laid his hands on the heads of the twelve Apostles. After his resurrection he "lifted up his hands and blessed them" and "breathed upon them, saying Receive ye the Holy Ghost," Luke 24:50, John 20:22. The custom of the laying on of hands, as a form of blessing was followed by our Lord when children and the sick were brought to him. The disciples laid their hands on the sick. The seven deacons were set apart with prayer and the imposition of the hands of the Apostles,—Acts 6:9. Ananias laid his hands upon Paul,—Acts 9:12—that Paul might receive his sight and Manæn and other teachers laid their hands on Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, approving their missionary tour. Paul and the presbytery laid their hands on Timothy when he was set apart for the ministry, —I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6. Protestants agree with Augustine when he said "what is the imposition of hands but prayer said over the man." It is a symbolic act representing the heavenly benediction prayed for.[3] The Roman Catholic theory is that with the laying on of hands the Holy Spirit is given. The outward form and words were pronounced by Leo XIII, 1896, essential, when he condemned Anglican orders as invalid on account of "defect in form and intention," a decree which he pronounced to be "forever valid and in force."[4] In the ordination of the Roman priest, the stole, chasuble, chalice, paten and oil are used. The stole signifies the yoke of Christ; the chasuble, love; the oil, the right to bless and consecrate the elements. The bishop imparts spiritual power when he offers the chalice, saying, "Receive the power to offer the mass as a sacrifice to God." Finally, he confers the power of absolution when placing his hands on the kneeling candidate, he says, "Receive the Holy Spirit, whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted and

whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." In the consecration of a bishop, the symbols used are the staff, indicating the right to rule; the ring, the sign of zeal for the bride of God, that is the holy church; a copy of the Gospels, the symbol of preaching; and the mitre to indicate the helmet of salvation and war against the enemies of the truth. The ordination to the diaconate and priesthood must precede consecration to the episcopate. In the case of Photius of Constantinople and Thomas à Becket of Canterbury, the three transactions occurred within a period of a few days.

Among Protestants, as the being of the church does not depend upon the ministry, likewise the ministerial office does not depend upon any particular form of ordination, except in the Anglican communion. In the Book of Common Prayer, two forms of consecration are provided. By the first, a special gift is imparted. By the second, God's blessing is invoked. In both cases, a copy of the Bible is given to the candidate and emphasis laid upon the function of preaching. In the other Protestant churches all symbolic rites, except the laying on of hands, are dispensed with, and the service of ordination is performed by fellow ministers or presbyters in the presence of a congregation of Christian people.

§ 5. Qualifications for the ministry.—The Roman and Protestant systems agree that persons seeking ordination should be examined and found spiritually and intellectually competent for the performance of the duties of the ministry. A proper theological training is required by both. The Roman canon law,—972 seq—requires a seminary course of four years. In Protestant churches the period of training is usually three years. Among Protestants, stress is laid upon what is known as "a divine call to the ministry" by which is meant the inward persuasion of the candidate that he has been summoned into the ministry by God. The matter is stated by the Westminster Form of Government in this way, that "no one ought to take up the office of a minister of the Word without a lawful calling." By the Roman theory, the bishop in ordaining confers grace no matter who the

candidate is. In the Protestant system, ordination is meaningless unless the candidate be inwardly called. Its ministry is a charismatic ministry, that is, it gets its authority from the endowments imparted by the Holy Spirit.

By the Roman Catholic practice, the priesthood alone decides who may or who may not enter its ranks. The Council of Trent expressly denied that "either the consent or vocation or authority of the people" is required for valid ordination. The canon law—108, 109—also makes ordination wholly independent of the will of the Christian body. Pius VI declared the theory that "the power of the ministry is derived from the body of the faithful" heresy. There is, however, in the Roman service a reminiscence that the assent of the church was expected, for the presenter requests the bishop to ordain in these words, "Most Reverend father, holy mother church, asks that you ordain these deacons to the work of the priesthood." Cardinal Bellarmine, in setting forth the Roman view, says "that it is not the body of Christians but it is the bishops who call ministers. The vocation and the mission of ministers does not pertain to the people but to the bishops and particularly to the supreme pontiff."[5]

The Protestant principle, as laid down by Luther and other Reformers, is that the right of admitting to the ministry pertains to the body of Christian people. Any man, says Dr. Hodge in his *Church Polity*, p. 201, "is a minister who is recognized as such by a Christian community. The being of the ministry does not depend upon the rite of ordination. This principle was set forth from the first in the Protestant Confessions. The two Helvetic Confessions declare that the minister must be chosen by the church or its representatives before he is set apart with prayer and the laying on of hands. The First Scotch Book of Discipline declared that "the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned and public admission makes men lawful ministers of the Word and sacraments." The inward call of the candidate is taken for granted.

In the history of the Christian church, new centers of the Apostolic ministry have been, from time to time, started without the accompaniment of an ordaining rite, and have had the blessing of heaven. This seems to have been the case with the congregation at Antioch which was organized without Apostolic ministration. The grace of God, seems to have been upon it before any Apostle went to the city. It was the case notably with the Methodists. When John Wesley applied in vain for episcopal ordination for his new body of ministers, he, himself, a presbyter, appointed and set apart ministers. The question was not whether Methodist ministers had or had not the customary ritual of consecration, but whether they were fitted for their duties and beneficent results follow their labors. Paul was outside the usual succession and was ordained not of man nor through man, but immediately by God. The Holy Spirit is no more bound to a particular ritual today than he was nineteen centuries ago. In giving the test of his ministry, Paul pointed to his labors, to his divine call, the hardness he had undergone and the fruits of his activity. He and Barnabas were accredited by the synod meeting in Jerusalem for "having hazarded their lives for the name of Christ,"—Acts 15:26.

§ 6. **Withdrawal from the ministry.**—In the words of the Council of Trent, "the character imprinted at ordination can neither be effaced nor taken away." The statement is the warrant for the expression, "Once a priest, always a priest." In opposition to this well-meant theological maxim ran the old words based on daily observation that all are not monks who wear the cowl—*cucullus non facit monachum.* According to Thomas Aquinas, when a priest is excommunicated, he loses jurisdiction but not power. No habit, however unworthy it be, deprives the priest of the stamp and virtue of the priesthood. It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand why, if an excommunicated priest retains the priestly "character," his ecclesiastical acts do not confer spiritual

virtue. Upon those who hold that a priest may pass back into the lay state, the Council of Trent pronounced the anathema. Protestants agree that the church, being fallible, may make a mistake when it ordains a minister and depose one to whom it has given authority in ordination and also that a minister may demit the calling of the ministry if he discovers that he has made a mistake in seeking ordination and is unfitted for the sacred calling. In both cases, he ceases to be recognized as a minister and, if he performs ministerial acts, the matter is the concern of his own conscience. This was the position taken by Luther in his Babylonish Captivity, and he declared that the sole difference "between the clergyman and other Christians is his ministry," that is his service. The clergyman does not possess any inherent virtue. Nevertheless Protestants hold it fitting that clerical functions be limited to persons regularly set apart and recognized by a group of Christians. When Rev. John Robinson, in 1623, was asked by the "ruling elder," William Brewster, of the Plymouth church, whether he would be justified in administering the sacraments, the pastor in Leyden wrote back that "he judged it not lawful for Brewster to administer them nor convenient if lawful," and so the Plymouth church continued for several years longer to be without the sacraments. Robinson's judgment was based, as he wrote, upon Calvin's distinction between "elders, that rule" and elders "that labor in word and doctrine."

§ 7. **Extreme unction.**—Extreme unction, called also unction of the sick and the sacrament of the dying, is applied in the Roman church to those who are supposed to be hopelessly sick. The term "extreme," according to Pius X's catechism is derived from this anointing being the last of the anointings, oil having been used previously in baptism, confirmation and ordination. The Council of Trent, in pronouncing the rite a true sacrament instituted by Christ, based its appointment upon the "anointing" which is frequently spoken of in the New Testament and the mention of

anointing with material oil in at least two cases. The disciples whom Christ sent out two by two, applied oil "to many that were sick and healed them" Mark 6:13, and James prescribed that the sick should call for the elders—presbyters—of the church, that the elders might pray over them, anointing them with oil, Jas. 5:14. The word "elders" used by James is interpreted by the Tridentine catechism to mean bishops and priests and is falsely translated in the Rheims version "priests," "Let him bring in the priests of the church." To its credit the Vulgate retained the word "presbyters." Hugo of St. Victor, Peter the Lombard and other Schoolmen derived the church ordinance from the Apostles. Thomas Aquinas derived it directly from Christ.

The element used in extreme unction is olive oil consecrated by the bishop and it is administered to the hands, eyes and to other parts of the body with the exception of the reins. The efficacy of the sacrament is pronounced by the Council of Trent to consist in conferring grace, remitting sin and often restoring to health. It is correllated to sins left unremitted by previous confessions and absolutions. The sacrament also annuls the sentence of excommunication. The rite may be administered the second time in case the party recovers or oftener.

In England in the fourteenth century, he who received extreme unction and recovered was expected to abstain from meat, never to touch his feet to the ground or cohabit with his wife. According to the Plenary catechism, extreme unction takes away mortal sin, even though the dying be no longer able to confess and provided he have sorrow for his sins. If there is a doubt whether the party be penitent, the sacrament is to be administered conditionally—can. 941. Though the party passes into an unconscious state after having asked for the rite, it is to be administered. The Council of Trent sent out four separate anathemas against those who hold that the sacrament of extreme unction was not instituted by Christ and promulgated by

James, that it does not remit sin, or confer grace, that it may without sin be rejected and "say that the presbyters of the church in James were not priests ordained by a bishop but the elders in each community." Although the council pronounced the contempt of the sacrament a "great offense" the canon law—944—states that the sacrament is not a necessary means of salvation, but at the same time provides that under no circumstances is it to be neglected.

Protestants reject extreme unction as a sacrament on two grounds. 1. There is no record in the Gospels that our Lord instituted it. When the word "anointing" is used in the New Testament, it signifies for the most part the anointing of the Holy Spirit. Our Lord anointed the eyes of the blind—John 9:11—but it was with clay. In none of his cures is he reported to have used oil. 2. James' statement-5:14–16—does not cover the Roman sacrament. It runs thus:—"Is any among you sick, let him call for the elders of the church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick and the Lord shall raise him up and, if he have committed sin, it shall be forgiven him. Confess therefore your sins one to another and pray for one another that ye may be healed." James spoke of the sick, not of the dying and the service which he counselled was for the restoration of the sick to health not to prepare them for death. He laid the emphasis on the prayer of faith as being instrumental to the recovery, and such prayer, Christians of all sorts are urged by James to make one for the other. Scarcely anywhere in his Babylonish Captivity was Luther more severe than in his treatment of the ecclesiastical perversion of the service commended by James.

Above all, the rite of extreme unction is adapted to foster a superstitious belief in the sacramental virtue of the priest and to be an opiate for persons to continue in ungodliness and sin. For the priest in administering it gives, as it were, a sure passport to purgatory and finally to heaven. It was perhaps to modify the danger of such superstitious

reverence that the words which the priest is enjoined to use in extreme unction, and no other sacrament, are put in the form of a prayer. By the prescription of the Holy Office, April 25, 1906, the priest says, "May the Lord through this extreme unction grant unto thee forgiveness for thy transgressions. Amen." The unction or "anoiling" upon which the New Testament lays stress is the unction from the Holy One—I John 2:20. There can be no objection to the rite of unction as an act of faith and of prayer on the part of the sick and those whom the sick call in, provided that due regard be had for medical aid. As a sacrament imparting the forgiveness of sins, it has no biblical warrant. Both ordination and extreme unction are institutions created by ecclesiastical theology.

CHAPTER XXII

MARRIAGE

CHRISTIAN marriage is the permanent union between one man and one woman as husband and wife and, as the Book of Common Prayer enjoins, "it is not to be entered into unadvisedly or lightly, but advisedly, soberly and in the fear of God." The union is not a physical connection merely, but a spiritual companionship in which husband and wife seek to promote each other's higher welfare or, as Paul puts it, love one another and sanctify one another by counsel and protection, forbearance and prayer. It is based on the natural endowments whereby man and woman complement one another.

In these recent times, the attempt is being made to show the superiority of the Roman system over the Protestant by claiming that marriage in the Roman church has a sanctity not given to it in Protestant lands. The attitude which the Roman system takes to divorce makes the claim plausible. But the claim is delusive. The alleged profanation of the marriage tie in Protestant lands has no warrant in Protestant teachings. The last four hundred years are an open book and make it apparent to him who reads, with a desire to spread the truth, that the estimate put on marital fidelity in Roman Catholic countries has been, to say the least, no higher than the estimate put on it where Protestants have lived.

§ 1. **The dignity of Christian marriage.**—Among Christians the family, which is the first of human institutions, was given a dignity which it had lost or perhaps never had. In Greece, the position of woman did not rise with the growth

of intellectual and artistic culture. How was it possible for the estimate of wedlock to be high among a people who ascribed unrestrained sexual license to Jupiter and other gods and devoted the temple of Aphrodite in Corinth and other temples to the practice of lust? When Socrates was asked whether there was any one with whom he communed less than his wife, his reply was, "No one or at least very few." In Rome, successful wars brought a vast increase of slaves through whom the marriage bond was weakened and conjugal virtue reduced. The slave was at the arbitrary disposition of her master. The husband, vested with the plenitude of power, exercised jurisdiction of life or death over the wife. Under the empire, those highest in position set the example of unbridled passion. Divorce was easy, Mæcenas spoke of men married a thousand times, and several centuries later, Jerome mentioned nuptials where the husband had been married twenty-one times before and the bride had had twenty-two previous husbands.

The treatment of marriage occupies no small place in the discourses and acts of Christ. He was present at the feast in Cana. He traced the marriage bond to the divine appointment whereby man was created male and female. He bade a man leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife. He drew several of his parables from the marriage festival. In these ways he showed his sympathy with the married state. The Apostle Paul compared the marriage relation to the relation existing between Christ and the church. Fifty years later, Ignatius counselled that marriage be entered into with an eye to the glory of God. No practical subject had more frequent treatment at the hands of the Christian writers. Tertullian spoke of husband and wife engaging together in family prayer and song and going in company to church and to the Lord's table. "Words cannot be found," he wrote, "to tell fully the happiness of the marriage which the church cements. What a bond is the bond which binds two believers, partakers of one hope, one desire, of one and the same service! Their joys and their sorrows are one.

They know no secrets." "What women have these Christians!" came to be a remark of the heathen. Nonna, Anthusa, Monica were model mothers. Augustine was bearing witness to the new conception of womanhood under the Christian system when he explained that at the creation woman was taken, not from man's head that man might rule over her, nor from his foot to be kept down as a slave, but from his side to be his equal and companion. With Constantine, the Christian ideal began to find embodiment in the Roman law. Adultery was punished as "an atrocious crime." Virgins were protected and women accorded certain legal rights in the disposition of their property.

Protestants and Romanists alike agree in honoring marriage as an institution of divine appointment and in making monogamy the law. They differ over the questions whether marriage is a sacrament, what constitutes a perfectly valid marriage, whether the unmarried state deliberately chosen in a vow is more excellent than the married relation, and whether the marriage bond may be dissolved with the privilege of remarriage.

§ 2. **The Roman sacrament of marriage.**—In the Roman church marriage is defined as a sacrament but as having of all the sacraments "the least of spirituality." The Council of Trent followed up its definition with eleven anathemas and all opposing it were designated as "impious and insanely minded men." The council made the charge that "under the guise of the Gospel, as was their wont, the Reformers introduced carnal license." The grace which the sacrament is taught to confer aids the parties in the attainment of three objects:—the procreation and training of children, the resistence of incontinency, and the mutual edification of husband and wife. Thomas Aquinas treated "the sacrament as a certain remedial grace against sin" and repeatedly taught that the chief good of marriage is offspring or, to use Augustine's words, which the Schoolman quoted with approval, "A woman's sole purpose in marriage should be motherhood."

The Council of Trent based the sacramental character of marriage on Christ's confirmation of the original institution as appointed by God and on the analogy which Paul drew between wedlock and Christ's union with the church. Without misgiving, it used the Vulgate translation of Eph. 5:32, "this is a great sacrament," as all Roman controversialists down to Cardinal Gibbons have done and also pontiffs to Leo XIII in *arcanum* and Pius X. Paul was referring not to wedlock but to the union of Christ and the church, and when he said "this is a great *mystery*," explicitly declared that he was speaking of "Christ and the church." There is no hint in the New Testament that the marriage ceremony was performed by any of the Apostles or any of the local church officers or that Christ commissioned the Apostles to perform the ceremony. The Roman writer, Lehmkuhl, says frankly that in the absence of ecclesiastical tradition, "it would be very difficult to get from the Scriptures and the Fathers, clear and decisive proof that marriage in the strict sense of the word is a sacrament."[1]

§ 3. **Valid marriage.**—The Roman church, in virtue of the claim that it is the custodian of the sacraments, determines for its constituents what a valid marriage is. The conditions are that the parties consent together in the presence of a priest and of two witnesses. At least one of the parties must be a Roman Catholic. The Syllabus of 1864 declared that wedlock, to be true and legitimate, must be a sacrament. The sacramental part it is not easy to define, inasmuch as there is no outward symbol connected with it as water is with baptism. It does not consist in the blessing the priest gives nor in the nuptial mass which is usually said, but in the consent of the two parties. Such consent is called by the Tridentine catechism "The efficient cause of matrimony." The parties need not speak a word. A nod or some other sign of agreement is sufficient. One of the parties may be absent and give his consent by letter. Persons not originally married in the presence of a priest, if they pass over to the Roman communion, have their union ratified

before a priest. The Catechism of Pius X states that "the ministers in matrimony are the two parties who enter into the contract." The priest blesses but does not solemnize. The formula approved for the priest by the Tridentine council is "I bind you in matrimony in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

§ 4. **Mixed marriages.**—The Roman church also claims the right to sit in judgment upon the validity of marriages in which one of the parties is not a Romanist. Such marriages are affected by their difference of religion so-called *disparitas cultus*. Paul's words "that believers be not unequally yoked with unbelievers," II Cor. 6:14, have been quoted for legislation condemning mixed marriages but the counsel was not intended for marriage alone but for all ties with unbelievers. The church early made Paul's words a rule for wedlock. Cyprian went so far as to pronounce the marriage of a Christian with a heathen a prostitution of the members of Christ. The Synod of Elvira and other early synods passed rules bearing upon such alliances even to forbidding them. The authorities on which the Roman Catholic practice and condemnations are based are the Decrees of the Council of Trent together with its famous utterance on the reformation of marriage beginning with the word *tametsi;* the bull of Benedict XIV, 1741, called the *benedictina;* and the recent bulls of Leo XIII and Pius X, especially Pius' bull *ne temere* issued 1907, and the Benedictine Code of Canon Law. The statements of these documents lean back upon the extensive discussions of Thomas Aquinas who took up every possible aspect of marriage.

The theory set forth is that marriage being a sacrament, when it is not entered into in a sacramental way, that is before a Roman priest, is not a perfect marriage. Extra-Roman unions are pronounced to be deficient in the sacramental grace and are in disobedience of the rule whereby, as is claimed, Christ gave the Roman church the commandment to celebrate matrimony among the baptized. Roman Catholic law undoubtedly puts a disparaging mark upon all

marriages entered into before a Protestant minister or the civil magistrate. The *tametsi* law calls all extra-Roman marriages "clandestine marriages" and while it regards them as "real and true" *rata et vera* marriages, nevertheless pronounces them abominable—*detesta*.

The statement of the Decrees of Trent is that "those who shall attempt to contract marriage otherwise than in the presence of the parish priest and in the presence of two or three witnesses them doth the holy synod render utterly incapable of contracting marriage" and it pronounces such contracts null and void *irritos et nullos*. As the language of these deliverances does not explicitly limit the rule to members of the Roman communion, the rule has been interpreted to apply to all marriages whatsoever, though perhaps unjustly. The application has been restricted by Roman exponents to members of the Roman communion but not by all. The words used in Roman official statements to qualify marriage are confusing. They are *ratum et verum*, meaning recognized and true, *legitimum* meaning legal or legitimate and *validum*—valid. A valid marriage is a marriage entered into before a priest. A legitimate or legal marriage is one that has the sanction of civil law or social custom and such unions are distinguished from fornication and concubinage. A valid marriage is a sacramental marriage. All other marital unions lack "validity," and the Plenary catechism does not hesitate to teach that "a Christian man and woman cannot be united in lawful marriage in any other way than by the sacrament of matrimony." The catechism also teaches that "the church forbids the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all." The language seems to be sufficiently precise to discredit civil marriages entered into according to the laws of Christian countries.

By the prescriptions of the canon law, unions between baptized persons are called "valid" marriages and a marriage between two unbaptized persons is called "lawful" marriage—*legitimum*—provided the marriage is "validly"

celebrated. The meaning seems to be uncertain so that the Roman authorities may not be bound to take the same course in regard to all marriages of persons not married before a priest, though baptized by some one else than a Roman priest, for the validity of non-Roman baptism is treated as a matter of uncertainty by the rebaptism of converts to the Roman church. The Roman law canon 1070 pronounces a marriage between a person not baptized with one baptized in the Roman church or coming to it from heresy or schism no marriage at all. Taken as a whole, the statements of the canon law, fairly interpreted seem to mean that only marriages entered into before a Roman priest constitute a relation worthy of being dignified with the name of Christian wedlock, and that other marriages lack a certain marital goodness and virtue. However, Lehmkuhl and other exponents of the Roman law expressly extend the "validity" of marriage to all persons properly baptized, whether Roman, Greek or Protestant and even ascribe to such marriage the sacramental character. The words of Lehmkuhl are: "In marriage contracts, by members of the non-Catholic sects which validly baptize, the contract is undoubtedly a sacrament and it matters not whether the non-Catholic consider it a sacrament or not. It is certain that marriage contracts between baptized persons is a sacrament, even so-called mixed marriage between a Catholic and a non-Catholic who has been baptized."

The grounds on which mixed marriages are condemned, as set forth by Leo XIII, *arcanum* 1880, are as follows:— Marriage is not only a physical, but a spiritual union and means fellowship in matters sacred. To this idea, parties to a mixed marriage will not conform nor can they pray together or take part together in public worship. The Roman Catholic party is always in danger of being led astray into indifference or apostasy and the children's religious education is apt to be neglected. Again, as the Protestant party believes that marriage may be dissolved,

the Catholic party is in constant danger of being brought into trouble. As the case is stated in the Plenary catechism, "such marriages are forbidden because they generally lead to indifference, loss of faith and to the neglect of the religious education of the children."

Nevertheless, mixed marriages are tolerated in the Roman communion and allowed under the following conditions. The non-Catholic party must promise that the children will be brought up in the Roman faith, and that no effort will be made to draw the Catholic party from the Roman church. It is also prescribed that the Catholic party will do all that is possible to convert the non-Catholic party. In cases where the non-Catholic refuses to make the promises which the canon law prescribes, a dispensation may be granted and the marriage take place before the priest provided it appear that a greater evil would follow if the parties were married outside the Roman church, and the Catholic party be lost to the Catholic faith,—can. 1060–1062. If the Catholic party neglects to train up the children in the Catholic faith the law —1063, 2319—requires his excommunication. In cases where mixed marriages are performed by the priest, the parties are forbidden either before the ceremony or after it to appear before a Protestant minister for a marriage service. Ordinarily mixed marriages are performed outside the church,—*extra ecclesiam*—but to avoid greater evils that might arise by forbidding a church ceremony, this requirement also may be set aside by special dispensation—can. 1102–1109. In such cases, permission may be given to the priest to read a service in the common language.

In his encyclical on mixed marriages, 1830, Pius VIII, after prescribing that a woman proposing to marry a non-Catholic should be carefully taught by her bishop or priest what the law of the church is, and seriously admonished of the offense—*scelus grave*—she commits in consummating such a marriage, directed that she should also be explicitly reminded that "it is a most approved dogma of our religion

that outside the true Catholic faith, it is not possible for anyone to be saved." The same pontiff declared that, if Protestants are married who have not been baptized according to the rites of their sects, their marriage is no marriage at all—*nullum matrimonium.* See Mirbt, p. 436. In 1852, when the bill legalizing civil marriage, was before the Piedmont legislature, Pius IX wrote to Victor Emmanuel that "among Christians, conjugal union is only legitimate by the marriage sacrament, outside of which the relation is simple concubinage," and yet Pius never rebuked the Italian king for his marital infidelities. The Piedmont bill establishing civil marriage was passed by 94 to 35 votes.—Thayer: *Life of Cavour*, I:298. The irritation of which mixed marriages have been the cause between the Vatican and states predominantly Roman Catholic will be treated in the chapter on questions of mixed jurisdiction.

In accordance with the custom of civilized society and confirmed in part by the regulations of the Old Testament, the Roman church has laid down a list of obstacles to marriage, called diriments and impediments. Diriments absolutely disqualify for marriage or annul marriage if already contracted such as blood-relationship and also affinity or marriage with a relative of the husband or wife down to a certain degree. Among the impediments are vows and the disparity of religion. All impediments, it is within the power of the pope to set aside and in his power alone,—can. 1040. A couple is validly married when no priest is obtainable and the man and woman consent. Protestant formularies do not recognize disparity of religion and monastic vows as disqualifying impediments. The old rule forbidding marriage with a deceased wife's sister has been abandoned by Protestants. Protestant clergymen are in duty bound to make sure that there are no proper obstacles to a marriage, and to exact from the couple the promise of marital fidelity and support. Knox's *Book of Common Order* runs, "I require and charge you as you will answer at the day of judgment when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed

that if either of you know any impediment why you may not be lawfully joined together in matrimony that ye confess it, for be ye well satisfied that so many as be coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their matrimony lawful."

§ 5. **Divorce.**—The Roman church allows separation for life for persons properly married but never divorce. The marriage bond if properly entered into is regarded as dissolved only by the death of one of the parties. Under no circumstances may either of the parties remarry until the other is dead. In insisting upon the binding force of the marriage until the death of husband or wife, the canon law is uncompromisingly strict. It takes into account none of the offenses which prevent marital intercourse or a congenial home life, such as adultery, desertion, communicable disease incurred before or after the union. It is a fair question whether enforced celibacy does not disqualify the priestly order from making just legislation on matrimony. The words "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder," are taken to mean that by no human power may a valid and recognized marriage—*validum et ratum*—be dissolved—can. 1013, 1118. The Council of Trent placed under the anathema all who affirm that adultery annuls marriage, so that the innocent party is thereby made free to contract another marriage during the lifetime of the guilty party. Where sufficient grounds exist, the Roman law allows or enjoins separation from bed and board—*a mensa et thoro*—so that the parties live apart. Such grounds are adultery, cruelty, a criminal career and the training of the children in non-Catholic principles provided one of the parties is a non-Catholic. A husband and wife, once separated, may come together again.

To the rigid rule forbidding marriage a second time while both parties are alive, there are two exceptions:—1. The pope may for sufficient reasons allow such remarriage by a process called "healing at the roots,"—can. 1139–1141. 2.

If the marriage has been between two unbaptized persons, and one of the parties joins the Roman church, then the convert may contract a new marriage, provided the other party refuses to live with the convert peaceably. Before the convert can remarry, he must propose to the other party the two questions: whether the party will consent to baptism and live with the convert without refusing to comply with the commands of the Creator. If these two questions are answered in the negative or met with silence, the convert is free to remarry.

This second exception is based on what is called the Pauline concession, *privilegium Paulinum*—I Cor. 7:12–16. Here Paul was speaking of a marriage between a Christian and a non-Christian, a believer and a non-believer. Separation between such parties Paul allowed with the privilege of remarriage. The words are, "If any brother hath an unbelieving wife and she is content to dwell with him, let him not leave her: and the woman who hath an unbelieving husband, and he is content to dwell with her, let her not leave her husband. Yet if the unbelieving departeth, let him depart. The brother or the sister is not under bondage in such cases." The rule of the Roman church is based on the principle that a bond between two human beings must give way to the bond with Christ—*vinculum cum Christo.* That is, in order to conserve one's faith, a believer has a right to withdraw from an unbelieving consort and to marry again,—can. 1120–26. Paul III and Pius V granted to converted heathen practising polygamy the right to choose out of their wives one wife, and Paul V and Gregory XIII granted such converts the right to put away all their former wives and to marry a new wife.

The Roman prohibition of divorce is based upon our Lord's words—Matt. 5:31, 32; 19:7–12, Mark 10:2–12; Luke 16:18—, the comparison made by St. Paul between marriage, and the relation which Christ bears to the church, and also the present and eternal welfare of children for which the parents are responsible. The analogy which Paul draws

from Christ's relation to the church which is a perpetual relation, if followed fully, would prevent remarriage under all circumstances. Upon the basis of Paul's words, I Cor. 7:12–14, Thomas Aquinas says that the woman sins more in committing adultery than does the man for, in preserving the marriage bond pure, the woman promotes the welfare of the child for whom the mother is by nature more concerned than the father.

A clear distinction is made in the Benedictine code between concubinage and non-Catholic or "invalid marriage"—*matrimonium invalidum*—so that the statement, sometimes made even by priests, is unauthorized that a marriage performed by Protestant clergymen is concubinage. The sentences from Father Charnock's tract on marriage issued by the Catholic Truth Society 1913, approach pretty close to describing all non-Roman marriages as illicit if they do not actually do so. "The marriage of two Catholics before a Protestant minister or a civil magistrate is no marriage at all. A marriage of all fallen-away Catholics before a Protestant minister or civil magistrate is no marriage at all. The marriage of a Catholic and a non-baptized person is never a real marriage unless the church grants a dispensation. The marriage of a Catholic to a Protestant before a Protestant minister or civil magistrate is no marriage at all."

§6. **Protestantism and marriage.**—Protestants yield to none in the honor in which they hold the marriage bond and the sacredness they attach to the home. They are in agreement with Roman Catholics in regarding marriage as a right of nature granted in the beginning soon after man's creation, that marriage is a voluntary contract and that the consent of two persons constitutes the bond—*consensus facit matrimonium.* The full freedom and meaning of such consent are modified by the Roman church which interposes its authority and insists that marriage to be full marriage must be a sacrament with a priest present. His presence is the ratification of the union between the two parties. Consistency requires that all marriages otherwise performed are to be

disparaged as not full marriages. According to the Protestant theory, marriage is not only legal but full marriage wherever it is constituted by the consent of two parties who comply with the laws of society and fulfil their marital pledges one to the other. Marriage between Quakers, among whom the marriage ceremony consists wholly in the consent of the two parties, is wedlock as truly as marriages which occur in cathedrals, with the use of an elaborate ritual.

As for divorce, the Protestant churches allow remarriage to the innocent party in cases of adultery, a course which seems to be allowed by our Lord in his discourse recorded in Matthew, 19: 9. Wilful desertion, tantamount to a renunciation of the marriage vow is also a proper cause of divorce by the Westminster Confession. When Christ spoke of the writ of divorce granted by the law of the Old Testament and declared it due to the hardness of men's hearts, it may with probability be inferred that he meant that the ideal of marriage is that the bond is indissoluble, but that, in view of the mistakes due to ignorance at the time of the marriage contract and human inconstancy putting an unbearable burden of woe on one of the parties, marriage, in the present state of society may for sound reasons be dissolved. If this privilege be wholly denied, persons may be led to violate other sacred laws such as fornication or innocent and worthy parties be condemned to a prolonged life full of unmerited misery.

In discussing marriage, Christ was setting forth an ideal which we should attempt to realize just as he set up an ideal when he said "Blessed are the peace-makers for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," and it is the duty of the church and society to do all they can by education and law to prevent unwise and unnatural marriages. Speaking in praise of the Roman Catholic rule of marriage and divorce, Cardinal Gibbons says and not without exaggeration that "marriage is the most inviolable and irrevocable of all contracts that were ever formed. No earthly sword can sever the nuptial knot which the Lord has tied." However, it is to be said

that as a matter of experience all marriage knots tied by priests or Protestant clergymen, do not seem to be knots tied by God, and, it is quite possible that some whom the law or the minister joins together in matrimony, God did not join together. The charge is frequently made that, in communities where the Protestant church is in the ascendant, the ideas of marriage which prevail are lax. The charge is a trump card to create the impression that, by forbidding all divorce, the Roman church shows a superior conception of the marriage relation, and that it is in a superior degree the protector of woman. The reply is twofold: 1. Because Protestantism is in the ascendant in a country it does not follow that Christian principles rule the life of the people of the country. The laws of the state may be in defiance of the Christian opinion of Protestants. 2. The value of the Roman rule must be tested by the regard for marriage and the home in communities where Roman Catholicism has been in the ascendant, by a comparison of the practical respect shown to these two institutions in countries Protestant and Roman and the moral standards among married men in such countries.

As for the compelling influence which the Roman priest seeks to exert, when a marriage is to take place in which one of the parties is a Protestant, to draw from the Protestant a promise that the children of the marriage shall be brought up in the Roman faith, Protestants look upon the action as not "fair play." It brings duress to bear at the moment when a person is under a special impulse of affection and is virtually incapacitated from acting with perfect freedom.

In a flaming passage, Cardinal Gibbons speaks of "the gratitude which Christian mothers and wives owe to the Catholic church for the honorable position which they now hold in society, no longer the slaves and toys of their husbands like the women of Turkey and the Mormon wives of Utah, but recognized as queens and mistresses of the household." If the cardinal had said "the Christian church," the

statement would be true. It was the early Christians who dignified the marriage bond but the early Christians are the spiritual ancestors of Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. If Mormonism is the normal fruit of Protestant principles, as Dr. Gibbons represents the system to be, then Protestants are sinners indeed. But the cardinal knew that he was not fair in putting forward the Mormons as the representatives of Protestantism. The debt which women owe, he continues, "they owe especially to the popes who rose up in all the majesty of their spiritual power to vindicate the rights of injured wives against the lustful tyranny of their husbands."[2] Without denying that this statement has had some good illustrations, Protestants repudiate it as a whole, on the one hand, in view of the notable examples set by John XII, Alexander VI, Paul III, and other pontiffs who were unbridled in giving way to their lust and, on the other hand, in view of the failure of pontiffs to assert the dignity of the nuptial vow and condemn Louis XIV, Louis XV and an unnumbered list of other sovereigns and princes for their marital infidelities and the example of unrestrained profligacy which they set to their peoples. Did not Caspar Torella, Bishop of St. Justa and physician to Alexander VI give rules for prelates to break their vows without loss to their health!

The words with which the cardinal in The Faith of our Fathers, concludes his treatment of matrimony, run thus, "If the sacred laws, are still happily observed by so large a portion of the Protestant community, the purity of morals is in no small measure due to the presence among them of the Catholic religion." To the genial assumption of this opinion the reply is to be made that married life in Virginia and New England did not have to wait for the advent of the Roman church to America to learn what marital fidelity is. The American home with the domestic virtues which it breeds and encourages was an institution long years before there was a Roman prelate in the American colonies. The Protestant families of the nation have furnished its presi-

dents and their wives. Mt. Vernon with its domestic life is a sacred heritage to the American people. Protestants have no disposition to boast but they can point to the homes of magistrates and judges, East and West, North and South, as predominantly places of home virtues. It was on American soil that John Howard Payne wrote.

Home, home, sweet home.
There's no place like home.

CHAPTER XXIII

PURGATORY

And thus I'll take my pilgrimage
While my soul, like a quiet palmer,
Travelleth toward the land of heaven.
—Sir Walter Raleigh.

PURGATORY is the presumed intermediate state of the soul which the Roman system places between heaven and hell. Protestants, in accordance with Christ's words "these shall go away into eternal punishment but the righteous into everlasting life," Matt. 25 : 46, accept two states only after death. With the doctrine of purgatory, the Roman formularies include the doctrine that the living on earth have the power by their prayers and works to reduce the period which their friends are appointed to pass in that realm or terminate it.

§ 1. **The Roman doctrine of purgatory.**—The Roman church teaches that beyond this life there is a realm where souls who have been forgiven and at death carry sins with them abide for a time. There they are prepared for entrance into the heavenly abode of perpetual bliss. The belief was not a fixed church belief until the age of Gregory the Great, who was theologian as well as pope. It grew up with the habit of making prayers for the departed. The first suggestion of an intermediate state was made when Tertullian spoke of a woman who prayed for the soul of her departed husband. In the time of Augustine, about the year 400, so that theologian stated, there were many who denied the existence of such a realm, although he himself accepted it and sought to prove it.

Two hundred years later, Gregory reported tales of

persons who returned from the purgatorial abode and commended masses and prayers in behalf of its occupants. This pontiff, so the tradition went, has the singular distinction of having prayed Trajan out of the realm of the damned. The Roman emperor, and, according to Bellarmine, Falconilla, are the only heathen ever delivered from that realm. Trajan's case was much discussed during the Middle Ages. Some writers held that, before the time had come for him to descend to hell, he was freed from the sentence by Gregory's importunities. Wyclif, without rejecting the story, took the position that Trajan was released from hell on the ground of the divine election and not by Gregory's prayers. Among other stories which Gregory relates is this one. A good woman of Portus, who had maintained continence but had a vicious tongue was, so the janitor of the church where she was buried testified, fetched the night after her death in two parts before the altar. One part was burned with fire, the other remained untouched. The next morning, clerics found the marble tiles scorched where the part had been burnt. The incident was used to show that burial in a church did not ensure immediate passage to heaven and that some of the woman's sins remained unforgiven. If Gregory really believed the tale, it is not surprising that he also believed the story which he tells of a bishop's soul that was seen carried to heaven in a globe of fire.

During the Middle Ages which followed Gregory's death, the fancy and dialectical skill were given full play in describing the geography of the future world, the pangs of hell and the sufferings undergone in purgatory. These descriptions were adapted to fill the average mind with alarm, for they made certain even for the great majority of the baptized an indefinite period of suffering after this present life before the soul passes into the heavenly state.

The location of purgatory was put somewhere in the middle of the earth, and its existence led to the festival of All Soul's Day. The legend ran that a Clugniac monk, returning from the Holy Land and stopping in Sicily, heard

subterranean rumblings which, he was told by a local monk, were the wailings of souls undergoing purgative suffering. The pious pilgrim believed what he was told and after his arrival in Clugny related his experience to his fellow-monks. It seems not to have occurred to him that the noises came from the underground elements of Etna. In 998 the convent agreed to celebrate a yearly festival of prayer for the departed, now known as All Souls, and observed, November 2.

The view was accepted that the sufferings endured in purgatory are due to material flames. This was Gregory's teaching. The opinion was added that they are also due to torments inflicted by demons, an opinion set aside by Thomas Aquinas although that theologian went so far as to admit that demons stand and look on while the sufferings of purgatory are being endured. Thomas taught that the disembodied spirits are mentally afflicted as if they saw flames—*anima videndo affligitur*—just as a captive out of prison may be constantly tormented by the imagined visions of imprisonment, but that they are also afflicted by material fire, their pains being more severe than any suffered in this world. Fifty years after the Schoolman's death, the mediæval fancies of purgatory and hell found a realistic embodiment in Dante's Divine Comedy. In its three parts, the Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise, the sacred poet takes the reader from the interior of hell to the highest point in heaven, where he found St. Bernard and other saints beholding the ineffable Trinity. Hell, as Dante pictured it, is a series of dark and terrifying apartments in which lagoons of burning pitch and flames of fire, dizzy precipices and hot pavements are interspersed, while dragons and the despairing cries of the lost fill the air. Within the dismal abode, the name of Christ is never heard and over its entrance are inscribed the words:

"All hope abandon, ye who enter here."

Taking over the mediæval doctrine, the Council of Trent, defined purgatory as a state of purgation, not of repentance. The impenitent have no place there. It is a sort of half-way house, a sanitarium where those who belonged to the church

in this world remain till they are rid of all remainders of sin, left after the administration of penance and extreme unction. Not only all adults, except saints, must go to purgatory but also all baptized children, who must be released from the sinful propensity—*fomes*—even though they have commited no actual transgression. None of its occupants is tormented with the fear of dropping into hell. All are buoyed up by the assurance of reaching heaven. The exact duration of their detention is not known to pope or theologian. No more is taught than that it will continue, until the stain of sin has been wholly removed and all the desire to sin has been destroyed. Apparently, the inhabitants of purgatory have no part in bringing about their own purgation by anything they do. The Tridentine catechism speaks of "the fire of purgatory in which the souls of the just are purified that they may finally be admitted into the eternal country into which nothing enters that defiles." The Catechism of Pius X defines the purgatorial state as the temporary suffering involved in absence from God and other pains, designed to take away from the soul all remainders of sin—*ogni resto di peccato*. The definition of the Plenary catechism runs, that "purgatory is the state in which those suffer for a time who die guilty of venial sins or without having satisfied for the punishment due to their sins."

§ 2. **Cardinal Bellarmine on purgatory.**—Cardinal Bellarmine put purgatory in the bowels of the earth—*intra viscera terræ*—and close to hell, but higher than hell proper—*inferno ipsi vicinum . . . in loco inferni altiore*. This opinion he supported by the eruptions of Mt. Etna, Vesuvius and Hecla. The last was a fancied mountain in Ireland from which flames were said to continually burst forth and where, so the cardinal reports, souls often appeared.[1] The soul of the Arian king, Theodoric, the cardinal also reports, was seen at the moment of his death being thrown into the furnace of the Sicilian volcano. As to whether the demons vex souls in purgatory, he left an open question. To be on the safe side, the cardinal recorded reputed revelations calculated to

prove that they do. Likewise, he gave many quotations to show that purgatorial sufferings are more severe than earthly sufferings can be, although purgatory is the mildest part of the lower regions and something like a senatorial or privileged prison—*carcer senatorius et honoratus*. Thomas Aquinas had represented the spiritual pains as exceeding any pain felt here on the ground that the desire in purgatory to see God is so much greater than the desire felt on earth. As for the nature of the purgatorial flame, Bellarmine accepted the view that it is real material fire—*verum et proprium ignem*—but, at the same time, stated that his view was not shared by all and that an opinion on the question is not a matter of faith. In the nineteenth century, Möhler marked a great change from the cardinal, when he expressed the opinion that there is "in purgatory not a pan of burning coals."

In proof of the existence of purgatory, Bellarmine gave instances of a number of persons who had come back to the earth from Samuel down to his own time. For example, St. Brigitta, who lived in the fourteenth century, had been able by her experiences in the nether realm to throw much light upon its sufferings and the help which the departed receives through the good offices of the living. Among the popes, who have been in purgatory was Innocent III who, surrounded by flames, appeared to St. Lutgard, informed the saint that he had narrowly escaped hell and begged for prayers. Although five centuries had elapsed since the pontiff's death, when Bellarmine wrote, the cardinal reports that in his day it was not known whether Innocent had been released or not. This case, he proceeded to say, "fills me with real fright every time I think of it."[2] Souls have been reported as seen passing from purgatory to heaven. St. Theresa, for example, had visions of the kind and looked upon groups of such migrating pilgrims, who usually had at their head a flaming soul whom Christ, descending from heaven, met and embraced. It seems that it is the privilege of every deceased member of the Jesuit order to receive the honor of such a welcome.

§ 3. Arguments for purgatory.—In addition to the proofs of the purgatorial realm based upon the testimony of the living who have been there, arguments have been drawn from the Scriptures, from the Fathers, from reason and even from the statements of Plato and other Pagan writers. The only plausible biblical basis for the doctrine is found in II Maccabees, 12: 42–45, a book which Protestants do not accept as a part of the canon. The citation is often inscribed over the entrance to Roman Catholic cemeteries. The Maccabean report is as follows: In the battle of Judæus Maccabeus with Gorgias, a number of Jews were slain. On their bodies were found amulets, consecrated to idols. Judæus, judging that the death of the slain was the penalty for this secret idolatry, sent 2,000 drachmas to the high priest in Jerusalem to be "offered as a sin-offering." For, the account goes on, that "if Judæus had not expected that they who had fallen would rise again, it would have been superfluous to pray for the dead. Therefore, he made the reconciliation for the dead that they might be delivered from sin." As for the meaning of this passage, the words at best prove that the belief in an intermediate state was held by Jews of the Maccabean period. However, the words prove too much and are inconsistent with the Roman doctrine. The sin of the fallen soldiers was idolatry. Idolaters, by the Roman theory, go direct to hell proper unless they are saved by the uncovenanted mercy of God. Apart from this passage, the word "purgatory" does not occur in the Scriptures. The word "sheol" used in the Old Testament, means the unseen world to which the dying pass and is translated in the American Revised version either "grave" or "pit," or is left to stand in its Hebrew form. In the New Testament, the words for the future world are heaven, hades or gehenna, and hell. Hades means the place to which departing spirits go, but it cannot mean purgatory for it is stated in the parable of the rich men and Lazarus, Luke 16: 23, that hades is a place of torment and that a "great gulf is fixed" between it and "Abraham's bosom," so that they who are in hades may

not pass to the place where Abraham is. The Vulgate translates the word *infernum*, the Authorized Version, hell and the Revised Version, following the Greek, hades.

Passages taken from the New Testament, which are adduced by Bellarmine and other Roman Catholic writers, are inapplicable as the contexts show. They are as follows: Matt. 12: 32, "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him either in this world or in the world to come." From this passage, ever since Augustine—*de civ.* 21—the conclusion has been drawn that sins may be remitted after this life, an interpretation which is made impossible by the parallel passage, Mark 3: 29, "Whoso shall blaspheme the Holy Ghost hath *never* forgiveness but is guilty of an eternal sin." Cardinal Bellarmine, however, is equal to the difficulty and asserts that Mark, being the briefer Gospel, is to be interpreted by Matthew and his account. The second passage, I Cor. 3: 15, "If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss, yet he himself shall be saved yet so as by fire," was first used by Augustine as a probable proof of purgatory and then with confidence by Gregory the Great. When the entire context is read, the meaning seems to be the very opposite. The expression, "saved as by fire," is a proverbial expression for a narrow escape and, if the passage referred to purgatory, would include everybody—those who go to hell as well as those who go to heaven—for the statement is made that "the day of judgment shall declare their work and every man's work shall be proved by fire of what sort it is." In the third passage, "Thou shalt by no means come out thence until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing, Matt. 5: 26, Christ was speaking of the prison to which the civil judge consigns civil offenders. Augustine interpreted the words as referring to eternal punishment, Bellarmine, however, as a proof of purgatory.

If the doctrine of purgatory tested by the New Testament is without warrant, there may be an argument in its favor drawn from reason which runs thus: Christians, in

passing out of the world, carry with them imperfections and a lingering desire to sin and, in order to be made fit for heaven, a place must exist where these spiritual conditions are removed. The reply is that imperfection and the remainders of the appetite to sin are one thing, unpardoned guilt another. John, it is true, declared that nothing unclean may enter into heaven, Rev. 21: 27, but the Apostles made it clear that all guilt is remitted here in this world for those who appropriate Christ's merits. Christ himself said, "he that believeth on me *hath* everlasting life and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life," John 5: 24. A man delivered from a pit or prison does not have to go to an out-of-the-way place in order to be made ready for full liberty.

§ 4. **Protestant objections.**—With one accord the Protestant Reformers denied the existence of purgatory. At first, Luther was an exception, and held it as a pious opinion, although in his reply to Leo X's bull—1520—he wrote that its existence can nowhere be proved from canonical Scripture, and that, if I Cor. 3: 15 and other biblical passages be necessary to prove it, then there is no such place. Later, he gave up the doctrine and in the Schmalkald Articles pronounced it a mere device of the devil to discredit the truth that Christ's merit alone liberates the soul. In his *Sixty-seven Conclusions*, Zwingli said that "the genuine Scriptures know nothing of a purgatory after this life" and Calvin took the same ground.—Instt. 3: 5–6. British Reformers called it "the pope's purgatory" in contrast to "the visible purgatory" of this life. Tyndale remarked that "the strangest thing of all is that the pope is almighty there and God can do there naught at all as the pope cannot here in this purgatory,"—*Answer*, p. 121.

The discussion over purgatory between Sir Thomas More and advocates of the new order was one of the snappy episodes of the Reformation. The chancellor, in reply to Fish's *Supplication of Beggars*, wrote his Poor seely (simple) souls pewled out of purgatory, *Works*, ed. 1557, pp. 288-339,

which begins with the words, "To all Christen people, in most piteous wise continuallye calleth and cryeth upon your charitie and most tender pitie for helpe, comforte and reliefe. Your late acquayntance, kindred, spouses, companions, play-felowes and friends, and now your humble and unacquaynted and half forgotten supplyantes pore priesners of God and sely soules in purgatorye here abiding and endurying the grievous paynes and hole cleansing fyre that fretteth and burneth out the rustie and filthie spottes of our sinne til the mercye of Almighty God or rather by your good and charitable meanes vouchsafe to deliver us hence." Fish's tract was pronounced by More "a develische devyse of noyance both to the pore and riche." In proof of the intermediate realm, he cited the alleged continuous belief of the church and the testimony of Scripture, and declared accursed the traducers of purgatory who "asked for Holy Scripture as though they believed in Holy Scripture." After quoting the Book of Maccabees, the third chapter of I Corinthians and other parts of the New Testament, More said, "We not a little marvaile either of the ignorance or shameless boldness of all such as havying any learning dare call themselves Christen men and yet deny purgatory." Of Tyndale, Sir Thomas said, and we hope facetiously, "I marvel that Tyndale denieth purgatory except he intend to go to hell." To this suggestion, Tyndale replied—*Answer*, p. 143, 214—that "he intended to purge here unto the utmost of his power and hoped that death would end and finish his purgation . . . and, if there be any other purging, he would commit it to God . . . More, captivating his wits unto the pope, said that 'God forgiveth the everlasting pain and will yet punish me a thousand years in the pope's purgatory'—that leaven savoreth not in my mouth."

The existence of purgatory was explicitly repudiated by the Protestant Confessions, with the exception of the Augsburg Confession. The XXXIX Articles pronounced the Roman doctrine "a fond thing, vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the

Word of God." It was called by the Gallican Confession "an illusion, proceeding from the same shop from which have sprung monastic vows, pilgrimages, indulgences and all such things whereby men hope to merit forgiveness and salvation." The supposed appearance of Samuel and other dead persons, were placed by the II Helvetic Confession "among the delusions, crafts and deceits of the devil who can transform himself into an angel of light."

The grounds on which Protestants deny the existence of purgatory are the following: 1. The New Testament speaks explicitly of heaven and hell but does not mention an intermediate realm. In the parable of the virgins, only two states are depicted. The five wise virgins who were ready when the bridegroom appeared at midnight went into the marriage feast; the five foolish virgins were excluded, Matt. 25: 1–13. The parable of Lazarus and the rich man depicts two states only. The man who was hired at the eleventh hour received as much as he who had been working all day. 2. The New Testament seems to report of several persons that at death they went immediately to heaven. Stephen, as he was departing, saw the heavens opened, and the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of God and to the dying thief, Christ said, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise," Luke 23: 43, Acts 7: 56. From the Roman Catholic standpoint it is hard to understand how the thief could suddenly have been transformed into a saint without performing a preceding series of good works. 3. Paul and other Apostles expected that their sufferings were to end with this mortal life. About to die, Paul exclaimed that he had a "desire to depart and be with Christ which is far better" and John taught that "the dead who die in the Lord rest from their labors," Phil. 1: 23, Rev. 14: 13.

4. Protestants likewise deny the doctrine of purgatory on the ground that it is adapted to encourage the belief that men may continue in sin provided they are baptized and have not been cast out by the church and die without fear, believing that ultimately they will be saved and go to heaven.

In purgatory the guilt of their transgressions will be cleansed away and no one who goes to that realm will be in danger of sliding down to hell. The Protestant holds that the present life is the only time for repentance and God's full forgiveness is extended here. When Paul preached in Athens that "God commandeth all men everywhere to repent," it was in view of the appointed day of judgment "through that man whom he hath ordained," with no hint of any hospital half-way between earth and heaven. The Reformers of the sixteenth century laid stress, as have Protestants since, upon the teachings of both Testaments that the sinner should make haste to repent and make his calling and election sure in the expectation of the full promise of eternal life and the benefits of forgiving grace being his now, for "now is the accepted time and to-day is the day of salvation."

The Roman system of good works seems to require a process of purgation or compensation after this life, for by good works and sufferings compensation is made for sins and transgressions. The Council of Trent teaches this theory in declaring that sins are, as it were, paid for—*redimere*—by human penitencies. In his tract on purgatory, Dr. Husslein elaborates the theory, asserting that "the mere intervention of death cannot undo the fact of the existence of unatoned transgressions and unsatisfied divine justice which demands full punishment. If not rendered in this life, it must certainly be paid in the next. The soul with venial sins upon it or satisfaction still due, has incurred a debt which must be paid even to the last farthing in another world." On the other hand, it may reasonably be argued that no father sends his son whom he has forgiven, to a reform school. He keeps the son at home that he may receive the full benefits of the home as no doubt the father of the prodigal son did. Our heavenly Father, we may expect, will do no less. It will be just as easy for Him by the flash of His countenance to give the redeemed soul perfect and immediate deliverance upon our departure from this world, as it is for the sun's rays in the morning to clear away

at once all the shadows of the night. Imperfections, it is fair to suppose, may be best corrected in heaven itself in the presence of Christ and the companionship of the spirits of just men made perfect. Spiritual progress, in the sense of increased devotion to God and enlarged intellectual powers may be supposed to go on in the congenial atmosphere of heaven. The soul's immediate vision of God in the hour of death was asserted by a pope, Benedict XII, d. 1342, who left no doubt of his meaning when he declared that the souls of all saints —meaning all Christians—and "of all baptized children, do immediately behold the divine essence . . . and that the souls of all who depart in actual sin descend after their death to the infernal regions where they are punished with hellish pains." Benedict's opinion, however, was condemned by his successor, but was repeated by the II Helvetic Confession, and by the Westminster Shorter catechism, which teaches that "the souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness and do immediately pass into glory."

§ 5. The pope's jurisdiction over purgatory.—Above all, the Reformers were led to reject purgatory on account of the wholesale dispensation of indulgences offered for the relief of the dead, which encouraged among the living loose rules of conduct. By the Roman system, purgatory is placed under the jurisdiction of the militant church so that, to use the legal expression, souls in purgatory are amenable to the ecclesiastical court,—*de foro ecclesiæ*—and especially are they subject to the good will of the Roman pontiff. It is his peculiar prerogative to lighten the purgatorial régime of suffering and, at pleasure, terminate the sufferings. The mediæval view, as stated by Alexander Triumphus in the fourteenth century, was that, as the supreme pontiff has the power to release all the living from the penalties for sin, so as the dispenser of Christ's merits, he has the power to empty purgatory—*purgatorium evacuare potest.* In one of his bulls issued 1476, Sixtus IV claimed authority to draw indefinitely upon the fund of merits and that this authority is vested in the pope from above and a part of his plenary power. Against

this view Wyclif had raised solemn protest dwelling upon the un-Scripturalness of it and the vicious consequences to which it led. If, he argued, the pope is able to release all souls from purgatory and allows any soul to remain in that realm, then "he lacketh in love, yea, if he does not liberate all, he is worse than the fiend, for, if a man on the Sabbath day rescues his ox from the pit, what possible excuse can there be for the supreme pontiff in withholding his hand to rescue all"—*de eccl.* 571.

§ 6. **Prayers and masses for the dead.**—The usual, if not the necessary, way recognized in the Roman system to secure relief for souls detained in purgatory is through the so called suffrages of the living—*suffragia fidelium vivorum*—by which are meant prayers, alms, pilgrimages and other works of piety, but especially, according to the Council of Trent, "the acceptable sacrifice of the altar," that is masses for the dead. No priestly activity during the Middle Ages exceeded the saying of such masses in private, for the efficacy of masses for the dead depend upon the celebration by the priest and in no wise on the presence of others. By the first of the two bulls issued by Sixtus IV, the pains which departed friends and parents would normally have to endure might be reduced on the payment by the living of a sum of money—*certam pecuniam*—towards the building of the church at Saintes. The papal custom of offering pardons which might be bought with silver and gold is often dated from this bull. However, it was widely understood years before that the payment of money, the gift of a cow or other gifts to a priest would purchase masses for dead relatives. Pardons for the dead, so Wyclif asserted, "were given not from love but from worldly filth. A rich man may buy a bull of pardons for a thousand years, though he be cursed of God for his sinful life, and a poor bed-ridden man who has no money and cannot foot it to Rome or some other such place, can get no pardon from the pope be he ever so holy and full of love," Matthew's ed. 81. Eight centuries before Sixtus and almost as many before Wyclif, Gregory the Great gave instances of

persons who, having passed beyond this mortal life, had been aided by the mass.

There can be no doubt that in the sixteenth century papal letters gave immediate release to persons in purgatory, if the required suffrages were offered by the living and, in cases in the absence of such suffrages. This Paulus, the Roman Catholic authority on the subject, fully grants and, in his Life of Tetzel, he affirms that Tetzel preached with the sanction of the church: 1. that the boldest sinner without contrition or penitence might lift a friend out of purgatory, 2. that money secured release from mortal as well as venial sins and 3. that an indulgence secured the immediate release of a soul in purgatory. Wyclif's article, pronouncing it simony to take money for masses for the dead was condemned by Martin IV. At the time of the English Reformation, Latimer called purgatory "our old ancient pick-purse," and Bishop Jewel said, that "of this one error has there grown up such a harvest of mass-mongers that the masses were being sold abroad, commonly on every corner, the temples of God became shops to get money and silly souls were persuaded that nothing was more necessary to be bought."

Among the holy places in Rome in the sixteenth century where release might be secured for souls in purgatory were an altar in St. Peters for which Gregory I won the privilege that the soul for whom a mass was said there would at once be released from its pains, and the church of St. Lawrence which had the promise that whoever visited it every Wednesday during the year delivered a soul from purgatory. One of the most noteworthy of all privileges is to this day attached to the holy stairway—*scala santa*—in Rome. Whoever ascends the stairway on his knees rescues a soul, even though it may have been condemned to remain in purgatory until the day of judgment. Luther's experience when he kneed it up the sacred steps forever makes them famous in Protestant annals. A fee for requiem masses is prescribed by the canon law—824—the amount to be fixed by the bishop. Priests, however, may accept larger amounts provided the amounts

are unsolicited gifts. Arrangements may be made for masses to be said for a prescribed period and foundations may be made for perpetual masses. Churches may upon their initiative have masses for former priests and members.

Here is a case of the provision made for the soul's welfare in purgatory or its rapid passage through that realm. A Pittsburgher, who died March, 1920, left ten thousand dollars for masses for his soul, suggesting that they be said on different altars. On January 24, 1924, a solemn mass was said for the soul of Louis XVI, who was executed one hundred and thirty years before. Shortly before his death in 1924, Cardinal Logue is reported to have said, "In a few weeks I will be in purgatory." The tradition is that, when Bellarmine was dying—*Month*, 1924, p. 239—Aldobrandini, visiting him, asked the dying man to pray for him when he got to heaven. "Yes," answered Bellarmine, with a smile, "indeed I will, but your lordship may have to wait. Going to heaven is a big business and one does not get there so easily. As for myself, I would be very happy if I could be quite sure of purgatory."[3]

Popes themselves, unless they die saints, make the purgatorial pilgrimage as well as the Christian of humbler station in this life. Every visitor to St. Peters, who stands before the famous kneeling statue of Pius VI by Canova, reads the inscription *ora pro nobis*, pray for us. Over the Pantheon at Rome and a number of churches in the city such inscriptions may be read as this, "Plenary perpetual indulgences for the living and the dead." Over the entrance to the new and beautiful Roman Catholic church on the banks of the Tiber is the writing "to the heart of Jesus for souls who are being expiated out of the fire of purgatory," and above the writing is a sculptured representation of souls inhabiting that realm. One of the conspicuous side altars in the papal church of Avignon is a privileged altar for prayers for the dead—*autel priviligée pour les âmes du purgatoire*. Appeals are sent out by Roman Catholic institutions for contributions based upon the efficacy of requiem masses.[4] In Roman Catholic

churches may frequently be seen printed requests for prayers for the departed. In February, 1924, the writer saw posted in Westminster Cathedral, London, perhaps one hundred notices requesting prayers as for "the repose of the soul of Sister Theresa," "the soul of the Reverend James Canon Keatinge of this church" and the souls of others. Some of them were fifteen years old.

Of the custom of offering prayers for the dead, the Lord's Prayer contains no hint. Nor does the New Testament. Augustine, to be sure, said that "for some of the dead the prayers of the church or of certain individuals are heard, but only for those who are regenerated on earth and have received pardon." He heeded his mother's request and prayed for her after her death. In this Augustine went beyond Paul. The prayers the Apostle offered for those who were absent and the prayers which he asked might be made for himself, were prayers of the living for the living. With the Scriptures as their only spiritual guide, Protestants hold that as a man's salvation is settled here on earth, so also whatever sufferings he has to endure in the struggle to do God's will are suffered here. If the departed are lost, no prayer on our part can help them. If they are saved, they stand not in need of any prayers we can make. We may, indeed, pray for help to practice the virtues of those who have gone hence and imitate their example so far as they imitated Christ. We may pray to be where our friends who have departed in Christ have gone. We may thank God for their affection and the good deeds they did while alive. More we can not do. All this was beautifully set forth in the so-called bidding prayer of the Anglican church of 1559, "let us praise God for all those who are departed out of this life in the faith of Christ and pray unto God that we have grace for to direct our lives after their good example, that after this life we with them may be made partakers of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting."

§ 7. Hell.—Hell by the Roman system is divided into three parts, hell proper, the region of the fathers—*limbus*

patrum—and the region into which children pass who die unbaptized,—*limbus infantum*. In hell proper, that "most loathsome and dark prison," as it is called in the Tridentine catechism, are all who belong to Christian lands and die impenitent, and also all the heathen, Jews and Mohammedans who are "tortured in eternal and unquenchable fire." There is no escape. In the Middle Ages its torments were dwelt upon at length. The chief punishments of hell, according to Albertus Magnus are "the fire burning within and without, the darkness within and without, the stench of the lake, the terrible company, the eternal presence of the devil's face, the clanging and flaming chains, the gnashing of teeth, the weeping and the known endlessness of the imprisonment,—*Com. on the Strong Woman*, *Works*, 12: 8. Such descriptions could not help but terrify where the priest was looked upon as an infallible guide. In view of such descriptions, the French missionaries on the St. Lawrence wrote to France for life-like pictures of "souls in perdition" and "of devils tormenting them with serpents, tearing them with pincers and holding them by the hair of their head, while they showed misery, rage and desperation on their faces."

Located next to this hopeless region is the limbo or sphere of the patriarchs, happily now empty and forever to remain empty. Originally it contained all the righteous Hebrews who died before Christ's passion and who were without any sense of pain. To it Christ went, in the period between the crucifixion and the resurrection. Subduing the demons and leading captivity captive, he led the occupants up to heaven. Down to that moment, heaven had been closed to every child of Adam except as one or another had brief respite from his confinement as was the case with Elijah and Moses who appeared with Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration. Such are the explanations which the catechisms of Trent and Pius X, following the teachings of the Schoolmen, give of the clause in the Apostles' Creed, "he descended into hades."

The limbo or region of the infants is situated, according to Thomas Aquinas, perhaps a little below the limbo of the

Hebrew fathers or, according to Cardinal Bellarmine, on the top floor of hell, where the fires of hell proper do not reach. There dwell all children who have died without being baptized, whether the children of Christian or of heathen parents. Their lot is the penalty of original sin. They have not merited paradise, as the catechisms of Trent and Pius X assert. Of all penalties theirs is the lightest—*omnium levissima*. There in that forlorn region, these unfortunate children, for no positive guilt of their own, abide forever and forever without conscious pain in a sort of semi-conscious state and without hope of a respite from their dismal lot. They do not grow or develop. Throughout all eternity they will remain without the vision of God.[5]

The doctrine of the perdition of unbaptized infants once also widely taught by Protestants, is now no longer held by them. It came down in the church from St. Augustine who deduced the teaching from his theory of original sin and the alleged necessity of water baptism for salvation. The mediæval belief was accepted by most of the Protestant Reformers. The Augsburg Confession expressly condemned the Anabaptists for teaching that children may be saved without baptism. Calvin distinctly stated that "some children at death go the way of Sodom.—*Instt.* IV: 16-17. Writing against Carolli, he said that "God precipitates into eternal death harmless infants drawn from their mothers' breasts" and, writing against Pighius, he asserted that, "when the conditions of birth and death are alike for infants who died in Sodom and Jerusalem and there is no difference in their works, why will not Christ at the last day separate them one from the other and, while some pass to a better life, Sodom, the entrance to the lower regions, will receive others at their birth." A most notable exception among the Reformers was Zwingli, who pronounced in favor of the salvation of all infants dying in infancy, whether of Christian or heathen parents. This belief the Swiss Reformer based upon God's free election which determines who is saved and upon the fact that children are incapable of understanding the Gospel if it

should be preached to them and therefore cannot be held responsible for not accepting it. Bishop Hooper, who was trained under the Zürich Reformers, accepted this most Christian view and said, "It is ill done to condemn the infants of Christians who die without baptism of whose salvation we be assured . . . I would likewise judge well of the infants of infidels who have none other sin in them, but original."

The mediæval view was brought to New England and set forth in gruesome language in the poem of the Harvard professor, Michael Wigglesworth, the *Doom of Death*, 1662. The poem went through a number of editions and portrayed God as reasoning with reprobate infants on the justice of their sentence, and, in view of their lesser guilt, assigning them to "the easiest place in hell." Several generations later, these views were set forth with theological precision and repulsive illustrations by Jonathan Edwards at which the present age stands aghast while it continues to hold in respect the memory of the pious, and most eminent of American religious thinkers.

The original Westminster Confession, which declared that "elect infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved," in its revised form of 1902, presents clearly the modern merciful hope of Protestants and perhaps of many Roman Catholics that "all infants dying in infancy are included in the election of grace and saved." The example which Christ set, when he received little children and blessed them, justifies the rejection of any hopeless destiny awaiting them if they die unbaptized, and without the opportunity of hearing the Gospel and understanding it.

§ 8. **Heaven.**—For all Christians, heaven is the final destination provided by Christ's atonement. Access to it is opened by Protestants to all who accept Christ as their Savior and Lord and seek to follow him. By Roman Catholic teaching, heaven is reached at once by martyrs and canonized saints upon their death. Otherwise, the number of the beatified is constantly being increased by accessions

from purgatory. Protestant thinkers at the present day may feel some uncertainty in regard to the exact meaning of the Scriptures concerning the resurrection from the dead and the time when the future life begins but they agree in looking for the general judgment in accepting Christ's assurance that "he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life," and that no purgation in an intermediate realm awaits Christian believers after this present life.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE VIRGIN MARY

These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus and his brothers.

—Acts 1: 14.

BOTH Protestants and Roman Catholics accept the article of the creed, "born of the Virgin Mary." Protestants go no further than the Scriptural statements about Mary as "the mother of our Lord" and that "she is blessed among women." To them she is the model of motherhood to be forever held in pious esteem, the mother to whom God the Father entrusted the care of Jesus during his infancy and childhood and who followed her divine son with love to the moment of the crucifixion. On the other hand, Roman dogma has created a Mary of romance and exalted her to a place of which the Scriptures know nothing. It makes her spotless from the instant of her conception and gives redeeming efficacy to her mediation in behalf of sinners on earth and souls in purgatory. By reason of her alleged sinlessness, she is separated from all other human beings. She is looked up to as the queen of mercy, as Christ is the king of justice, the queen of heaven, the spouse of the Holy Spirit, the mother of God. In her honor the Roman church celebrates annual festivals and by papal decree consecrates to her the month of May. The noblest church buildings have been dedicated to her. Raphael and other painters reached their highest art in portraying her features in their Madonnas as the purest type of womanly beauty. The hymn-writers of the Middle Ages sang in her praise some of the most tender lyrics that ever came from

human lips. Special treatises were written by great mediæval theologians to set forth her virtues. Monastic orders have vied with one another in choosing her as their patron. Cardinal Bellarmine closed his chapters on the incarnation, the papacy and the church, with the words, "Praise be to God and the Virgin Mary"—*laus Deo virginique matri Mariæ.* In these recent times, popes have with unanimity and great importunity appealed to her help as the chief source of succor in the assaults made upon the Christian religion by infidelity and heresy. For each time that the devout Roman Catholic repeats the Lord's Prayer, he offers up many prayers to Mary.

§ 1. **The Mary of the Gospels.**—The descriptions of Mary given in the New Testament are as far different from the Mary of the Roman church, as reality is from mythology or the true Abraham is from the mediæval pictures which presented him dressed as a king, with a church and steeple in the background of the landscape. What is the biblical portrait of Mary? Shall it be followed or shall Christians follow the picture which speculative theologies and the religious imagination have painted? Divine revelation has chosen to cover with a veil Mary's birth and death. The little that is told of her is told in connection with Christ. A number of times she is called "the mother of Jesus" and Elizabeth called her "the mother of my Lord." It was prophesied by the angel that her child should be named, "the Son of God," and "the Son of the Most High." In her song, the Magnificat, Mary acclaimed God as her Saviour, Luke 1: 47. Elizabeth pronounced her "blessed among women," Luke 1: 42, a phrase which some devout transcriber of the Gospels falsely put into the mouth of the angel, Luke 1: 28. In the period of his life prior to his ministry, Christ was subject to his parents, no preference being given by the Evangelist to the mother over the father, Luke 2: 51. In the few scenes where Mary had a part during Christ's ministry, she is presented as occupying the relation which any earthly mother might be expected to occupy to her son. At the marriage feast at Cana, when

Jesus said, "Woman, what have I to do with thee, mine hour is not yet come"—John 2:4—Jesus asserted his divine mission as involving a higher obligation than the obligation of an earthly son to a parent. When informed that his mother and brethren were near and wanted to speak to him, he exalted spiritual relationships and exclaimed, "Who is my mother and who are my brethren" and then, stretching forth his hand to his disciples, said, "Behold my mother and my brethren, for whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother," Matt. 12: 46-52. When he was hanging upon the cross, he committed his mother to John saying, "Woman, behold thy son," and to the disciple he said, "Behold thy mother." This is all we know from the Gospel narratives.

In the entire compass of the remainder of the New Testament, Mary is spoken of by name a single time, and then as "the mother of Jesus" who, after the ascension was, together with the disciples and "the women" in the upper room, Acts 1: 14. Her mention by name shows the respect in which she was held. A single other statement of the New Testament directly refers to her though her name is not given, "God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law," Gal. 4:4. If Mary was entitled to be called the mother of God, it is strange that the title was not used by the Apostles, or, if she was a proper object of worship, that the Apostles who spoke so often of the Holy Spirit and of prayer, should say nothing about Mary's heavenly mediation or prayers offered to her. And what possible reason could there have been for the Apostles to omit offices with which the Roman church has invested her,—Mary's sanctity and her mediatorial virtue!

§ 2. **The Mary of speculation and romance.**—In the case of few ecclesiastical customs, if any, is it so difficult to trace their origin and growth as in the case of the exaltion and worship of Mary. We find mariology and mariolatry distinctly developed in the fourth century so that they amounted almost to deification. The Apostles inherited

nothing like it from the Old Testament and the earliest Christian writers after the Apostles, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp and the author of the Teaching of the Twelve the Apostles Creed and the early Rule of Faith have no hint that reverence was paid to her. Nevertheless, the mother of Jesus was gradually transformed into the mother of God, and the handmaiden of the Lord into the queen of heaven and the all-powerful advocate of sinners at the throne of God. Difficult as it is to discern with exactness when this change began and how it was brought about, it is evident that it was due on the one hand, to a purpose within the church to magnify Christ and his redemption and, on the other hand, to converts who brought over to the church memories of the ritual of Pagan goddesses and other Pagan elements from which they did not shake themselves free.

1. An innocent but plausible impulse in the direction of mariolatry was expressed in the comparison made between Mary and Eve by Christian writers, beginning with Justin Martyr, about 150, and Irenæus. What the virgin Eve, said Irenæus, entailed by her credulity, that the virgin Mary released by her faith. As Eve was the mother of all living, so Mary, her counterpart, is the mother of the redeemed. For, as through a disobedient virgin, said Irenæus again, in his Apostolic Preaching, "man was stricken down to death, so through the virgin who was obedient to the Word of God, man was quickened and received life. Through one virgin's obedience, the disobedience of a virgin was overcome. 2. The converts from Paganism, especially the flood of half-converted persons who entered the church at the time of Constantine and had been accustomed to the names, temples and worship of female divinities did not completely renounce them. In the early Christian centuries the city of Rome was filled with the shrines of imported goddesses, Isis of Egypt and the female divinities of Syria, Cybele known as the great mother—*magna mater*—and Atargatis as the mistress and mother of all things. As early as the year 38, Caligula dedicated a temple to Isis and, as late as 394,

processions in her honor marched through the streets of the city. Her idols were decked with rich garments, jewels and gold.

3. The exaltation of Mary was furthered by the ascetics of the desert. Addicted to celibacy themselves, they became her ardent devotees as the ever pure virgin. 4. Born of the craving to know more about Mary, and to have in her cult a substitute for the cults of Pagan goddesses the Apocryphal Gospels invented all sorts of stories about her miraculous power and saintliness, and her influence over Jesus. When Mary entered the cave in Bethlehem, so they report, it was suddenly lighted up with a glory brighter than the sun. The water in which she washed the clothes of Jesus was penetrated with a virtue which healed lepers and demoniacs. As Mary was dying, the Apostles were miraculously conveyed to her bedside, and at her death, she was taken by angels up into heaven. From these fabulous biographies, are derived the names of Mary's mother and father, Anne and Joachim.

5. To these factors must be added the growing estimate which the Christian church at large put on virginity, a heritage drawn, not from the Hebrew dispensation but the product of morbid asceticism following in part Pagan practice. The virginity ascribed to Mary, begat the exaggerated treatment of womanhood in mediæval chivalry and in turn the institution of chivalry advanced the doctrine of Mary's virginity. The expression, Our Lady—*notre dame*—stands for this chivalric devotion.

6. A powerful influence was exerted by the theological discussions of the fourth and fifth centuries over the deity and person of Christ. In the interest of Christ's excellence as the Son of God and Redeemer of the world, the virginity of Mary was extended to include her life after Christ's birth and her merits exalted so that she might be worthy to be the mother of the Son of God. The phrase, the mother of God —*theotokos*—became a catchword of orthodoxy, and those who rejected it like Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, were pronounced enemies of Christ, compared to Judas and

subjected to physical violence. The Council of Chalcedon, 451, bringing these discussions to a formal close, used the formula, born of the Virgin Mary, "the mother of God according to his manhood." Among the excessive panegyrists of Mary's virtues, was Ephraem of Edessa, 306–373, now a saint in the Latin calendar. His hymns and other writings are full of the most fulsome epithets and fancies, and dwell at length upon the contrast between Mary and Eve, the one the cause of life, the other the cause of death. Ephraem is the first writer to give cases of the formal invocation of the mother of Jesus.

§ 3. **Mary's perpetual virginity and sinlessness.**—Church writers first formulated the doctrines of Mary's perpetual virginity, then her freedom from actual sin, and later from original sin. Jerome, the flaming advocate of her perpetual virginity, taught that the brothers and sisters ascribed to Jesus in the Gospels—Matt. 12:56—were not Mary's own children, but the children of Joseph by a former marriage or, using a possible meaning of the words, "cousins" of Jesus. The opinion was made an assured doctrine by the alleged high age ascribed to Joseph when he married Mary, sixty years according to the Apochryphal Gospel of Joseph and eighty according to Epiphanius. The Apochryphal Gospel of James described Joseph as a widower when he was spoused to Mary. The view that Mary was perpetually a virgin prevailed in spite of the vigorous opposition of some of Jerome's contemporaries.[1] The doctrine that Mary was exempt from actual transgression had the high authority of Augustine who taught it out of regard for Christ—*propter honorem domini*—as the Son of God whom, so he said, he could not conceive of as having a mother stained with actual sin.

§ 4. **The mediæval Mary.**—During the Middle Ages, especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, parts of the church proceeded to treat the worship of Mary as the soul of piety and to circulate the opinion that she was conceived immaculate. Theologians and conventual writers knew no

language too exorbitant to set forth her heavenly graces and intercessory power, her chastity and her physical attractions. In her worship, gallantry and piety were joined. She was the protectress of the knight and the guardian angel of the monastery. To her grace, Anselm directed some of his most fervid prayers. In her praise, Albertus Magnus wrote a treatise—*de laudibus Mariæ*—eight hundred and fifty pages in length and found no less than forty reasons why she should be worshipped, all based on texts of Scripture. He applied to her no less than eighty-one Biblical figures and elaborated each of them. She was a sun, a moon, a lake, a mountain, a nest, and even a library, for the singular reason that "she kept all these sayings in her heart." In two Psalteries, Bonaventura substituted the name Mary for Jehovah in all the psalms, as for example, "Blessed is the man who loves thee, O virgin mother," "Blessed are the spotless in the way who imitate the mother of the Lord," "I have lifted up mine eyes unto thee, O mother of Christ,"—Ps. 1: 1; 119: 1; 121: 1. In a special treatise, given to the merits of the Virgin, this amiable Franciscan found Mary prefigured in Jacob's ladder, Noah's ark, the brazen serpent, Balaam's star, the pot of manna and other memorable objects belonging to the history of the old dispensation. To each of these figures, he devoted a poetic treatment extending in cases to more than one hundred lines which are adapted to carry the reader away by their tender emotion and the sweetness of the rhythm. The exaggerated analogies used by Proclus and Cyril, centuries before, were repeated or outdone by the mediæval theologians.

The Song of Solomon was for the Schoolmen an inexhaustible hunting-ground for revelations of Mary's physical and spiritual excellencies. The sanest of them took this poem now as a type of the church and now of Mary. No phrases were too tropical to be regarded as descriptions of her virtues and physical attractions. Cardinal Damiani represented God himself as inflamed with love for Mary as he sang Solomon's strophes in her praise. Another inter-

pretation was that the book is a bridal song for the nuptials of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin. One of the passionate treatises represented Mary as singing to the Holy Spirit, "my beloved is mine and I am his, he will tarry between my breasts." To this the Holy Spirit replied, "Thy breasts are sweeter than honey." Mary's corporeal charms were the subject of talk in the convent. The older Notker of St. Gall praised her "as the most beautiful of all virgins." In a sermon on the mass, St. Bernard declared that in heaven her beauty of form not only attracted the angels but also the king himself.[2] To the exposition of Solomon's words, "Behold, thou art fair, my love," Albertus Magnus devoted thirty pages, praising the comeliness of Mary's shoulders, her lips and other parts of her body. Bonaventura, who abounds in admiration of her physical beauty, said that she was "more ruddy than the rose and whiter than the lily." After seeing the virgin smile in the highest part of heaven, Dante did not dare "the attempt her faintest charms to express." Numerous anecdotes emanated from convents disclosing Mary's tender compassion for the monks and equally numerous were the stories showing her favor for knights. Cæsar of Heisterbach tells of the knight to whom Mary promised herself in marriage and gave a kiss, after which the knight "went home to the heavenly bridechamber to celebrate the promised nuptials." On another occasion, Mary took the place of the knight, Walter of Birbach, in a tournament while Walter was tarrying on the way in a chapel to pay his devotions to her. Of course, Mary won the tournament and, when Walter reached the field, he was amazed to find everyone acclaiming him the victor.

No titles were too rhetorical to be ascribed to the Eastern mother to show her power and compassion. She was called the door of heaven and the window of paradise by Damiani, and "the vestibule of universal propitiation" by Anselm. "If you are terrified by the thunders of heaven," exclaimed St. Bernard, "go to Jesus and, if you fear Jesus, then run to Mary. She will show her breasts to the Son and win his

compassion, as the Son shows his wounded side to the Father." In his Greater Psaltery, Bonaventura defined God as the Lord of vengeance—*dominus ultionum*—and Mary as the mother of compassion—*mater miserecordiæ*. She was spoken of as the golden bed on which God, weary in His labor, laid down for repose.

Mary's perpetual virginity and her exemption from actual transgression were universally accepted by the Schoolmen. The doctrine of her immaculate conception, or Mary's exemption from all stain of original sin, was an opinion rejected by the greatest among them Anselm, Bernard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, but warmly defended by the subtle doctor, Duns Scotus, who gave three reasons in its favor, namely: 1. The Lord's grace would be most signally shown by releasing one child of Adam from all taint of original sin. 2. By so doing, the Lord would bind Mary to himself by the strongest ties. 3. The vacancy left in heaven when the angels fell would best be filled up by Mary if she were kept sinless from the moment of her conception. When the church of Lyons introduced a festival of the immaculate conception, St. Bernard protested against it as an invention. If Mary, he argued, was conceived without sin, then it might reasonably be affirmed that Mary's parents and other ancestors were likewise conceived without sin. In spite of the attitude of this great authority, the Synod of Toulouse, less than a century later, 1229, placed a festival of the immaculate conception at the side of Easter and Christmas. Thomas Aquinas, denied Mary's sinless conception, but affirmed that she was made sinless in the time between her conception and birth. Following Duns Scotus, the Franciscans made serious with the doctrine and the festival. The Dominicans, following Thomas Aquinas, opposed them. Bitter controversies arose between the two orders over the subject lasting two centuries and Sixtus IV, 1483, was led to threaten with excommunication either party, venturing to deal with it and denouncing the other, and to order that the matter be left

to rest until the Roman see should give a decision. Of this controversy, which the papal decree did not stop, Tyndale in his *Obedience of a Christian Man*, p. 159, said, "Of what text the gray friar proveth that our Lady was without original sin, of the same text, the black friar shall prove that she was conceived in original sin."

§ 5. **The Roman Catholic Mary.**—The excellencies ascribed to Mary in the mediæval theology have been made a part of the Roman system of dogma which includes the following propositions. 1. Mary remained a perpetual virgin. 2. She was free from actual transgressions and, 3. from original sin, 4. She is an object of worship. 5. Her intercession has well-nigh omnipotent efficacy. 6. She appears in bodily form to mortals and to souls in purgatory. These qualities and powers put Mary in a class by herself and placed her next to the persons of the Trinity and far above all mortals. Evidence for them which cannot be found in the New Testament, must be drawn from the dreams of old theologies. The Tridentine decrees are relatively cautious in their treatment although in the sections on original sin they speak of her as "Blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of God" and in the section on the worship of images as "the virgin mother of God." In the Tridentine *Profession of Faith*, she is called the mother of God and perpetual virgin—*deipara semper virgo*. The Tridentine catechism renewed the comparison between Mary and Eve, teaching that through Eve malediction and death came upon the human race and through Mary, benediction and life.

The most enthusiastic champions of Mary's exalted merits in these more modern times, have been Ignatius Loyola, Alphonso de Liguori and the pontiffs, Pius IX, Leo XIII and Pius X. Ignatius, so it is reported, was fortunate in having Mary appear to him in visible form a number of times. After he was wounded, and turned religious, he saw her carrying the holy child. He became her passionate devotee and hanging up his armor before her image at Montserrat, gallantly dedicated himself to her

service. His followers, the Jesuits, call upon her to attest their vow which runs, "I promise to Almighty God before his virgin mother and the whole heavenly host . . . perpetual poverty, sanctity and obedience." Within the half century from the founding of the Jesuit order, it created a large body of literature, setting forth Mary's merits. A Marian encyclopedia appeared in Rome, 1648, the *Bibliotheca Mariana*, which gives 3,000 writers who had written on her virtues. The *Atlas Marianum* published by the Jesuit Grumppenburg, 1672, described 1200 pilgrim resorts and shrines in Europe and South America dedicated to her. This curious volume pronounced Mary the map of the world. According to Hoensbroech, the Jesuits have produced a literature on Mary which is a collection of the most extravagant teachings and assertions and above all, of the wildest forms of devotion and miraculous stories. In 1593, the Jesuits formally adopted the dogma of the immaculate conception. Figuera and other Jesuits of Spain claimed to have found a box with alleged evidence proving that the dogma had been preached by the Apostles and also that the Apostle James had sojourned in Spain. The forgery was used until 1672 when it was condemned by Innocent XI and put on the Index. In 1617, Paul V ordered the discussion of the immaculate conception confined to the Latin language and to scholars, and kept out of the pulpit.

No other eulogists of Mary have quite equalled Alphonso de Liguori. The treatise of Albertus Magnus, written in the thirteenth century, is a sober volume compared with Liguori's manual, the Glories of Mary written six centuries later. The book is a mass of superstition and teems with idle and incredible tales of Mary's interventions in human affairs and among the departed in purgatory. Döllinger called it an arsenal of lies,—*See Mirbt*, p. 572. The fact that Liguori was made doctor of the church in 1871 should be sufficient, one might suppose, to give credibility to the volume. In pronouncing him doctor, Pius IX spoke "of the most excellent manner in which Alphonso's works had taught truths relating

to the immaculate conception and the infallibility of the Roman bishop." Giving counsel in 1731 to nuns, Alphonso said "Pray always to Mother Mary. Let her sweet name be always on your lips." The love of Mary, he declared, is a "sure pledge of paradise"—*pegno securo del paradiso.* Every flattering name in the power of the fancy to invent was applied to her in Alphonso's pages and the Koran's list of names of God does not equal the list of names of Mary which they contain. The titles, God and Saviour, alone were denied her. She is represented as practically omnipotent in the help she renders sinners. She is the queen of angels, the queen of mercy, solely intent upon compassion and pardon. As Jesus is the king of the whole world, so Mary is the queen of the whole world. Her royal glory and the glory of the Son are the same. Christ does all she wishes and God heeds her demands. She is the peace-maker between God and man. She is the hope and advocate of the departed in purgatory as of sinners on earth, and mighty to save both. When she descends into purgatory, she is accompanied by hosts of angels. Nothing is impossible for her except the deliverance of the occupants of hell. Again and again, Alphonso applied to her the Vulgate's false translation of Genesis 3:15, "*She* shall crush the serpent's head."

§ 6. The dogma of the immaculate conception.—The opinion that Mary was exempted from original sin was made a dogma of the Roman church, by Pius IX, December 8th, 1854. It may be rejected only by incurring the sure sentence of the anathema. In Pius' decree, Alphonso's very words were adopted "that Mary was preserved from original sin from the first moment of her conception." The dogma was announced in St. Peter's in the presence of over 200 cardinals, bishops and other dignitaries. Five years before, in 1849, Pius had sent out an encyclical to 600 bishops asking for their opinion on the subject. All but four replied accepting the doctrine, but fifty-two gave it as their judgment that the times were not propitious for its announcement as a

dogma. In this encyclical, the pope asserted that "Mary is elevated above the choirs of angels to the throne of God and has crushed under the feet of her virtues, the head of the old serpent, and that our salvation is founded on the Holy Virgin, since the Lord deposited in her the plenitude of all good, so that if there be in us any hope, any grace, any salvation, we must find it solely in her."

In the bull *ineffabilis Deus* announcing the new dogma, Pius declared that it was given "under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost," and had been "revealed by God." In part, the deliverance runs thus. "After imploring the protection of the whole celestial court and after invoking upon our knees the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, we under his inspiration and unto the glory and honor of the indivisible Trinity pronounce, declare and define by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own authority that the doctrine, which teaches the blessed Virgin Mary to have been from the first instant of her conception through a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God and in view of the merits of Jesus Christ the Saviour of mankind preserved free from all taint of original sin, was revealed by God and is therefore to be believed and firmly held by all the faithful." Dissent from the dogma, the bull pronounced equivalent to the shipwreck of the faith. Further, the pontiff gave over to the penalties of ecclesiastical law any who might dare to speak or write anything in opposition to it. Forty years later, 1897, Leo XIII condemned all writings which in any way opposed the worship of Mary.

In announcing the dogma of the immaculate conception, Pius did what no pope had done before. Apart from a decision of a general council by and on his own responsibility he announced a theological belief as a dogma which must be accepted to have standing in Christ's church. In Italy, the announcement was welcomed by processions. Isabella, the notorious queen of Spain, showed her rejoicing by sending the pope a tiara set with 18,000 brilliants and 500 other precious stones. Tacit or open approval was given almost

unanimously by the Roman constituency. The language of the dogma seems to render it uncertain whether one is to believe that the dogma was revealed to Pius in answer to his fastings and prayers or was revealed before he fasted and prayed for guidance. This uncertainty is set at rest by the Plenary catechism which states that "the church has always believed in the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin and that the dignity of the Son required that his mother should not have been, even for an instant, in the power of the devil." The statement of the Catechism of Pius X is that "among the sons of Adam, only one has been preserved free from original sin, the most blessed Mary and that she was purified because she was chosen to be the mother of God."

Cardinal Gibbons, in his chapter on Mary, asserts that although the dogma was not formulated until 1854, it is "implied in Scripture and has virtually received the pious assent of the faithful from the earliest days of the church." The latter statement not only contradicts historic fact, but also the distinct assurances of English Roman Catholics fifty years before the dogma was announced. The statement that the doctrine is "implied in Scripture" requires the help of a vivid ecclesiastical imagination. In contradiction we have the positive statement of Dr. Milner's *End of Religious Controversy* that "the church does not decide the controversy of the conception of the blessed Virgin and several other disputed points because she sees nothing absolutely clear and certain concerning them, either in the written or the unwritten Word and, therefore, leaves her children to form their own opinions concerning them." The Old Catholic Conference meeting, September, 1889, and including some of the foremost scholars of Germany who had left the Roman church, repudiated the dogma of the immaculate conception as not found in Scripture or among the early church traditions,—*Mirbt*, 446.

§ 7. **Alleged Scriptural proofs of the dogma.**—Pius IX's decree quoted no Scripture. The texts advanced by theologians for the immaculate conception are for the most part

from the Old Testament and pervert the meaning of the original author. They are these:—1. Gen. 3:15, the false rendering of which by Jerome and the Rheims version, "She shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise her heel," as already noticed, misrepresents the original. The statement is made by Cardinal Gibbons, in adducing this passage, that "the enmity of Mary or the woman toward the devil never admitted of any momentary reconciliation and therefore she was never subject to original sin." 2. The Song of Solomon which has furnished many passages for the doctrine, such as "Thou art all fair my love and there is no spot in thee," "a garden shut in is my sister, my bride," "my dove is undefiled." No serious student of the Old Testament now thinks of the Song of Solomon as having been written with Christ and Mary in mind any more than Homer in the Iliad had the late war in mind. 3. Ezekiel 44:2, which in the Rheims version is translated, "The Lord said unto me, this gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened and no man shall pass through it, because the Lord God hath entered into it, and it shall be shut for the prince." The passage was used by Ambrose, d. 397, to prove Mary's perpetual virginity and has been used since the Middle Ages as perhaps the leading proof-text for the immaculate conception. Ezekiel was writing about the city of Jerusalem and there is no more indication that he was thinking of Mary than John Calvin was thinking of the republic of Brazil when he wrote his chapters on church government. 4. Passages, taken from the New Testament to accredit the dogma, are the words of Elizabeth, "Blessed art thou among women," and the words of Mary herself, "All generations shall call me blessed" from which proof of Mary's original sinlessness is as probable as would be the deduction from Paul's statement that he was "a man of Tarsus," that he had been mayor of that city.

In view of the absence of proof from Scripture, Cardinal Bellarmine's testimony was most apt when he said that the perpetual virginity of Mary has no support in the Bible—*nullum de hac re est in Scripturis testimonium,—de*

verbo 4:4. Perrone, writing in 1847, when the dogma of the immaculate conception was under discussion, declared that neither the Bible nor tradition is necessary for the definition of a dogma, and it is sufficient if there be a secret tradition. Otherwise, it would be necessary to say of a number of dogmas that they arose and were accepted "in a later age of the church,"—See Döllinger—*Papstthum*, p. 252. As for Pius IX's assurance that, in issuing his encyclical, he "was faithfully adhering to the teaching received in the beginning of the Christian faith," it may be said that, if silence is proof, the dogma is most firmly established. None of the early Fathers say anything about the doctrine. It was expressly denied by two of the greatest Fathers, Jerome and Augustine. The Schoolman, Anselm, in his *cur Deus homo*, wrote that "Mary was conceived in sin, that her mother conceived her in sin and that she was born with original sin." A century later, Bonaventura presented three arguments for Mary's having been tainted with original sin, namely, common consent, reason and prudence. In proof of the first, he pointed out that Mary suffered the usual sufferings common to mankind, sufferings which she did not voluntarily assume and, therefore, must have been the penalty of her own guilt inherited from Adam. According to the second, there is in the conception of the body which precedes the animation of the soul, always concupiscence and concupiscence is sin. The third consideration makes the view that Mary was conceived in sin the safe view as Christ alone is expressly exempted from original sin,—Peltier's ed. 4:58, sqq. As for Bernard, who lived, soon after Anselm, the legend went that he was obliged to suffer for denying the doctrine a thing which was proved by a vision in which the churchman was seen with a stain on his white robe indicating that he had taught that Mary was stained with sin,—Coulton: *Five Centuries*, p. 501. As for Thomas Aquinas, all sorts of shifts have been employed to show, if possible, that he was not out of accord with the decree of 1854. Thomas distinctly taught that Mary was conceived with the appetency—*fomes*

—of sin, and that it was not until after the conception of Jesus' flesh that this appetency was destroyed, the immunity from sin passing over from the child to the mother. The Roman Catholic theory of sin is that the taint comes to the soul by contact with the flesh. The sanctification of Mary at her conception, Thomas further declared, is not taught in Scripture, and said, that "as Augustine with reason argued for the assumption of Mary and yet the Scripture says nothing about it, so it may reasonably be argued that Mary was sanctified in the womb."[3] Against these theologians held in the highest esteem in the Roman church, Bellarmine may again be quoted who says "that the entire church has believed the doctrine but there is no witness for it in the Scriptures,"—*de verbo*, 4:9.

§ 8. **The dogmatic argument.**—The theological argument urged for the sinless conception of Mary is that, to be worthily the mother of Jesus, she would receive this grace by a special dispensation. Her exemption from original sin however was based by anticipation on the salvation wrought out by Christ, for Mary herself called God "her Saviour." St. Bernard's argument that a sinless mother would demand a sinless grandmother, was taken seriously by the Jesuit, Malagrida of Portugal, who in 1758 wrote a book attempting to prove the immaculate conception of Mary's mother, St. Anne. In recent times, Cardinal Newman declared that he had no difficulty in assenting to the dogma, and that he had no doubt that, if St. Bernard and Thomas were living in his day, they would gladly have welcomed it.[4] On the fifteenth anniversary of its proclamation, October 27th, 1904, Pius X went so far as to give the startling information that the Hebrew patriarchs were familiar with the immaculate conception and in their solemn moments found consolation in thinking of Mary. In this way, he supplied what a predecessor, Pius IX, had failed to suggest and at the same time put himself in opposition to some of the most eminent theologians of past periods. His words are that, "already Adam saw Mary in the distance as the destroyer of the

serpent's head and at the sight of her dried his tears over the curse which had struck him. Noah thought of her in the saving ark and Abraham was stopped from sacrificing his son by the same thought. Jacob saw her as the ladder on which the angels ascended and descended and Moses recognized her in the burning bush. David greeted her as he danced and sang at the return of the ark. Elijah recognized her in the cloud out of the sea." If fancy ever created history, Pius X did.

§ 9. **Mary as mediator and heavenly advocate.**—In these more recent times, Mary has been called by Leo XIII the immaculate queen of heaven and our propitiator with God —*immaculata cœlorum regina ac conciliatrix apud Deum*— and by the Catechism of Pius X, "our advocate." Judging from the worship paid to Mary, the Protestant gets the idea that, as a friend and advocate of sinners, she is more accessible than Christ himself. More prayers are addressed to her than to God the Father. She is constantly vouchsafing special appearances to the lowly and those far astray and secures for them healing power and clement help. She mediates between the soul's misery and Christ's mercy. If Mary hears and answers the innumerable petitions which are lifted to her from hour to hour from the Vatican to the humblest Roman Catholic chapel, she is indeed, to all intents and purposes, omnipresent and omniscient and scarcely less than almighty. The efficacy of her prayers is pronounced by the Tridentine catechism so certain that it is "most wicked to doubt it. She turns away God's wrath—*conciliaret* —and secures God's blessing both for this life and the life to come."[5]

Mary's intercession was affirmed by Leo XIII, September 1, 1883, to be the safest way to reach the gracious hand of God. At the same time, he spoke of her as "placed on the highest summit of eternal power and glory, and that she is to be sought that by her intercession her divine Son may be appeased and softened. She is the great parent of God, the pledge of our peace with God, the administrator of

heavenly graces, the heavenly patron of the human race."[6] At another time, September 22, 1891, Leo reaffirmed this position, giving the assurance that, as access to the Father is only through the Son, so it is hardly possible except through Mary for any one to have access to Christ—*fere nisi per matrem accedere nemo potest ad Christum*—and that through her, by our united prayers on land and sea, we may hope for all things. Quoting Leo in the Voice of Belgium, Cardinal Mercier added that "of all the splendid treasures of grace brought to us by our Lord Jesus Christ, not one fragment can be allotted to us in the divine plan without the mediation of Mary. You must come to Christ through Mary, your mother, almost as through the Son of God you reach the sovereign Majesty of the Father.

The official doctrine, that prayers are not made to Mary as if she of herself were able to succor and help, but to supplicate her intercession, is set aside not only in books of devotion but in the utterances of pontiff's themselves. Alphonso de Liguori described two ladders which someone saw, the one red, at the top of which Christ stood, the other white with Mary at the top. Those who tried to ascend the red ladder fell back but those who tried the white ladder succeeded, for Mary stretched out her hand in help. Over and over again this author commended such petitions as these, "O mother of God, in thee do I place all my hopes, thou must save me from falling into sin; O queen of paradise, who sittest nearest God, in thee have I placed all my hopes; The most desperate causes are gained when they are defended by thee; in thy hands do I place my eternal salvation."

In these latter days, Mary has been looked to by pontiffs as the church's chief help against heretics. Leo XIII, praised her, "as the glorious victor over all heretics." Pius X closed his famous bull—*pascendi gregis*—with the words, "May the immaculate virgin, the destroyer of all heresies, be with you by her prayers and her aid." The same year, in an encyclical addressed to the bishops of France, Pius expressed "his full confidence that the virgin immaculate, daughter of our

Father, mother of the Word, spouse of the Holy Ghost, would obtain for them better days from the Holy Trinity." Pius XI, 1922, said, "that by her power the Mohammedan was vanquished at Lepanto and by her hand, as it were, the vicar of Christ was led back to his Rome whence violence had exiled him."

§ 10. **Miraculous activities of Mary.**—It is probable that no single subject has called forth during the Christian centuries so many pious fables and idle tales as the alleged gracious activity of the Virgin of Bethlehem. Of Christ, to whom all power is given in earth and heaven, a few miracles are related in the New Testament. To describe Mary's marvelous acts, volumes would be required. Christ is the creation of the Gospel; Mary the creation of the imagination and theology. Christ's acts were seen by living witnesses and wrought in public. Mary's merits are the dreams of religious ascetics and devotional writers, largely conceived in seclusion. Her miraculous activities have been extended to children before they were born. For example, she espoused the founder of Citeaux with a ring while he was yet unborn. She has placed garlands on nuns; she has walked up and down in convents of monks, and seen that they were properly retired for the night. Appearing in visible form, she has rescued criminals. She descends into purgatory to comfort and rescue its inhabitants.

It is not necessary to go to mediæval legends for prodigies ascribed to Mary. Alphonso de Liguori's Glories of Mary teems with marvelous tales of wonder-working pictures and other marvels sufficient to satisfy the most credulous devotee. Here are several examples. A Jesuit, Alphonso Rodriguez, standing before an image of Mary, broke forth in the exclamation, "My most loving mother, thou dost love me as much as I love thee." As if wounded by the suggestion, Mary replied, "How much greater is the love I bear thee! Know that the distance from heaven to earth is not so great as my love to thee." The moral which Liguori drew is that we should engrave upon our hearts the sweet name of Mary

with a sharp instrument of iron. A certain young English nobleman, who had secured by prayer to Mary the cessation of a pestilence, gave way to impurity and other temptations. As he was passing before a picture of Mary, she repoved him for leaving her and her protection. Penitent, the nobleman returned to his cell, but forgetting his promises, fled from the convent and conducted a tavern and committed all sorts of crimes. About to return to the convent, he was arrested and hung on the gallows. There he prayed to Mary and not in vain. She released him, sent him back to the convent, telling him that, when he saw her carrying a paper of pardon for his sins, he would die. Sure enough, it came to pass as Mary said. The abbot of the convent saw the paper as well as did the penitent, who then "died a holy death." Another case was that of a young man who after leading a wild life was on his way to the gallows. Passing a statue of Mary he prayed, "Help me in the hour of death, Blessed Virgin." The statue bowed its head and saluted him. He then kissed Mary's feet, when Mary extended her arms and held him so firmly that no hand could move him. At that point the crowd shouted "Pardon" and the young man, being freed, lived an exemplary life thereafter. St. Brigitta, so Liguori ventured to relate, had it revealed to her that "no sinner in the world is so desperate an enemy of God that if he invokes Mary's aid, he will not be restored to favor." The same Brigitta one day heard Jesus Christ saying to his mother that she could obtain the divine favor even for Lucifer, if he would humble himself so far as to ask her help. One of the notable recent appearances of the Virgin Mary was to the rich Jew, Alfonso Ratisbonne of Strassburg, baptized, 1842, who was converted when Mary stepped forth in bodily form from her picture in a small church near the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, and addressed him with audible voice.

It would seem that Mary's beneficent activities to the living are if possible excelled by her goodness to the departed in purgatory who, according to Liguori, are "in torment and cannot help themselves." The pious opinion is that every

Saturday Mary descends to the intermediate realm and releases those who happen to be there and wear the Carmelite scapulary. Her promise to do so, it is claimed, was given, 1251, to Simon Stock, general of the Carmelite order. In the eighteenth century Benedict XIV took occasion to declare the story of the scapulary true, and thus confirmed the vision which John XXII, 1322, had received, assuring him of its truth. It is fair to say that the genuineness of the original bull, *sabbatina*, in which this vision was reported, has been doubted. However, the Manual of Prayers, issued with the sanction of a Baltimore Plenary council, vouches for the gift of the scapulary to Simon Stock, a gift made as a pledge of Mary's patronage of the Carmelite order. Dr. McNeiry, in his little work on Mary, commended by the Bishop of Clifton, gives the stories of a number of souls rescued on Saturday by Mary and closes one chapter with the following lines:

"Mary, the name that Gabriel spoke,
The name that conquers hell,
Mary, the name that through high heaven
The angels love so well."

Among the famous miracle-working shrines at which Mary presides, are Loreto, Lourdes and, in America, Guadeloupe. The "holy house of Loreto" reputed to be the dwelling occupied by Mary and Joseph in Nazareth was lifted, so the tradition goes, by angels and transported from Palestine to Dalmatia and then to Italy and in 1295 to its present site near Ancona. The house—*santa casa*—so it is alleged, was revealed by the Virgin to a shepherd. The first papal recognition of the tale was given by Julius II, 1511. Four centuries later, 1894, Leo XIII pronounced Loreto "one of the most sacred monuments of the Christian faith." Leo's statement ought in some way to be harmonized with the fact that the stone of which the building is composed is unlike any stone near the Syrian town. The Litany of Loreto is issued with pontifical commendation and contains forty-four titles

of Mary such as "mother of divine grace, seat of wisdom, house of gold, refuge of sinners, queen of angels, queen of prophets, queen of apostles," and opens with the words, "We flee to thy guardian protection, O holy mother of God."

Lourdes, the most notable of recent Marian shrines, was first brought to public notice in 1858 by the appearance of a "white lady," in a cave to Bernadette Soubiroux, a girl of fourteen, who was not able to read or write. On her fourth appearance, the white lady was recognized as the Virgin. Bernadette kept going to the cave where she had further visions until, at Mary's command, she scratched a hole from which a fountain burst forth whose waters are said to have healing virtue. By 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of the first vision, 4,919,000 pilgrims had visited the grotto. In 1874, Pius IX showed his reverence for Lourdes by building in the Vatican gardens a grotto to correspond to the cave where "the white lady" had appeared. Leo XIII provided a form of service in honor of "Our Lady of Lourdes," and in 1907, Pius X made it applicable to the whole church.[7]

The shrine at Guadeloupe, three miles from Mexico City, grew out of a vision to an Indian, Juan Diego, 1531, and was made a basilica in 1904. The Virgin bade Diego pull flowers on a neighboring hill and then arrange them, and fold them in his apron or tilma. When he went to the bishop, the prelate not only saw the flowers but, falling down, saw the image of the Virgin imprinted on Diego's garment. The self-same garment is still exhibited in the shrine and shows the Virgin as a maiden of fifteen. Guadeloupe was honored by the infamous Cæsar Borgia, who sent it three hairs from Christ's head encased in a heart of gold. The murderer of William the Silent, carried on his person a promise to give to "the mother of God in Guadeloupe" a new garment.

In unnumbered pictures and mosaics, as in the mosaic in the apse of St. Maria Maggiore in Rome, Christ is represented in the heavenly places putting a crown on Mary's head. In the Borghese chapel of the same church, a black picture of Mary is shown, alleged to have been painted by

St. Luke. In front of the church is a statue of Mary crowning a tall column. Another such column on the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, was dedicated 1857 to "Mary the Virgin Mother of God" in commemoration of the immaculate conception. At the feet of the column are figures of Moses, David, Isaiah and Ezekiel with the passages inscribed, Gen. 3:15, Ps. 45:4, Isa. 8:3, Ezek. 44:2, all interpreted as proofs of the Virgin's conception without sin.

§ 11. **The assumption of Mary.**—The last stage in the exaltation of Mary is the doctrine of the assumption of Mary's body to heaven, without its having seen corruption, a pious opinion widely held within the Roman communion. Although it has not been lifted to the dignity of a dogma, a festival in honor of the assumption is given a place in the church calendar, August 15th, and is pronounced "Our Lady's greatest feast." It is with Christmas and other festivals one of the "six days of obligation." for American Catholics. The earliest notices of the belief are found in a tract called the Dormition of Mary and ascribed to the fifth or, at the earliest, to the fourth century. According to one legend, angels were present at Mary's death, lit candles at her bedside and conveyed her to heaven where she reigns as their queen. Another version represents angels as having raised Mary from the grave and then taken her to heaven. One story runs that Juvenal, patriarch of Jerusalem, while attending the Council of Chalcedon, 451, reported to the emperor Marcian and the empress Pulcheria, that the coffin in which Mary was placed was still preserved in Jerusalem. Very naturally, the imperial personages asked the good man, when he returned home, to send the relic on to them.

During the Middle Ages, the assumption of Mary received very general credence. Peter Damiani—*Migne* 145: 586—reported that a large number had been released by "the mother of the world" and "the mother of God" from purgatory on her annual festival which was observed as early as the eleventh century. Great Schoolmen like St. Bernard dwelt on the assumption in their sermons. A

preacher, who delivered five sermons on the annunciation of Mary and five on her nativity, delivered eight on her transfer to heaven—*Migne* 174: 958-990. Bonaventura accepted the doctrine. Thomas Aquinas went no further than to say that the church tolerated it. Additions were made to the legend, as for example the one ascribed to Bernardino of Siena by Alphonso de Liguori, namely that Christ himself descended to the earth to lead Mary up to paradise. As might have been expected, Alphonso went into raptures over the belief and devoted to the event no less than forty-one pages of his *Glories of Mary*. The emperor Charles IV, who lived 150 years before the Reformation, was fortunate enough to have in his collection of relics, one of the palm-branches carried by the Apostles at Mary's burial and a piece of one of the candles used on that occasion. In these latter times, Benedict XIV pronounced the assumption of Mary a pious and probable opinion. Recently, Leo XIII left little doubt that he accepted it. He commended a sodality which was under the patronage of the "Virgin Mary wrapt into heaven." —*Works*, 7: 131-134. The doctrine is taught by Bishop Gilmour in his *Bible History*—page 307,—which states that "at the blessed Virgin's death, she was immediately raised to life again and in triumph carried up by angels into heaven." In the absence of Scriptural proof, Wilhelm and Scannell give the commonly received argument when they say that "the body of the mother of Christ and bride of the Holy Ghost could not be allowed to fall a prey to vile corruption."

A petition has been sent by a number of Slavic prelates to Pius XI to raise Mary's assumption to a place among the dogmas of the church. It was wrongly expected by some that, in the Jubilee year of 1925, the pontiff would announce the dogma. It seems to be the only possible one left for the Roman church to add to the list of authoritative and necessary doctrines, "believed in the church from the beginning." What Luther said of the papacy, is to be said of Mary's assumption. The Scriptures know nothing of it.

§ 12. Mary as the protector of the American republic.—The United States has been placed under Mary's patronage and its best interests are alleged to hang upon her favor and intercession. Other countries enjoy the same privileges. In 1647, Ferdinand placed his dominions under her care and, in recent times, the regions of the Congo were assured of Mary's patronal interest by Leo. In his apostolical letter of July 21, 1891, Leo, "constituted for the benefit and salvation of the African people, the immaculate Virgin, the mother of God, the perpetual patron in heaven of the independent Congo States." In spite of the pontiff's gracious announcement, horrible cruelties were perpetrated by the Belgian agents upon the helpless natives in their prosecution of the rubber traffic and also in spite of the Belgian king's "recognition that in the Catholic religion lie the font and origin of humanitarian treatment for the nations," as Leo said.

Mary's geographical oversight over America is reported to have begun with Columbus. According to Saturdays with Mary, "None other than she whom men call the Star of the Sea, Mary Immaculate, guided the hardy mariner who ordered *ave maria stella* sung every day on the voyage and, on his return to Palos, repaired to the nearest shrine of Our Lady to give thanks." In 1760, she was proclaimed as Mary Immaculate the chief patron of Spain's possessions in the Western world as she was of Spain itself. The name Maryland, it is not possible to derive from the Virgin, but it is true that Marquette, in exploring for the Mississippi, promised, if his search proved successful, that he would name the mysterious river in her honor—*La conception.*

As for the United States, the sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1846, made the request that Mary, under the title of "the Immaculate Conception," be constituted the principal patron of the republic, a request granted by the Holy see, February 7, 1847. When the Peace Conference of 1921 met in Washington, the people at large were reminded by the Roman Catholic press that "Mary Immaculate is the heavenly guardian of the United States," and all good

Catholics were called upon to make special prayers to her, "the sinless Virgin." On December 5, 1925, the heading given to an editorial in the weekly, America, was "Our Country's Patroness." The Roman Catholic university in Washington has also been assured of Mary's protection and made one of her shrines. In his apostolical letter addressed to the university, 1922, Pius XI made renewed mention of this fact and offered the prayer that "the Virgin Mother may bestow upon all America the heavenly gifts of wisdom and salvation."[8] An imposing sanctuary, being erected on the university grounds, is called in official descriptions "the national shrine of the immaculate conception and is intended to be an eternal monument of the love of American Catholics for the Mother of God." It will contain a mosaic copy of Murillo's famous painting of the immaculate conception, now in Madrid, a gift from Benedict XV, and a statue of "Our Lady of Washington." The high altar will be dedicated to "Our Lady of the Catacombs" and other statues will adorn the building such as "Our Lady of Paris, Our Lady of Chartres, Our Lady of Rheims, Our Lady of the Snows," so called because the site of the Roman basilica, Maria Maggiore, was fixed when the snow covered the ground in mid-summer.

The doctrine of the Virgin Mary has been treated somewhat at length because, as it would seem, it so utterly lacks Biblical authority and because it marks conspicuously the piety of the Roman Catholic in contrast to the piety of the Protestant. For Protestants, the Roman figure of Mary, is an ecclesiastical fiction which has grown with the centuries until it was turned into a dogma by the arbitrary utterance of Pius IX, that she was born without sin. Mariology may have its historical significance during the age of chivalry in exalting womanly purity but the Scriptures have no syllable to justify it. The almost omnipotent virtue of Mary is calculated to cloud the atoning work of Christ and the all-sufficiency of his intercession at God's right hand. The heavenly Mary, by the Roman system, also supersedes in

part the Holy Spirit and performs functions which the Holy Spirit was promised to perform. Sinners do not need Mary's mediation to reach their Savior and through him to reach God, for they "have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous, who is the propitiation for our sins and also for the sins of the whole world"—I John 2:1. To the popular imagination in countries under papal control, Mary occupies virtually the place of a goddess and the practical result would seem inevitably to be that through the gracious leniency associated with woman and motherhood, sinful habits will be condoned which Christ's teachings forbid. The wonder is that appeals to another should be commended in view of Christ's invitation "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest."

CHAPTER XXV

THE SAINTS

Make them to be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting.
—Te Deum.

For all thy saints who from their labors rest,
Who Thee by faith before the world confessed
Thy name, O Jesus, be forever blest, Alleluia.—Bishop How.

THE Roman Catholic system recognizes a large list of persons, believed to be now in heaven, to whom worship is to be paid. The list is known as the "calendar of the saints." Special days are set apart in the breviary as festivals on which their virtues are to be commemorated and their intercessions invoked. Statues are placed in their honor in churches and public places before which worshippers kneel. Protestantism fails to find in the New Testament any warrant for such worship or any indication that it was given to any one or to the church to make out a list of privileged saints.

§ 1. **The Roman doctrine.**—The worship of saints was treated at length by the Council of Trent but in a somewhat guarded manner. The council called for the removal of abuses but at the same time commanded the invocation of saints as good and salutary. It charged with impiety those who assert that such adoration is idolatry, or a disparagement of the honor due to Christ as our only mediator, or in conflict with the Scriptures and pronounced the anathema upon them. By the Tridentine catechism, the saints are placed in the relation to God that magistrates hold to a king and are called "favorites with God and are always before our heavenly Father and must be willing to make intercession

for us." It is a pious thought that they may, but the Catechism of Pius X states that the angels and saints are mighty intercessors with God, the madonna being the most mighty because, as is alleged, she is the mother of God.

§ 2. **Canonization.**—Who are the saints and who has the right to decide the claims of sainthood? Originally, deceased persons reached the rank of saints through the action of a community, a state or a prelate. The first person, to be raised to the rank by a Roman pontiff was Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, 993. In order to put a stop to the multiplication of saints, Alexander III in 1170 restricted the right of canonization to the Apostolic see. Strict rules of procedure were laid down by Urban VIII, 1634. The assurance is given by Cardinal Bellarmine that, in pronouncing a person a saint, the pope cannot err for, if this were not the case, the worship of saints would be precarious or useless. In his address to the German Nobles, Luther advised that the saints be left to the decision of God to whom alone belongs the right to canonize.

In these latter days, the process by which canonization is reached sometimes extends over a long period of years and is apt to entail the payment of large sums of money. It is said that the canonization of twenty-six missionaries to Japan under Pius IX, 1862, cost the Franciscan order, to which all but three of them belonged, no less than $70,000.00. Before the final papal decision is rendered, a formal trial is conducted in the presence of the Roman Congregation of Rites. An accuser, called the promoter of the faith or the devil's attorney—*diaboli advocatus*—is appointed whose business it is during the trial to show, if possible, defects in the testimony. A distinction is made between beatification and canonization. For beatification, excelling virtues—*heroicitas virtuum*—and two miracles must be proved and two additional miracles must be shown to have occurred through answer to the person's prayers. It carries with it the title Venerable or Blessed. The party so honored may be worshipped only in such localities as the pope appoints—*can.* 1277. Canonization entitles saints to worship without

regard to locality and they may be appointed as patrons of a nation, a diocese, a town, a confraternity or a trade. Churches and altars may be dedicated to them and their pictures and relics exhibited for veneration. The proclamation of sainthood takes place in St. Peters by the mouth of the pontiff and usually with imposing ceremonies. In the case of a martyr, the evidence of miracles is not required as a condition of canonization.

It might be supposed that the long interval between the deaths of mortals and their elevation to sainthood would make it difficult to establish the proper proofs of their claim. Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Bellarmine, recently beatified, died respectively four centuries and three centuries ago. Jogues and the other Canadian Jesuit martyrs, beatified, 1925, died nearly 300 years ago. St. Ephraem of Edessa had to wait 1500 years or more, before getting a place on the Roman calendar. The canonization of one of the most popular of saints, Joan of Arc, was delayed nearly 500 years. On the other hand, in some cases the excelling merits have been so evident that only a few years elapsed between the death of the parties and their elevation to sainthood. Thomas à Becket was sainted in 1177, seven years after his death, Peter of Castlenau, in 1208, three months after his death, Francis d' Assisi in 1228, two years after his death, Anthony of Padua, 1232, one year after his death, and St. Therèse, called the Little Flower, was beatified, 1925, twenty-five years after her death.

The habit of canonization was carried by Bellarmine back to Luke and Luke's treatment of the martyrs Stephen and James. We are assured by the cardinal that, if we believe in Pompey and Cæsar upon the testimony of writers who were merely human and might falsify, we ought to believe without hesitation when God himself attests sainthood by miracles. At the same time, he cited Augustine as saying that the bodies of many personages are honored on earth as the bodies of saints whose souls are tormented in hell.

The biographies of the saints, if we went no further back than Jerome's account of Paul of Thebes and Athanasius' account of St. Anthony, written in the fourth century, would fill a spacious library. The Bollandists Fathers have compiled huge volumes containing such biographies and are not yet through. The last popular list issued, the list of Holweck, contains 20,000 names. Although this volume, according to Month, "is bound to take its place in every reference library, nevertheless its stupendously long catalogue of bare names defies all attempts at individual identification. Many of them are purely fabulous." One is naturally reminded of the twenty-seven cartloads of bones of the saints which by order of Boniface IV were carted from the catacombs and given interment in the Pantheon. Holweck cites no less than twenty-one Celtic saints, named Colman; sixty-seven Roman saints named Felix and fifty-eight Roman saints named John. Of many of the saints, the compiler gives only the name.

In the Middle Ages and before, the biographies of the saints took the place of the modern novel. In regard to the hermits and anchorites whose eccentricities Jerome, Athanasius, Gregory the Great and other writers recorded, the reader of today puzzles his brain to discover what good purpose was served by them whether they stood on a column for thirty-six years as did St. Symeon Stylites or lived isolated from society and often by preference with wild beasts. Their solitary and often misanthropic lives were little more than strange spectacles awakening the amazement of credulous people. They may be compared to the trees, which the traveler on the railroads across the American continent used to see standing lonely and solitary in the midst of wide deserts. Moreover, in the lives of the great mass of personalities whom the Roman church has sainted, nothing appears that would be of advantage to society and worthy of imitation. Others, Protestants regard with grateful respect for their pious learning, the example which they set of sane self-denial or their heroism as martyrs from Stephen and Paul, Polycarp and Cyprian, Blandina and

Felicitas down to the Schoolmen and monks of the Middle Ages such as Bernard, St. Francis and Thomas Aquinas and men of more recent times such as Francis de Sales. Perhaps, all of these persons would themselves have disavowed any title to saintliness, as did Paul who spoke of himself "as less than the least of all saints," Eph. 3: 8.

Of the Roman churchmen, canonized since the Protestant Reformation, not a few of them were bitter enemies of Protestantism, such as Ignatius Loyola, Barromeo, Peter Arbuez, the heartless Spanish inquisitor and Peter Canisius. Few pontiffs have received the honor. The last to receive it was Pius V who excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and wished her death. It may be expected that sooner or later the names of Pius IX and Pius X will be included in the list, Pius IX as the champion of Roman dogmas and Pius X for the saintly character which the people in Rome ascribe to him.

§ 3. **The argument.**—The Bible knows of no spiritual aristocracy. "Saints" is a name which it gives to all Christians alike. The title was not even associated in the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament, with Matthew, Luke, Peter, Paul and the other Apostolic writers. Strange to say, the Tridentine catechism justifies saint-worship by the cases of Old Testament heroes such as Joseph before whom his brethern prostrated themselves; Abraham who bowed before the sons of Heth, David before Saul, Abigail before David, and Nebuchadnezzar before Daniel, Gen. 23:7, 48:26; I Sam. 24: 8; 25: 14; Dan. 2: 40. At most, these cases would justify the adoration of living men. The Jewish people held these worthies in honor, but were too sensible to render worship to a single one of them.

If we turn to the New Testament, where we might possibly have expected adoration to mortal men, it was expressly refused. When Cornelius knelt before Peter, the Apostle bade the kneeling centurion arise to his feet, saying, "I am also a man." At Lystra, Paul and Barnabas rebuked the people who were about to pay them divine honors, Acts

10:26; 15:14.[1] Moreover, the worship of angels was explicitly condemned by Paul, Col. 2:18. If the worship of angels is wrong, surely the worship of glorified men cannot be right. Almost the last words in the Bible are a prohibition to the worship of anyone but God. When John was about to fall down before the angel, he was forbidden to do it in the words, "See thou do it not; worship God," Rev. 19:10; 22:9. The Tridentine catechism endeavors to escape the force of the two passages in Revelation by the shift that the honor which the angel refused was the supreme honor due to God alone.

St. Paul meant Christians, when he assured us that "the Spirit maketh intercession for the saints," as did John when he said "the devils make war against the saints," Rom. 7:27; Rev. 13:7. There would be no use in the devil making war against people glorified. They are beyond his reach. Paul called the Christians living in Rome, Jerusalem, Corinth Ephesus and Philippi, "saints" and appealed to the churches of Corinth and Galatia to take up "a collection for the saints," I Cor. 16:1. The ground for treating all Christians as saints was that their calling is sacred and heavenly. Christians are "called to be saints," as Paul said, and, when the Apostle prayed, that "he might be able to comprehend with all saints" the measure of Christ's love, he was speaking of fellow Christians on earth, I Cor. 1:1; Eph. 3:18. A change seems to have occurred after the Apostolic times and the Christians of the second century, according to Harnack, had no heart to call themselves saints.

Cardinal Gibbons finds indisputable evidence in the Scriptures that the heavenly saints hear our prayers and makes an argument for worship to be paid them from the respect we pay to men. He speaks of the statue of General Lee in the city of Richmond and expresses the opinion that no one would pass by it without feeling the impulse to take off his hat. Very true, but respect is one thing and worship is quite another. General Lee, who was a good Protestant, if he could express his mind, would no doubt be the very first

to say that there is but one whom we should worship and that is God and but one to whom we should pray. The ancient *Te Deum*, the most reverent of all uninspired ascriptions of praise, carries the worshipper directly to the divine throne, in the petition "make us to be numbered among thy saints in glory everlasting." It has no petition to saints.

§ 4. **The Protestant position.**—Protestants follow the New Testament in holding in honor good men who have gone to heaven and in denying worship to any save to God. As stated in the Augsburg Confession, "Scripture teaches us not to invocate saints or to ask help of saints because it sets before us one Christ, as mediator, high-priest and intercessor." Saints are to be imitated, but imitation is not worship. The *Book of Homilies*—Oxford ed., 1859, p. 325—bids us "call neither upon angel nor yet upon saint, but only and solely upon God. No trust or confidence is to be put in saints or matryrs who be dead." The Gallican Confession taught that "the intercession of dead saints is an abuse and device of Satan to lead men from the right way of worship." In his Address to the German Nobles, Luther was practical and sensible when he suggested that the bishops would be paying real honor to the saints if they would turn into work days their festivals which were given up to idleness and revelry. The worship of saints, Calvin compared to the worship of the baalim condemned by the prophets, Jer. 9: 14; Hos. 2: 4.

The worship of saints, though it proceed from the impulse of Christian devotion, seems to be a relic of the Pagan worship of the Roman household divinities, the lares and penates, and the greater deities of Pagan mythology. In spite of the alleged apparitions of those whom the Roman church dignifies as saints, it must always be a matter of human conjecture whether a given saint has gotten free from purgatory, unless it be that papal canonization is an unimpeachable certificate that this has been accomplished or rather that the person at death needed no purgation. On All

Saints' Day, celebrated the first of November, by grouping all possible saints together, assurance is given that none is neglected. According to the New Testament, saintly qualities are the virtues of meekness, gentleness, forbearance, patience, temperance and love. These are the fruits of the Spirit. It would naturally seem as if some of the old hermits must have gone through a long period of purgatorial suffering or are in purgatory still, for they certainly might have given a notable example of patience and marital steadfastness by remaining with their wives and enduring the ills of low social conditions. To exalt women with hysterical temperaments as religious worthies, is to disparage the women of our homes who by daily patience and fidelity perform the tasks of motherhood and womanhood appointed by God and commended in the New Testament. If ministry to mankind is taken as a standard of Christian devotion, who shall say that the services of Washington, Samuel Adams and Lincoln, of the faithful physician and gardener, of the honest clerk and vigilant brakeman do not entitle them to as high a place in the annals of Christian hagiography as those whose names are printed in the lists of Roman saints? What, if people like General Booth, Clara Barton and Miss Willard did not acknowledge the ritual and dogmas of the Roman church, who shall say that they were not actuated by as pure motives as were Joan of Arc or Catherine of Siena or St. Theresa of Spain, and that, to say the least, they did not do as much for their generations as these notable personalities did for theirs? Our Lord set up no standard of isolation from one's kind. His standard was fidelity to proper duties."

§ 5. **Saint worship in history.**—The first step towards the worship of saints was taken towards the middle of the second century when the very natural impulse showed itself of celebrating the memory of martyrs on the anniversary of their martyrdom, called their heavenly birthday. This service was a service of thanksgiving, not of invocation, of commemoration, not of worship. In answer to the charge made by Jews of Smyrna that the service was one of worship,

derogatory to the divine honor, the church of Smyrna replied that "it was not possible to worship any other but Christ whom we adore as the Son of God. The martyrs we honor for their surpassing love to their king and we wish to be their companions and fellow-disciples." From an innocent custom, Christians passed on to associate efficacy with the prayers of the departed. The Emperor Julian, the Apostate, with this custom in mind, sarcastically charged the Christians with reintroducing polytheism. Gradually, churches were dedicated to the memory of the saintly dead and pilgrimages appointed to their tombs.

Different explanations were offered to account for the omniscience and omnipresence of the saints, implied by their intercession in heaven. When the charge was made by Manichaeus Faustus that Christians had substituted martyrs for the old idols in worshipping them with prayers, Augustine replied by setting up a distinction between the worship of saints in which their virtues are recalled and their aid asked and the worship due to God. During the Middle Ages, the worship of saints reached extraordinary proportions. Glorified mortals and angels were turned into tutelary guardians, a custom which had taken root as early as the fifth century. Every locality and every craft sought the protection of heavenly patrons and their numbers increased so rapidly that Charlemagne and synods forbade additions to the list. The city of Rome enjoyed the special patronage of Peter, Paul and St. Lawrence; France of St. Martin and St. Denis and now of Joan of Arc. England was guarded by the warlike St. George, who killed the dragon, Ireland by St. Patrick and St. Bridget, Scotland by St. David and St. Andrew. Spain boasted of enjoying the special favor of St. James, Paris of St. Genevieve and Naples of St. Januarius. Cologne was favored by having for its protectors, three kings, the magi, who worshipped at the cradle in Bethlehem. Sufferers from toothache looked for relief to St. Appollonia who had gone through the operation of having all her teeth extracted rather than renounce Christ. St. Florian protected against

fire, St. Nicholas guarded sailors in times of shipwreck, St. Crispin took care of shoemakers, St. Ulrich answered prayers for premises infested with rats. Cab-drivers had the gracious aid of St. Fiacre and muleteers of St. Anthony. A like helper in these days of automobiles would be a boon indeed. Ivo is the patron of jurists and Luke of physicians. The sick prayed to St. Christopher to keep them from death, the healthy to St. Roche to keep them from contagion and both to St. Barbara to protect them against violence. If health and hygiene depended on heavenly patrons, the Middle Ages should have been free from most, if not all the ills which afflict these modern times and now make physicians, policemen and nurses necessary. Fortunately, all saints were not restricted to special localities. The number was large, whose aid could be invoked in all parts of the earth and for all sorts of relief from St. Abel, St. Abraham and St. John the Baptist down to the last addition to the list. It was not felt to be an objection that some of the Roman saints did not rise above the conditions of their age, and were distinguished by habits repulsive to the laws of health and decency, as we understand them. The renunication of wives and children was mistaken by many of them as a virtue. It seems strange that companionship with wolves and lions and other wild beasts by beings made in God's image should be regarded as a heavenly merit. To go about almost naked or to subject one's bodies to the sting of gnats or the infection of swamps was looked upon as holiness by persons who in spite of the honor of canonization would now be treated as misanthropes or idiots. To sleep on rocks in upright positions as did Pachomius, the founder of the monastic life, for fifteen years, was a kind of religion which the fanatics on the Ganges can equal if not excel. Old St. Paul of Thebes admitted a wolf to his companionship and was buried, as the tale was told, by two friendly lions. Paul's biographer Jerome, tells of a hermit who had lived for thirty years on barley bread and muddy water. St. Anthony, who saw Paul's soul ascend to heaven, felt rich in the possession

of the robe of palm leaves which Paul had worn, and with which, on special occasions, as far as it would reach, Anthony dressed himself up. Anthony got to be so holy that in the last years of his life he never washed. Womankind was shunned by these ascetic folks. Pachomius would not admit his sister to his presence. Benedict of Nursia, the founder of the Benedictine order restricted his visits with his sister, St. Scholastica, to a single visit a year. Symeon Stylites, who not only kept to his pillar thirty and six years but abstained from food during twenty-six Lents, would not allow women to look at his austerities except from a distance.

To the list the breviary has added ecclesiastics who were noted for their rancor and theological hatred in the period of the bitter discussions from 400 to 600. For example Cyril of Alexandria is accounted a saint as well as an orthodox churchman, but his treatment of Chrysostom, whom he at one time likened to Judas, the terrible extravagance of his language for all who opposed him and the possible part he had in the murder of Hypatia, lack the flavor of piety.

If ever an assembly, calling itself Christian, offended against the rule of Christian love and forbearance it was the so-called Robber synod of 449. Ingenuity during the Middle Ages, went far in its effort to discover qualities befitting sainthood. To give an extreme instance, let us take the case of St. Uncumber. This woman was much prayed to at the time the Protestant Reformation broke out. Sir Thomas More reports that she was the daughter of a Portuguese and prayed for a beard as a means of preserving her virginity and escaping marriage with the king of Sicily. To her memory bearded images were erected in Germany, England and other countries. The saint was popular with wives pestered with troublesome husbands. More also says that thieves prayed "to the thefe that honge on the right side of Christe to spede them in their robery and have found for him a name, calling him Dismas." If the Hall of Fame in New York City were not what it is but were designed to

be a museum of curiosities, it could easily furnish a dozen rooms from the lists of mediæval saints.

In the later annals of saintliness, a start might be made with Prague. There John of Nepomuk, the patron saint of the city, the night after he was put to death was seen floating on the Moldau, his body illuminated with many candles. After the lapse of 300 years, his body was found to be entire. The Jesuits thought it well, in the interests of reverence, to substitute his story as an offset to the well-attested life of John Huss. Philip of Neri has the honor of having had his ribs torn apart by his love to Christ. Of St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, d. 1607, whose virtues are celebrated May 27th, the breviary narrates that her breast was so heated with love to God that she had to pour cold water over it to keep it at a normal temperature. Her crucifix at times sweat moisture on her clothes and on one occasion she sucked a divine liquor from one of its wound marks. She restored a cask of spoiled wine in the monastery to its original virtue. She healed nuns afflicted with leprosy and cancer by licking their wounds and saw the souls of nuns after death mount up to heaven. These are samples of the marvellous experiences of this woman given by Father Lezin in his famous biography written in 1670 as it appeared in English translation. Fifty years after St. Mary of Pazzi's death, so Clement IX stated, her body was still uncorrupt. Aloysius of Gonzaga, d. 1591, whose anniversary is celebrated in June, was so modest as a babe that he did not even look at his mother. If by chance, while he was at Castiglione, his mother sent messages to him through women, he himself went to the door so as to keep them from entering, and gave his answers to them without looking up. He did not even talk with his mother alone and promised his father to obey him in everything except to meet women. Because St. Aloysius as a babe avoided looking at the breasts of his mother, he has been called "an angel in the flesh."[2] In the bulls canonizing Alphonso de Liguori and making him a doctor of the church, it is pronounced as meritorious that the saint lived for years behind a staircase

in a wretched room, carried pebbles in his shoes, had a stone, when eating, attached to his neck, contented himself when eating fish with pickings from the head and sprinkled his food with bitter herbs so that the taste and smell were so repulsive that cats would not touch the food. On three days of the week Alphonso, so the bull of canonization reports, took only bread and water so that he had scarcely strength left to stand on his feet. He called Mary *mamma mia*, or as we might say "my mammy." As he was dying, the saint took little pills, cartelline, containing words of praise to Mary. We may understand how, in the heart of the Middle Ages, St. Thomas à Becket saw merit in wearing a hair shirt, teeming with vermin. It is difficult to understand how it was a virtue in Labré, canonized 1881, that he never washed nor changed his linen. Or, take St. Theresa of Spain. If this good woman was not a misguided visionary, then all the canons of daily life and medical science are useless. On one occasion she saw forty Jesuits murdered as they were on their way to Brazil and is reported to have told her confessor all the details of the slaughter. After a communion, she saw many souls rising from purgatory and they spoke to her. An angel with a golden dart furnished with fire, drove the weapon through her breast and, when he withdrew it, the saint felt as if all her bowels were being withdrawn. The result of the operation was that she was left wholly inflamed with love to God. At different times she went to twenty-four or twenty-five confessors, struggling to get one to understand her spiritual conditions. Or, take Rose of Lima, canonized 1671, the patroness of Latin America. Taking the habit of St. Dominic she went days without food save a draught of gall mixed with bitter herbs and reposed on a bed of broken glass, potsherds and thorns. Christ, so she reported, appeared to her often. Her martyrdom, self-imposed, lasted fourteen years. She died at thirty. Such extraordinary asceticisms are not hinted at in the New Testament.

§ 6. **Recent additions to the calendar of saints.**—To judge by recent canonizations it might seem that a recru-

deseence of saint worship is sought in the Roman church, so numerous have been the additions made by pontiffs to the list of saints and so brilliant have been the ceremonies of canonization at Rome. The most notable perhaps of these was Joan of Arc, the maid of Orleans. In pronouncing her blessed, 1909, Pius X opened his bull by declaring her a virgin to be held in honor through all time, *virginis in omne ævum nobilis*. By this act, the church repudiated Joan's condemnation as a witch by a court at the head of which sat an archbishop. At the services held to announce Joan's sainthood, May 16, 1920, 60,000 people were reported as present in St. Peters, among them the diplomatic representatives of many countries, including the representative of England. The occasion was celebrated in Notre Dame, Paris, and by a parade at Westminster, London. Three recent miracles were ascribed to Joan's intercession, each of them by a nun who had been cured of cancer or tuberculosis. The maid of Orleans has virtually superseded France's other saints and become the pattern of French patriotism. She leads the French regiments.

The recent canonizations of Joan of Arc and other historical figures seem to have for their purpose the reclamation of wayward nations to the Roman obedience and the discredit of the Protestant Reformation. For example, Sir Thomas More was beatified by Leo XIII, 1886, and in that way commended for suffering death in resisting the Act of Supremacy by which England was cut loose from the control of the Roman pontiff. Recusants who, in their effort to make England Catholic once more, were ready to see Elizabeth murdered have been placed on the list of saints to be worshipped. Their shrines may be adapted to unify English Roman Catholics and to induce English Protestants to forget history and think favorably of the Roman rule. Scotland will probably in the near future have offered to her a national saint in Mary Queen of Scots as the process is going on at Rome looking to her beatification. The American historian, Dr. Shea, has pronounced her innocent of all the

criminal and immoral charges brought against her by writers of her own day. Mary's death with "the charity and magnaminity of a martyr" favors her canonization. Holland received a saint in 1925 in the person of Peter Canisius. Becoming a Jesuit, Canisius set before himself the task of recovering Germany for the Roman church and was indefatigable in writing against Protestantism and re-establishing Roman Catholicism in Ingoldstadt, Innsbruck and other schools, and in saving Cologne for the Roman faith. It was in this bull that Leo XIII implied that the Protestant Reformers were "enemies of the Christian name."

The following saints canonized in the Jubilee year 1925 belong to another class and show that the Roman authorities are as ready to-day to accept unnatural extravagancies as miracles as they were in the fifteenth century. Mariana de Jesus of Madrid, 1565–1624, enjoys the honor of having had her body remain incorrupt since her death. A few months after her death, it was found to be entire and again, in 1627, 1701, 1765 and 1783, the last the year of Mariana's beatification. In 1924, the body which rests in a church in Madrid was again examined in the presence of the bishop of Madrid and other persons of distinction. Dr. Maestre, a professor in the Madrid medical school, found the body light in weight and rigid, but showing no sign of desiccation. The process of decomposition according to the physician's judgment was stopped by a bacillus discovered by Pasteur. The bacillus should now be officially declared a supernatural agent. Therese of Lisieux, France, pronounced a saint May 17, 1925, and known as the Little Flower of Jesus, was only twenty-four at the time of her death, 1897. At sixteen, she entered the Carmelite order, saying in her profession that "she had come to save souls and especially to pray for priests." In her autobiography, she speaks of oceans of grace overflooding her and, in dying, promised that she would "let fall showers of roses and spend her heaven in doing good on earth." Many miracles have been reported as due to her agency and novenas are held in American churches

to celebrate her merits and secure her aid. In canonizing this devoted young woman, Pius XI said, "We have invoked her as our advocate and our patron because of the rain of roses which, as she promised, she does not cease to pour upon men."[3]

Nor was America passed by in the sacred honors bestowed during the Jubilee Year of 1925. Eight members of the Jesuit order who lost their lives at the hands of Indians, along the St. Lawrence, were beatified. At Auriesville, New York, where one of them, Isaac Jogues, was murdered by the Mohawk Indians, a shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs has been erected, 1884, and is said to have witnessed miraculous answers to prayers. "Now that Jogues and his two lay companions, Goupil and Lalande, have been beatified and their statues and pictures may be venerated publicly and also their relics, no doubt greater graces will be obtained." Such is the statement of Father Wynne in the *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, 1925. A process solicited by the Third Plenary council of Baltimore and authorized by Pius X, has already begun in Rome for the canonization of "the Lily of the Mohawks," Catherine Tekakwitha. This Indian girl, whom Bishop Laval called the Genevieve of New France, refused marriage and became a nun at Montreal. In imitation of St. Aloysius, she made her bed for three nights in succession on a pallet of thorns. At her death, 1680, a glory settled on her features and after her death, so it is reported, miraculous cures were worked at her shrine.

It is probable that the time is not far distant when Columbus himself will be placed among the saints and made, in addition to Mary, the patron of both Americas. The cruelties of which his contemporaries reported him guilty are hindrances which argument and ingenuity may be able to set aside. The Knights of Columbus would be honored by such treatment of their patron and the United States would have a saint connected with one of its national holidays. The way for canonization was prepared by the eulogistic encyclical which Leo XIII issued for the 400th anniversary

of Columbus' discovery, 1892, and addressed to the bishops of Spain, Italy and the Western continent,—*Works* 5:100-106. The discovery of America, to use Leo's words, "was an epoch than which no grander or more beautiful has been accomplished by man. As to him who accomplished it, there are few who can be compared with him in greatness of soul and of genius. Religion was behind the enterprise and when one considers the prime motive with which Columbus undertook the plan of exploring the dark seas, there is no room for doubt that the Catholic faith superlatively inspired the enterprise so that humanity is not a little indebted to the church on this account." Further, Leo found in the discovery and its results a compensation divinely appointed to offset the evils of the contemporary movement, "the Protestant rebellion." "It seems," he continued, "that Columbus was ordained by the special appointment of God to compensate Catholicism in the new world for the injuries which she was about to suffer in Europe, and to call the Indian race to Christianity, which was without doubt the intended mission of the church."[4]

In this chapter, it has been shown that the word "saints" is a name given in the New Testament to all Christian believers and that the Apostolic writers give no hint of a distinctive group in heaven who merit the name in a superior sense and to whom prayers should be said. It has been indicated how extensive is the group of heavenly saints and intercessors which the Roman authorities have created, and examples have been given to show that the habits of some of the most eminent of the number have defied the laws of hygiene, common sense and sane living. Instances also have been given of so-called miracles ascribed to personalities reputed to be saintly which were nothing more than prodigies and, if historic, should be treated as the product of hysterical states. It is not necessary to go to the hermits of Syria and the Nile or to the marvellous pages of the Golden Legend to find morbid and fantastic experiences. They are to be found in the lists made out, in Rome and ratified by popes. When

Cardinal Bellarmine asserted that it is not possible for the Roman pontiff to err when he canonizes a departed mortal, he stated a principle which ought to be true if the pope is infallible in matters of doctrine and morals. But the cardinal was mistaken and popes have been mistaken in the selections they have made and in maintaining the claim that authority has been given to any tribunal on earth to prescribe for heaven its arrangements. The Scriptures give no warrant for the creation of saints by mortal man and require no belief that they hear and answer our prayers for their intercession and are to be worshipped. For Protestants, it is enough that worthy worship be rendered to God, that our vows be paid to Him and that the memories of good and useful persons of the church and outside the church, who have gone beyond these scenes, be held in respect and their example followed. The *Te Deum* does well in going no further than to say:

The glorious company of the Apostles praise Thee;
The goodly fellowship of the prophets praise Thee;
The noble army of martyrs praise Thee;
The holy church throughout the world,
Doth acknowledge Thee, the Father everlasting.

The Roman calendar of the saints is the Westminster Abbey of the Roman church. The difference between the two is that the calendar ascribes to many of the saints unnatural and extravagant habits and the abbey contains the memorials of men who distinguished themselves in various departments of useful activity from the statesman to the scientist and from the poet to the missionary. As the tourist walks among the monuments and reads the names of Chaucer and Shakespeare, Chatham and Gladstone, Lord Kelvin and Darwin, John Wesley and Livingstone, he feels that they are there because these men made wholesome contributions to human welfare. No useless idiosyncrasies or abnormal traits were required to make them benefactors of their kind. The qualification set by our Lord for the distinction

of sainthood is the doing of God's will in the home circle or public position, on land or on sea by faithful everyday acts, and in His sight every Christian is entitled to claim the New Testament name "saint."

CHAPTER XXVI

THE VENERATION OF IMAGES AND RELICS

> Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them nor serve them.—The Ten Commandments.

IN view of the mandate given on Mt. Sinai and of the spiritual nature of the Christian religion, it is difficult for Protestants to understand how a large part of Christendom, came to practise the worship of images, pictures, crucifixes and the bones of saints and other relics. In the Middle Ages every church in Western Europe of importance possessed some article of the kind which made the sanctuary a shrine of pilgrimage.

§ 1. **The Roman practice.**—The veneration of images and relics was pronounced a veritable element of the Christian religion by the Council of Trent. It taught that such objects as "images of Christ and the Virgin Mother of God and of the other saints are to be retained, particularly in temples, and due honor and veneration are to be given to them." New relics, it stipulated, are to be carefully examined and approved by bishops before they are accepted and, in cases of uncertainty, the decision is to be left to "the most holy Roman pontiff." In making its definition, the council followed the decree of the seventh œcumenical council which met at Nice, 787, and formally settled the controversy which had been going on for nearly a century between the East and the West, over the question whether images are to be worshipped or not. The Eastern emperor, Leo, the Isaurian,

716–741, violently opposed the worship as did later Leo the Armenian, 813–820. The Roman pontiffs favored the other view and it was due to them and especially the Empress Irene that the worship was approved in 787 and to a second empress, Theodora, in 842, that it was restored in the East after her immediate predecessors had repudiated the Nicene decree. The Eastern church, although it forbids raised images, such as crucifixes and confines itself to flat images known as icons, is probably more addicted to the worship than the Roman communion.

According to the Council of Trent, no trust is to be reposed in the images themselves, but in the prototypes—to use the Nicene term—that is the persons whom they represent. All undue adornment of images calculated to excite lust is forbidden. The respect paid to images is known by the name of veneration and honor—*venerationem et honorem.* The canon law includes among relics to be venerated the arms, head, heart, tongue, as well as the entire bodies of saints. In view of the resurrection of Christ's body and the supposed assumption of Mary, none of their parts are preserved, although Christ's foreskin and some of his hair, as well as milk from Mary's breasts have been exhibited, and even one of Christ's teeth was claimed by the monks of St. Medard. The Tridentine catechism affirmed that "the veneration of the sacred relics and ashes of saints serve much to increase the glory of God," and for the claim appeals to the miracles performed at sacred tombs, to the healing power of Peter's shadow and of the kerchiefs carried away from Paul's body, Act. 5:15, 19:12, and to the revival of the body which touched the bones of Elisha, 2 Kings 13:21. The argument from the prohibition of the decalogue it parried by the images of the cherubim and the brazen serpent which, so the catechism avers, prove that images were forbidden only as they might detract from the true worship of God and encourage the worship of inanimate objects. In harmony with the Roman teaching, Cardinal Bellarmine, in a long

discussion, maintained that the worship offered to images is inferior to the worship offered to the saints and was careful to emphasize the plague which followed Leo III's act in burning images in Constantinople. A recent English writer, in speaking of the attitude of kneeling before the cross and relics, says that "it might be preferable to restrict that attitude to acts of divine adoration, but so long as Englishmen continue to bend the knee before the king or bow before his throne, there ought to be no difficulty in allowing the Roman Catholics to do the same before the sign of redemption, images and relics of saints."[1]

§ 2. **The teaching of the Scriptures.**—The law of Exodus 20:4, forbidding the representation of any creatures in heaven, on earth or under the earth with the intent to worship them, was given to the Hebrews while they were escaping from the land of Egypt, where they were familiar with the worship of animals as gods. Moses broke the golden calf in pieces and burned it, Ex. 32: 20. For bowing down before the baalim and other idolatrous images of the surrounding nations, the Hebrews were again and again punished. As for the cherubim over the mercy seat, they were not made to be objects of worship. When the children of Israel began to burn incense before the brazen serpent, Hezekiah broke it to pieces, 2 Kings 18: 4. If the prophets of Israel are known for one thing more than another, it is their aversion to all worship of gods made of wood and metal. The Psalms give no hint of any such veneration. In regard to the quickening power ascribed to the bones of Elisha, the single case of the kind related in the Old Testament, it would seem as if the prophet's bones would have been preserved in a reliquary for future use, if they had been regarded as possessing properties such as are ascribed to Roman images. It was well said by Tyndale that "the Israelites, as wicked as they were, neither prayed to Elisha and kissed his bones, nor offered and sticked up candles before him,"—*Ans. to More*, p. 123. Josephus and Philo went to the extreme in using the second commandment

as a prohibition of all sculpture and painting and charged Solomon with a breach of the law in adorning his house with the statues of lions and oxen, objects to which the Nicene council referred as a warrant for image worship in the Christian church.

The two cases reported in the Acts of the Apostles in which magical virtue issued from Peter's shadow and the handkerchiefs which had touched Paul's person, are in a class by themselves, and difficult to understand. Neither Peter nor Paul commended the practice of image worship. In the case of the women who touched Christ's garment, her cure was ascribed not to the touch of the garment but to faith, "Thy faith hath saved thee." If a belief had prevailed that a healing virtue was inherent in Christ's garments some of them, it is reasonable to suppose, would have been preserved after his death, a thing of which the early church does not speak. A special warning was given by John against idols and at Athens, Paul, seeing the idols, said that the Godhead is not like unto gold or silver or stone graven by art or device of man, Acts 17: 29. I John 5: 21. When Paul spoke of the cross, he meant the death of Christ, not the wood. Stephen placed in contrast images made by men's hands and the Most High who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and said that He alone is to be worshipped, Acts 6: 40-43.

§ 3. **Origin of image worship in the Christian church.**— Regard for objects associated with our departed relatives is an instinct common to man. By a natural impulse we respect the tombs of the distinguished dead, mark the houses they occupied, and cherish articles which they wore. Museums are full of such memorials. Articles brought by the Pilgrims to Plymouth, the chair in which Hancock sat, the sword of Washington, the Liberty bell are preserved to be perpetual reminders of historic events but not for any inherent virtue supposed to reside in them.

In paying respect to the memory of martyrs and other church leaders who had finished their course, the early

Christians were true to this instinct. The bones of Ignatius of Antioch were gathered together after his martyrdom in the Roman amphitheatre. Polycarp's ashes were considered more precious than gold or costly stones. When Cyprian was put to death, 258, onlookers dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood. In the course of time, a decent respect passed into veneration and then a magical virtue was ascribed to the relics of the dead. So far had this cult gone that during the Diocletian persecution, about 300, the bodies of martyrs were thrown by the persecutors into the sea lest they should become objects of worship.

From the fourth century on, the greater Fathers commended such worship and gave instances of miracles wrought by the bodies of the sacred dead and other relics. The first relics brought to the West were brought by Constantine's mother, Helena, who is reported to have found the true cross and to have taken back with her as a gift to her son the nails with which Christ's body was fastened to it. "Let others," said Ambrose, "heap together silver and gold, we gather together the nails wherewith the martyrs were pierced and their victorious blood, as also the wood of the cross." Augustine related several miracles performed by the relics of Stephen, the martyr, and spoke of a lady of Carthage who was cured of cancer by the sign of the cross made by a person recently baptized. Water from the Jordan and soil from Palestine were held in honor as having a miraculous virtue. By the end of the fourth century, so firm was the belief in such miraculous agency that spurious relics were sold by hawkers to the credulous, as Augustine himself informs us in his work on Monks. The traffic was forbidden by Theodosius I, 386.

The veneration of images did not proceed without serious opposition. The very use of pictures and sculptures in churches was forbidden by the Synod of Elvira, 304, in order that worship might not be paid to such objects. Epiphanius, d. 403, destroyed a portrait of Christ which he found in a

church in Palestine. Two centuries later, Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, had the pictures cast out of his churches, but his act called forth a vigorous rebuke from Gregory I, who took the position that what the Scriptures are for the reader, pictures are for the uncultivated man,—*Mirbt*, p. 99. Charlemagne, forbade the multiplication of images.

§ 4. The mediæval craving for miracle-working relics. —Not only did the decrees of the emperor go unheeded, but the habit of venerating images and ascribing to them miraculous properties grew enormously. In increasing numbers, the bodies of prophets, patriarchs, apostles and saintly men were discovered and brought to Europe. The body of St. Mark was removed in 828 from Alexandria to Venice. Twelve years later, the remains of St. Bartholomew, originally said to have been deposited in India, found a permanent resting place in Benevento. In due time, the bodies of many of the Apostles were assembled in Rome, the last being St. Andrew's body, in the reign of Pius II in the fifteenth century. Elisha was one of the glories of Ravenna. At a time when there were no theatres or other public places of amusement, the shrines where relics were preserved became show-places visited by pilgrims from the furtherest parts of Europe. A relic was regarded a worthy gift of one king to another. Charles the Simple, 924, sent the head of St. Denis and one of his hands to the emperor, Henry I. Cities welcomed the sacred souvenirs with the ringing of bells and processions. The foundations of cathedrals as that of Magdeburg were laid in them, and pope Leo IX in refusing to consecrate a church that did not possess at least one relic was acting in accord with the Nicene decree of 787. On the church altars under which relics were deposited, solemn engagements were confirmed by oaths.

In the twentieth century, the search of oil has been no more active than the search made for relics in the much praised mediæval times. They were unearthed in the most unexpected places, as for example the body of Clement of

Rome at Metz, and the body of the Evangelist Matthew at Treves,—Hauck 4: 73. The demons themselves showed their interest in them by revealing their identity as in the case of a nail of the cross which had remained for a long period unrecognized in the reliquary of Treves. In the remotest regions, such as Great Britain, so Bede assures us, there were elaborate collections of relics before 700. St. Albans possessed memorials of all the Apostles or parts of their bodies. Blindness and other maladies were healed at the sacred burial places of the far-off Northern country. Chips from the cross and dust from the sacred tombs thrown into the water were reported as cures for those who drank. Finally, the discoveries in Palestine during the Crusades should have been sufficient to satisfy the craving of Europe for these holy curiosities, but their number was increased during the fourth Crusade which took Constantinople, 1204, and resulted in the removal of shiploads of objects taken from the shrines and reliquaries of the city to the churches and the palaces of the West.

Among the more curious treasures brought from Palestine or transferred from Constantinople by the piety of the Crusaders, were Noah's beard, the horns ascribed to Moses, the stone on which Jacob slept at Bethel, hairs from Balaam's ass and the branch in which Absalom was caught. To New Testament times belonged the knife which our Lord used at the Last Supper, which is at Treves, the dish used on that occasion, once claimed alike by Rome, Genoa and Arles, a part of the towel with which our Lord girded himself at the Last Supper, the very table on which the Last Supper was eaten, now claimed by the Lateran at Rome, hay from the manger and the stake which vexed Paul's flesh. One of the tears which Jesus shed at Lazarus' grave was in the keeping of Vendome. As for this tear, a tract was written which showed that it had been caught up by an angel and given to Mary Magdalene, who preserved it in a precious vessel and carried it to France.

To refer again to the collection of 5,005 relics exhibited at Wittenberg, during Luther's early manhood,—it contained bones of David, a tooth which belonged to Zechariah, three pieces of Aaron's rod, two pieces of Moses' rod, fragments of the axe which drove our Lord's cross into the ground, eight pieces of a stone with which Stephen was stoned, eighteen fragments of Paul's bones, a link of the chain with which St. Peter was bound, two pieces of the staff which he used, as well as thirty pieces of the wood of the cross, five drops of Mary's milk, seven pieces of her veil, and one piece of the place from which she ascended to heaven. In addition to these and other articles not less famous, the collection contained fifteen fragments of the seven sleepers of Ephesus.

The accounts given of relics are sometimes as humorous as others are solemn. It is related by Cæsar of Heisterbach that a certain Bernard belonging to a convent, but fortunately not yet a monk, was in the habit of carrying about with him a box containing relics of St. Peter and St. Paul, which were good enough to thump Bernard on the side when he felt inclined to give way to sensual thoughts. An incident which Cæsar reports concerned one of St. Nicholas' teeth kept at Brauweiler which on one occasion jumped out of the glass in which it was contained and in that way showed the saint's very proper disgust at the irreverence of the people who were staring at it.

§ 5. **Protestant rejection of image worship.**—With one accord, the Protestant Reformers set aside the worship of images and relics as contrary to Scripture and as a species of idol-worship. Their judgment found expression in the words of Luther's Larger catechism—"They are all dead stuff which can do no one any good,"—*sie sind alles todt Ding das niemand heiligen kann.* Luther spoke of seeing in Rome the very rope with which Judas was reported to have hung himself. He also spoke of an image of the Virgin at Grimmenthal which was said to cure syphilis. In the matter of relics, said Calvin, "It is almost incredible how the world has been cheated. I can mention three foreskins of our Saviour's

circumcision, fourteen nails exhibited for the three driven into the cross, three robes for Christ's seamless garment over which the soldiers cast lots, three spears by which our Saviour's side was pierced, five sets of linen cloths in which his body in the tomb was wrapped."[2] Calvin also spoke of one of St. Anthony's arms shown and kissed in Geneva which, on being examined, was found to be a stag's bone, and some of Peter's brain kept on the altar of St. Peters in the same city which proved to be a pumice stone.

The English Homilies, spoke of Our Lady of Walsingham, Our Lady of Ipswich, Our Lady of Wilsdon and other images of the Virgin as imitations of Diana of Ephesus, Venus of Paphos and Venus of Cyprus. The New Testament, they went on to say, "containing the Word of Life, is a more lively and true image of our Savior than all carved, molten and painted images in the world, and yet men do not light candles before it at noon-time or kneel before it and burn incense to it." They also referred to the revenues accruing from the exhibition of relics and related that "some saints had many heads, one in one place and another in another place, and some had six arms and twenty-six fingers and, if all the pieces of the relics of the cross were gathered up, the greatest ship in England would scarcely carry them, and yet the greatest part of the cross, they say, doth remain in the hands of the infidels, for they pray in their beads, bidding that they may also get it into their hands."

The Lutheran Reformation retained pictures and crosses in the churches. The Calvinists and Puritans rejected them. In England, Bishop Ridley had the crosses removed from the churches of London. Bishop Hooper, in his Injunctions, gave orders that when glass windows in the churches were to be repaired or new ones put in, "you do not permit to be painted thereon the image or picture of any saint and that ye cause to be defaced all such images as do remain painted on any of the walls of your churches." However, the good prelate gave permission for the painting of ouches, flowers or posies taken out of the Holy Scriptures. Bishop Jewel

wrote to Peter Martyr, 1559, saying "that little silver cross of ill-omened origin still maintains its place in the queen's chapel." Determined as Elizabeth was to retain objects of art in the churches, her Injuctions of 1559 ordered that "to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, clergymen shall not set forth or extol any images, relics or miracles but, declaring the abuse of the same, shall teach that all goodness and health and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only of God as the very author and giver of the same." The document also ordered that "they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, pictures and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in wall, glass windows or elsewhere in their churches and houses." Finally, the Anglican party put the Puritans to rout and perpetuated the use of art in the sanctuary.

§ 6. The revival of relic worship.—There are some signs that the passion for relics is entering upon a new chapter. Every year, in Passion Week, hundreds are exposed to view in the churches of Rome. The reputed handkerchief of St. Veronica, the lance-head which pierced the Savior's side and a piece of the cross are solemnly exhibited in St. Peters on Tenebræ, the Wednesday evening before Good Friday and priests as well as people prostrate themselves on the mosaic floor before them. On the Thursday before Good Friday, the skulls of St. Peter and St. Paul are exposed above the high altar in St. John Lateran. A cardinal, at times at least, joins in the ceremonies and prays to the sacred objects. In the same ancient church may be seen a piece of the manger, Aaron's rod which budded, some of the fragments left from the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes and other curiosities, which are interesting even though they are not genuine.

Over against St. John Lateran is the holy stairway, held to be sacred enough to justify Pius X, 1908, in granting to all who climb it on their knees praying and meditating on

Christ's passion, a plenary indulgence applicable to the living and to souls in purgatory. In the chapel above the stairway is a head of Christ, alleged to have been painted by Luke, and having special efficacy for those who pray before it. San Croce, another of the Roman churches, possesses the board which hung over the cross and contained the inscription in three languages. At Turin is the alleged holy shroud in which Christ was wrapped, which was exhibited the last time in 1898. Treves, in Northern Europe, has the holy coat which Mary is said to have made for Jesus and which, according to the legend, grew with him as he grew until he was crucified. The coat is exhibited periodically and in 1891 attracted no less than 1,925,130 persons. Unfortunately a rival coat exists at Argenteuil which Gregory XVI, pronounced genuine. The cathedral of the old imperial city of Aachen, in addition to minor relics, possesses the chemise Mary wore at Jesus birth, Jesus' swaddling clothes, the loincloth he wore on the cross and the sheet in which John the Baptist's head was wrapped. No less than 600,000 people visited the exposition of these relics, July, 1909.[3] In the annual procession of Sant Sang, at Bruges, the bishop of the city carries through the streets, as he did May, 1925, a golden chest containing a piece of cloth said to be stained with some of Christ's blood. On November 27, 1924, Cardinal Mercier presented King Albert of Belgium with a reliquary containing a small bit of the king's patron saint, the saint's body having recently been found in Rheims cathedral. In Birmingham, the relics of St. Chad, after being left in repose since 1509, were carried through the streets in 1920. These things are mentioned to show that the worship of relics is vouched for and encouraged by living prelates of highest rank.

The same may be said of the bleeding and weeping images of Mary which seem to be on the increase. Four images of Christ and the Virgin in the shop of Thomas Dwan of Tipperary, Ireland, were found to be bleeding in 1920 and were visited by thousands of people in a single day. Father Byrne of South Dakota testified to having seen the statues

shed drops of blood. So great is the credulity or readiness to deceive that a certain Madame Mesmin, in 1907, showed a statue which she had brought from Lourdes and which suddenly began to shed tears. In this case, as in other cases, it was discovered that fraud was being practised. The approval, which the Holy Office in 1903 between the death of Leo XIII and the enthronement of Pius X, gave to little chalk images of Mary dissolved in water as remedies of sickness, it must be remembered, was tantamount to papal approval, for such is the law for decisions when no pope is on the throne. The decision was given in answer to a request from the Bishop of Iago, Chile.

In America also, there are evidences that the pious or superstitious usage of Europe is being encouraged. The shrine of St. Anne, at Beaupré, near Quebec, is noted for the miracles of healing said to be performed there. In Calvin's time, the French towns of Apte and Lyons both claimed Anne's entire body, while at the same time one of her hands was claimed by three localities, Turin, Treves and a town in Thuringia. Her head was received at Bern, 1516. Calvin as a child, kissed a part of her body which was shown in a convent near Noyon. Whether derived from one or other of these deposits, Beaupré had in its possession in 1875 a single bone reputed to have belonged to Anne's body and today has no less than four such bones. The church of St. Anne in the city of New York likewise claims to be in possession of one of Anne's wrist bones. The most recent acquisition to the number of sacred relics in the United States are parts of the body of St. Christine which Dr. Schrembs, Bishop of Cleveland, brought from Rome, August, 1925. St. Christine is reputed to have been a martyr and her grave was opened 200 years ago. The sacred urn which contain most of her bones and entire skull, was brought across the ocean sealed with the crest of Cardinal Gasparri. It also contains a vial of dried blood. Dr. Schrembs reports that three of Pius XI's predecessors had offered him a relic, but obstacles were interposed so that none of them could be

taken away from Rome without raising an outcry. He also brought with him a fragment of the true cross, probably the first fragment of the kind to be brought to the Western continent. In view of Clement V's assurance that the wood of the cross has the merit of being able to increase itself, no final objection can be sustained by a Roman Catholic to the genuiness of the relic.[4]

§ 7. A reasonable estimate of images.—For the ordinary mind it seems impossible that garments belonging to the bodies of saints or that these bodies themselves were capable of being preserved for nearly two thousand years. At times, they are exposed to the air, and in accordance with the law that holds for other objects of the same kind, they should crumble to dust. In spite of this consideration, it is an undeniable fact that in the present day honored and learned Roman prelates of high position give their countenance to the genuineness of relics associated with Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and saints, and that they vouch for the reality of the miracles which are said to be performed in the presence of these sacred objects.

Four hundred years ago, no less a person than the chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More, related the wonderful windfall which he saw with his own eyes. At the resetting of an image of Barking in the abbey, so he reported, "a pretty little door was struck and out fell also many relics that had lain in that place unknown, God wote how long. Among them were certain kercheoirs which were of our Lady's own making. Coarse they were not nor large but served, as it were, to cast in a plain and simple manner upon her head, but surely they were as clean, seems to my seeming, as every I saw in my life." It was guessed, More continued, "that they had lain in that secret place 500 years when the abbey was burned by infidels." Was the high lawyer imposed upon or not? Was he right when he wrote his work on sacred images and their worship or were Luther, Calvin and Latimer and Knox right when they pronounced relics a delusion? To come down four centuries, we find

Pius XI giving his authority to the sacredness of images. In his encyclical of December 23, 1922, he congratulated himself upon having repaired the damage done to the sanctuary of Loreto and restored to it the image of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and having reconsecrated and crowned it with his own hands. He further declared that it was "a glorious triumph of the august Virgin that to her holy image everywhere on the journey from the Vatican to Loreto unceasing homage was paid by numbers of the faithful of all classes."

The reasons given by Cardinal Gibbons for the use of images and relics are the following:—1. They are the catechism of the unlearned and thousands upon thousands would have died ignorant of the Christian faith if they had not been enlightened by paintings. 2. They are witnesses to the Christian faith even as the picture of a general is to patriotism or of an archbishop to his religion. 3. They help the worshipper to concentrate his thoughts on the object of his affections. 4. The portraits of saints stimulate him to imitate their virtues, just as the portraits of Washington and Patrick Henry encourage patriotic and moral sentiments.

Protestants agree with the cardinal in regard to the influence which the portraits and statues of such men as Washington are adapted to make. They dissent when it comes to pictures and statues of Christ, Mary and the saints for the following reasons:—1. The pictures are deceptive. They are not genuine portraits. The madonnas of Raphael, Holbein and other painters are wholly works of the imagination. The portraits of Mary clad in nun's veil and vesture teach a false lesson, as if Mary had commended the monastic life and habit. The pictures which represent her as carrying Christ in her arms or crowned in heaven are the product of mariolatry and in turn are adapted to encourage conceptions of Mary which falsify the scheme of redemption and put Christ into the background. 2. Many and probably all the relics for which a high age is claimed, are inventions. If they are textures or wood, they cannot, except by an astound-

ing miracle, have retained their original form. 3. The worship of bones, teeth, hair and other such objects grows out of supersitition and there is no hint in Scripture that Christ or his Apostles considered parts of their bodies sacred. 4. The veneration of images seems to be contrary to Christ's words that "God is a Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in truth." Protestants cannot deny the devotion of Roman Catholics who worship before relics or seek through them healing power nor deny that the worshipper may look far beyond the inanimate object to Christ and his grace. Nevertheless, in view of the spiritual nature of the Christian religion and the precept of the decalogue, the practice of image and relic worship should be discredited.

The Baltimore Plenary catechism, utters a warning as did the Council of Trent that discrimination be made between true and false relics.[5] Nevertheless, Dr. Milner wrote down the strange declaration that it makes little difference whether the relic be true or false, as everything depends upon the devotion rendered by the heart. Other Roman Catholic writers maintain the same view, which seems to justify an untruth for religious ends. The Westminster, with other Protestant Confessions, calls the veneration of images, idolatry. It is not in the temper of Protestants today to be so free in the use of that word to qualify Roman practices as their forefathers were. It is quite possible that God may choose to use images and relics in the case of the uninstructed to stimulate faith and it is possible that faith may go out through them as through words uttered in prayer. At best, they belong in the class of beggarly rudiments which Paul thought Christians should renounce. Prophets and Psalmists and Apostles bade men turn from created things to the invisible but ever living God and to worship Him alone.

CHAPTER XXVII

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH

A man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law.
Rom. 3:28.

Faith, if it hath not works, is dead in itself.—James 2:17.

THE sacramental differences of the Protestant and Roman systems having been stated, we are in a position to consider the meaning of justification which was one of the two underlying and essential doctrines on which the Western church of the sixteenth century was divided, the other being the final authority of the Scriptures. The answer to the exact question, "How may a man become just in the sight of God," then engaged the serious attention of theologians and people as it had not done since the days of St. Paul. When Luther started on his career, the very expression "justification by faith" made prominent by the Apostles to the Gentiles was almost, if not altogether, a novelty. Luther and the other Reformers staked the issue of their conflict upon the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. The Middle Ages had constructed an ecclesiastical bridge by which access to Christ was to be had. The Reformers tore down the mediæval construction and bade men learn from St. Paul the way of direct access to Christ through faith alone. Augustine had taught the full helplessness of the sinner and turned the sinner over to the church and its sacramental agencies. The Reformers agreed with the great theologian in teaching the sinner's helplessness, but departed from him in bidding the sinner turn immediately to Christ, without the intervention of sacraments or priesthood.

§ 1. **Sin and salvation.**—Protestants and Roman Catholics agree that all men are sinners and, without divine mercy, helpless and lost. Their theologies differ in defining the effect of Adam's disobedience, whether it was a wound which weakened the will as the Roman Catholic, the Pelagian and Arminian systems teach, or whether it entailed the slavery of the will under sin, the explanation taught by the Protestant Confessions and known as corruption of nature or total depravity. Few Protestant theologians today would be willing to repeat language once used on this subject and fewer follow the Formula of Concord which likened the natural man to a stone, a block, and a clod, and denied to him the slightest spark of spiritual power, or the statement of the Westminster Confession that Adam's descendants in consequence of Adam's sin are "altogether indisposed, disabled and made opposite to all good and wholly inclined to all evil." The present Protestant position is expressed in the milder statement of the XXXIX Articles that "original or birth-sin is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man whereby he is very far from original righteousness and of his own nature inclined to evil." However much the Protestant and Romanist theologies have differed, both agree that all men are in the bondage of sin and to be saved must have grace from above and that as many as receive Christ, to them he gives the right to become the children of God, even to them that believe on his name, John 1 : 12.

§ 2. **Justification by faith.**—The Protestant doctrine of the method by which the benefits of Christ's redemption are made ours, is justification by faith; the Roman that a man is justified by faith and good works. If Luther and Calvin and the Protestant Confessions laid great weight upon the definition of faith and justification, the Council of Trent laid corresponding weight upon the definition of the sacraments and the theory of sacerdotal and sacramental grace.

The words "salvation" and "justification" are not equivalent. Salvation is the completed condition, justification the divine act or, according to the Roman view, the

process by which the sinner passes into the condition of salvation. The words "saved" and "salvation" are used throughout the New Testament. Of the forty times the words "to justify" and "justification"—*dikaioo* and its cognates—occur, Paul uses them twenty-seven times and James three times. The Apostle's argument in the Epistle to the Romans revolves around the statement that "the just shall live by faith," Rom. 1: 17, the word "just" being the translation of a Greek word which at times is also translated in the Authorized Version "righteous." The expression "to justify" may mean "to make righteous," as the Roman theologian understands it and the Rheims version translates it, or "to pronounce righteous" as Protestants understand it. The latter interpretation has in its favor the usual Greek usage. The evangelist—Luke 7:29—says that "the people justified God," where the meaning can hardly be that they made God righteous, but that they honored Him as righteous. Paul's meaning seems to be clear from his expression "to reckon for righteousness," employed as an equivalent of "to justify" as when he said, that "to him who believeth on Christ that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness," Rom. 4: 5, Gal 3: 6.

The teachings of the two systems are as follows: 1. With Protestants, justification is God's legal or forensic sentence whereby the sinner is acquitted of the guilt and freed from the penalty of sin, Christ's righteousness being imputed or reckoned as his. When Paul said that "it is God that justifieth," his meaning seems to have been that God pronounces upon the sinner the judicial sentence exempting him from the punishment of sin and acquitting him of guilt and gives him eternal life. With the Roman Catholic, justification is a process whereby God forgives the sinner his guilt and sanctifies him. The definition of the Council of Trent runs that justification is "not only the remission of sins, but sanctification and the renewal of the inner man by his appropriation of grace whereby a man is changed from an enemy into a friend of God and from being unrighteous

becomes righteous." 2. Protestants hold that God's act of justification is contemporary with faith. So far as man's act goes, faith is the soul-saving act. Luther was unwise as has been said, in inserting into Paul's statement of Rom. 3: 28, that "a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law," the word "alone," but he did not thereby misinterpret Paul's meaning. The insertion had been made before in the Nürnberg Bible of 1483. The Roman Catholic teaches in the words of the Council of Trent that "through the observance of the commandments of God and the church, faith coöperating with good works, we increase in that justice which has been received through the grace of Christ and are still further justified," the word "justice" being used by the RheimsVersion as the equivalent of the word "righteousness." 3. From its definition of justification Protestant theology derived the doctrine of the perseverance of saints, that is that they who are justified will certainly be saved. The Roman Catholic teaching is that sanctifying or infused grace may be withdrawn unless the sinner meets certain conditions, that is takes the sacraments with their power now to remove sins and now to confer grace. Whatever view may be taken of the way by which the benefits of the atonement become ours, Luther was wrong in making justification by faith the "article of the standing or falling church," as it is called in the Schmalkald Articles, that is the doctrine on which the very life of the church depends. The article of the standing or falling church is Christ's incarnation and atoning death.

§ 3. Faith and good works.—In the Protestant system the condition on the human side of receiving justification is faith; in the Roman system, faith and good works. In extravagant terms Roman controversialists and theologians have made the charge that Luther and the Reformers meant by faith an inner assurance, irrespective of a righteous life. The Reformers meant no such thing. They meant a living, moving disposition of the soul which, as coals on the hearth give out heat, must of necessity manifest itself in good acts. In laying emphasis on faith as the sole condition of salvation

which the sinner is called upon to meet, they meant that full trust in Christ, followed by obedience to his will, is all that is required. The strong language which they used made possible the charge that they taught that Christain faith is something which may be had apart from good living but the charge belies their purpose which was to point to Christ's supreme merits as the sinner's only hope and discredit the idea that submission to the church and the performance of exercises which the church rules prescribe is necessary to acquire God's favor. The words "faith" and "believing," as they are used in the New Testament, seem to justify their doctrine. Christ worked his miracles in answer to faith. He did not wait for the blind man to become good or to go through a system of ceremonies. He said to him, "Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace." To the woman he said, "Woman, great is thy faith, be it done unto thee even as thou wilt," and of the publican who beat upon his breast and cried, "God be merciful to me a sinner," he pronounced the judgment that he "went down to his house justified," and not the Pharisee, Luke 18:14. To the question of his disciples who asked what works they should do, Christ replied, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent," John 6:29, and he gave the great assurance when he said, "He that believeth in me is passed from death unto life." The concern which the Apostle Paul had in his Epistle to the Romans was to exalt faith as the only organ through which the benefits of the atonement are apprehended so that it is true that God "justifies the circumcision by faith and the uncircumcision through faith" and "a man is justified by faith apart from the deeds of the law." Faith is not a dead, inactive mental conviction or Paul would not have proceeded in the last five chapters of the Epistle to insist upon righteousness of conduct and order in society. James, whose epistle Luther in his zeal to magnify the Pauline theology called "a strawy epistle," was probably not far apart from Paul when he said that "faith wrought with Abraham's works and by works was made perfect,"

for he also said that "faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself."

If the Reformers in their treatment of faith exposed themselves to the charge that they meant a disposition isolated from good conduct, the Roman Catholics have spread an unscriptural teaching in leading the people to use the expression "the faith" as though in the New Testament faith meant the body of Christian doctrines. What Luther meant by faith, he explained fully in the Preface to his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* when he said, "Faith is a divine work in us which transforms us and begets us anew. It makes us in heart, temper, disposition and all our powers, entirely different men than we were before and brings with it the Holy Spirit. It is a living, busy, active, mighty thing. It is impossible that it should not be ceaselessly doing that which is good. As it is impossible to separate burning and glow from the flame, so it is impossible to separate good works from faith." In his *Freedom of a Christian Man*, he spoke of faith as the principle which unites the soul with Christ, as the wife is united to her husband, so that what Christ loves, the soul loves, and what Christ would do, the soul does.

The Protestant Confessions gave to the article on faith a place of first prominence. The Augsburg Confession runs that "men cannot be justified—obtain forgiveness and righteousness—before God by their own powers, merits or works, but are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith." The XXXIX Articles pronounce the doctrine, "that we are justified by faith only most wholesome and very full of comfort," and teach that "we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith and not for our works and deservings."[1] These words were repeated in the Articles drawn up for the American Methodists, 1784. John Wesley had re-emphasized that the sinner is justified by faith, if he did not resurrect the doctrine in England.

The Protestant view was met by the Council of Trent

in an elaborate series of exact definitions which occupy one fourth of the space given to its decrees. It pronounced no less than thirty-three anathemas upon those holding views other than its own, as for example those who assert that good works do not coöperate with faith in securing our justification and that such works are merely the fruits of justification. Faith is treated chiefly as intellectual assent, as it had been treated by Sir Thomas More who wrote, *Dial.*, p. 266, "These Lutherans abuse the word faith of a malicious mind to deceive unlearned people. For, whereas faith signifieth the belief and firm credence given not only to such things as God promiseth but also to every truth that he telleth his church . . . these heretics blind us with their equivocations by which they not only restrain the faith unto the promises alone from all other articles of the faith but also abuse the word faith altogether, turning it slyly from belief into trust, confidence and hope and would have it seem as though our faith were nothing else but a hope we have in God's promises."

How far Sir Thomas was from understanding the teaching of the Reformers is seen in the words he used in the *Supplication of Souls*, p. 309, ed. 1557, "Which Gospell but Luther's Gospell and Tindal's Gospell telling you that there nedeth no good workes but that it wer sacrilege and abominacion to go about to please God with any good workes, and that there is no purgatory." Cardinal Bellarmine—1: 5—says that "Justifying faith is not trust, but solely the firm and assured assent to all those things which God has promised to man for belief—*solus assensus firmus ac certus.*"

Over against this definition of faith as intellectual conviction, Protestants make the distinction between intellectual faith such as the demons had who believe and tremble—Jas. 2:19—and saving faith which is an apprehension of Christ as our Saviour and trust in him. The Protestant idea was well stated by Tyndale in words addressed to the Bishop of Rochester—*Obedience of a Christian Man*, p. 223—"When Rochester saith that, if faith only justifies, then both the devils and also sinners that lie still in sin would be saved,

his argument is not worth a straw for neither the devils nor yet sinners that continue in sin of purpose and delectation have any such faith as Paul speaketh of. The devil believes that Christ died, but not that he died for his sins. Neither do any that consent in the heart to continue in sin, believe that Christ died for him."

Roman Catholic theologians defend their treatment of justification in part by the absence in the writings of the early Fathers of any explicit definition of the doctrine and their failure to lay stress upon it. The omission is to be explained on the ground that the Fathers were concerned to insist upon the Rule of Faith and its acceptance as the requirement for membership in the Christian church. They were not contending against the system of rites and practices invented in the Middle Ages as were the Reformers, but with Paganism. The acceptance of the Rule of Faith implied the practice of virtues which the Rule did not name. Clement of Rome, however, seems to have been following the line which Paul pursues in the sixth chapter of Romans, when he derived sanctification from justification. "Faith," said Ignatius, in his letter to the Ephesians, "is your windlass and love is the way that leadeth to God." In his *Apostolic Preaching*—Nos. 35, 87, 91, 95—Irenæus quoting the passage "Abraham believed God and He accounted it unto him for righteousness," says, "In like manner we also are justified by faith. All who care for their salvation, must make themselves firm and sure by means of faith." The Rule of Faith was as silent about the sacraments, as it was about the mode of justification.

§ 4. **Good works.**—The charge that Luther and the Protestant system have reduced the obligation and value of godly living and taught that salvation is offered to faith independent of good practices was made from the first as by Cardinal Sadolet and has been repeated even to our own day as by such writers as Denifle and Cardinal Gibbons. Bishop Gilmour, in his work on *Bible History for Young People*, falsely states that "Luther preached that faith

without good works would save." Most recently, Dr. Guilday has asserted that Luther preached the worthlessness of good works and denied "the moral value of human action." Such statements are figments of the brain and arise from misunderstanding or a wilful purpose to misrepresent the Reformed teachings.

There have been Roman controversialists who have gone even further and taught that Luther actually invented the doctrine of justification by faith for the purpose of providing a cloak for himself and others to lead profligate lives and as a means to win to his cause the lawless and vicious. In answering the charge it must be recalled that Paul was obliged to face a like slander, when he was accused of teaching that it is lawful to do evil that good may come, Rom. 3:7. When the charge was made against himself, Luther treated it usually as a joke or with derision while Calvin treated such charges as calumnies, pure and simple. To make the charge good in Luther's case, his opponents tore his written words from their connection or put false meanings into them. For example, much is made out of language which the Reformer used in the letter written to Melanchthon, 1521, "Be a sinner and sin strongly—*fortiter*." It is the custom of some Roman writers to quote this clause and omit the second clause, "but believe more strongly and rejoice in Christ who is victor over sin, the world and death." The writer's meaning is completely perverted for, if the passage be read to the end, it will be seen that Luther meant the very opposite of what has been ascribed to him and he closed with the words "pray mightily—*ora fortiter*."[2] Paraphrased, Luther's lines mean "Let us go on in our course which they call rebellion and heresy and let us do so with all our powers, for we have Christ as our helper and he has conquered evil." Bellarmine was so unfair as to represent Luther's position as this, "If you come with a bag full of good works and lay it down, you will not be able to enter the kingdom of heaven." The statement would express Luther's real position and the position of Protestants,

if Bellarmine had added the words, "and have not faith."

The most virulent of modern calumniators, Denifle, who rightly insists that "faith works by love"—Gal. 5:6—devotes page after page of his Life of Luther to the effort to show that Luther fabricated his definition of faith to justify himself in a life of license and carnal living. The words which Luther's would-be biographer repeats again and again, so that they sound almost like the peals of a bell announcing a dire calamity, namely "lust cannot be overcome"—*die Begierlichkeit ist völlig unbesiegbar*—are a clause torn out of a paragraph of one of Luther's sermons, a sermon intended to teach the very opposite of that which Denifle ascribed to the hated and heretical monk. Luther was preaching on the text "As a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, so would I have gathered you" and his purpose was to show that it is only by relying upon Christ and obeying him that men will avoid sinning and overcome the propensity to sin. The controversial spirit has seldom lowered itself to such a wilful misrepresentation, charging a man with the very teaching he is engaged in reprobating. It is probable that Luther commended a good and moral life as frequently as ever a mortal preacher has. "Faith," he said, "is a leaven which gradually leaveneth the whole man. This life is not a state of piety but a time of becoming pious, not health but of getting health.[3] God does not ask whether you have crossed yourself or have gotten an indulgence. What he wants is a good life." Could words speak the truth more clearly! In his *Freedom of a Christian Man*, he said sententiously that "good works do not make a man good, but a good man doeth good works. True faith is a lively thing and can in no wise be idle. Therefore, teach we the people that God hath called us not to follow riot and wantonness but, as Paul said, 'He hath called us unto good works to walk in them.' "

What Luther taught, Calvin taught. In answering Cardinal Sadolet, the Genevan Reformer said that "this

calumny our opponents have ever in their mouths, namely that we take away the purpose of well-doing from the Christian life by recommending gratuitous righteousness. It is true that we deny that good works have any share in justification, but we claim that full responsibility rests upon the righteous to do good works." His words on Hosea, 6 : 6, ought to have closed the mouth of assailants like Denifle, that "faith by itself cannot please God, for it can never exist without love to our neighbor." What Luther and Calvin taught, the Protestant Confessions taught, that faith, in order to be saving faith, must control the whole nature and bring it into obedience to the precepts of the Gospel. The Formula of Concord affirmed that "true faith is never alone but always has with it love and hope," and one of the Helvetic Confessions, that "trusting faith—*fiducia*—is of all things productive of good works, even as is the branch that is united to the vine." Finally, the Westminster Confession declared that "the moral law binds all justified persons as well as others to the obedience thereof." The charge that Protestants hold the doctrine of faith as a pretext for lawlessness is to libel St. Paul and stigmatize the Protestant world as if, while professing the language of the decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount, they invented a doctrinal statement with the very purpose of defying the precepts of Scripture calling for a life of moral conduct.

§ 5. **Good works and human merit.**—By the Protestant theory, good works have no part in meriting God's forgiving favor. Appeal is made to passages which declare eternal life to be "the free gift of God" and that salvation is by grace through faith and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God, Rom. 6:23, Eph. 2:8. "After ye have done all these things which are commanded you," said Christ, "say, we are unprofitable servants." The wedding garment was a free gift. As early as March 31st, 1518, Luther wrote to Staupitz, expressing clearly what his teaching was. "I teach men that they should trust in nothing save

in Jesus Christ, not in their own prayers or merits or works, for we are not saved by our own exertions, but by the mercy of God."[4] Good works the Reformers taught proceed from gratitude to God for salvation and the daily benefits of life. This was stated by the Augsburg Confession when it said that "we must do good works, not in the sense that we should trust that on their account we deserve grace, but because it is God's will that we should do them," and the Heidelberg Catechism, that "with our entire life we should show our thankfulness to God for his goodness." We are bound to do good works, according to the Second Helvetic Confession, "not that by doing them we can merit eternal life but for the glory of God to adorn our calling, to show our gratitude to God and to be useful to our neighbor."

Over against this view, the Roman Catholic system teaches that a life, in proportion as it is good, merits reward in God's sight and that merit is acquired by obedience to the rules laid down by ecclesiastical authority as well as by obedience to the plain precepts of the Scriptures or, as the Council of Trent put it, "by the observance of the commandments of God and the church." The council further claimed—7: *proem.*—that "through the most holy sacraments all true justice—righteousness—either begins or, being begun, is increased or, being lost, is repaired." Its decrees anathematized those who deny that "by good works performed through the grace of God and the merit of Jesus Christ, the justified man does not truly merit increase of grace, eternal life and also increase of glory." And it also anathematized those who pronounce unnecessary "satisfaction made to God through the punishments enjoined by the priest or such as are voluntarily taken such as fastings, prayers, alms-deeds and other works of piety and who assert that the best penance is merely a new life—*novam vitam.*"

That the Tridentine theory seems still to be held in the Roman constituency two quotations bear witness. Says Father Byrne, p. 78, "What Catholics mean by good works

is the keeping of the Ten Commandments, frequenting the sacrament, prayers, fastings, alms-deeds, etc." Dr. Carnevin, formerly Archbishop of Pittsburgh, in the third edition of his *Inquirer's Guide* after explaining the Ten Commandments, enumerates six duties which the church lays down. 1. To hear mass on Sunday and holy days of obligation. 2. To fast on days appointed by the church. 3. To confess at least once a year. 4. To receive the eucharist at Easter time. 5. To contribute to the support of religion. 6. Not to marry any one proscribed by the church nor at any time nor in any way forbidden by the church. Then, in his explanation of the duties, the archbishop pronounced it a mortal sin for one over seven years of age, to take meat on Fridays or other days of abstinence.

Of ecclesiastical commandments such as these, the Augsburg Confession was speaking when it said that men's consciences had been "vexed with the doctrine of good works." In the sixteenth century the system of merit had come to include obedience to a congeries of ecclesiastical prescriptions and canons and all sorts of penances for the remission of offenses. These were set aside by the Reformers as the "precepts of men," as the precepts of the Pharisees were set aside by our Lord who neglected the weighty matters of the law, while they were tithing anise and cummin and mint. For this reason Luther threw a copy of the canon law into the fire with Leo X's bull. The matter is well put by a recent writer, Paterson, when he says that "the radical religious conception of the church among Roman Catholics is that it makes the sinner fall into the hands of men rather than into the hands of God. We are referred to an institution for salvation which, in spite of its lofty claims, is manifestly leavened and controlled by the thoughts of men like ourselves."[5]

§ 6. Supererogatory works.—The Roman system teaches that good works in excess of what the Gospel requires may be performed and thereby extra merit secured. These works, which are called works of supererogation from the

Latin word meaning "more than is demanded," have in themselves grace. It is as if a school-boy were marked 100 plus, that is, perfection and something more. Support is found by Cardinal Bellarmine for this kind of merit in the saying, "Give and it shall be given unto you in good measure, pressed down and running over, Luke 6: 38. The chief work of supererogation is martyrdom but as a rule, the excess of merit is a reward for observing the three monastic vows, poverty, celibacy and absolute obedience to a religious superior. Taking the monastic vows is called "conversion" and monks and nuns who take them are known as "the religious." The three renunciations of marriage, property and freedom are the passageway for those who make them "to the preferable state." The things commanded by the decalogue and conscience are a matter of obligation, the renunciations a matter of free choice and therein consists their merit. The distinction made between acts obligatory and optional is derived from Christ's saying to the centurion named the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," and Paul's words when he was speaking of marriage, "I have no commandment, but I give my judgment"—*consilium*, Matt. 8: 9, 19: 21, 1 Cor. 7: 5. The state of the religious was called by St. Bernard and the churchmen of the Middle Ages, the state of perfection—*status perfectionis*—and upon the basis of Matt. 22: 30, the "angelic life." "Religion," meaning the conventual life, said Cardinal Bellarmine—*de mon.* 1: 2—"is the state leading to Christian perfection through the vows of poverty, continence and obedience."

This is not the place to enter into the merits of the monastic system. It is sufficient to say that in the sixteenth century, when the Protestant Reformation broke out, the profession which monastics took was looked upon as a second baptism, restoring those who made it to the innocency of a child. Two baptisms were spoken of by Jerome, water baptism and monkish baptism, the one unto the

remission of sin, the other unto perfection. Two ways of holiness were distinguished by Thomas Aquinas, one by the convent and one outside of convent walls. He said, that "If one by a vow devote his whole life to God . . . he in that way has already assumed the state of perfection."

On taking the cowl, Luther was congratulated by the prior, brothers and father confessor of the convent on "being as innocent as is a child when it comes from the baptismal font." Melanchthon could not have mis-stated the case when in the article on monastic vows in the Augsburg Confession, he set down as the Roman teaching of his time that "the monk's profession is superior to baptism and that the monkish life merits more than the life of magistrates and pastors and other folk who follow their calling without going through any such invented religious actings." The confession proceeded to say that "it is held that monks only are in a state of perfection and that mendicants alone are perfect, whereas to love God sincerely and go about one's business and to have faith constitutes the state of perfection and not singleness of life, beggary or vile apparel." Further, the confession states that monks pretend that "the monastic life merits remission and justification. Yea, that it is a state of perfection and they place it far ahead of the other kinds of living which are ordained of God."

The Reformers denied altogether that by obedience to divine or ecclesiastical rules a mortal man may heap up merit in the sight of God. Luther was referring to supererogatory works as when in his Resolutions sent to Leo X, he said that no saint has done more than he ought to have done, nay more, no one of them has done as much as he should have done. In his tract on *Good Works*, with his usual clearness and incisiveness of statement, the Reformer dwelt upon the human origin of the doctrine of supererogation and the deception which it imposed upon men. "To train up children to the service of God," he said, "parents have their hands full and, in doing so, they are doing good works enough. To teach them to trust and

fear God, to provide for them meat and drink, to set before them by word and act a good example, and to take care of the hungry and the naked, the imprisoned and the sick, and to make one's dwelling a hospital for those in need—to do all this, is to do the good works which God requires. Is this to be called serving God when a man creeps away into a corner where he cannot give good counsel to anyone or help anyone? He who would serve God should remain where people are and do them good so far as he may be able. If you have a wife, child, servants, neighbors,—amongst them you will find opportunity enough to be good and in doing them good you are serving God best." Luther was joined by Calvin when he said, "No man can do more than he is required to do. When we have done all that God requires, we still are compelled to say that we are unprofitable servants."

In Christ's kingdom, so Protestants hold, there is no such thing as working overtime. Some are called early and some are called late, some to this occupation, some to that but, wherever called, every one is under obligation to do all he can to obey God's commands. As put by Luther in his *Babylonish Captivity*, "The works of monks and priests, be they ever so holy and arduous, differ in the sight of God no whit from the rustic toiling in the field or the woman going about her household tasks." The virtues associated with the conventual life, such as self-control, patience, and brotherly kindness are set forth no more strongly in the New Testament than the virtues which the performance of the ordinary tasks of life call for in the home and society. If one goes into solitude or the convent to escape temptation, the act may be praiseworthy but there is nothing in God's sight meritorious about it. Remaining in an uncongenial state in society or battling heroically against the odds of financial competition or adversity is surely equally as praiseworthy in the sight of man and equally well pleasing in the sight of God. The good works we do, the Christian lives we lead, follow as fruit grows upon a tree which has

been well planted and watered. The controversy once so heated between Roman Catholic and Protestant teachers over justification and good works ought to be a thing of the past. The sinner can only be freed from guilt and given a title to the Christian inheritance by God's grace and all attainments which a Christian may reach in piety and godliness will never exceed what obligation demands and gratitude calls for. However good a Christian may become in this world, he will yet say with St. Paul, "I count not myself to have apprehended but I press forward toward the mark for the prize of the high calling in Christ Jesus," Phil. 3: 13.

THIRD PART

SOCIAL AND MORAL

CHAPTER XXVIII

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Heresy cannot be tolerated in the same kingdom with the Catholic religion.—Pope Pius V.

God's servants are all overcomers when they war with God's weapons in God's cause and worship.—Roger Williams: *The Bloudy Tenent of Religion*, Chap. 67.

Heresy is an error, intolerance a sin, persecution a crime.
Philip Schaff.

RELIGIOUS freedom is a late fruit of Christian culture. The principle, as Paul said, that the weapons of the church are not carnal but spiritual was early forgotten. From condemning to spiritual penalties those who renounced its rites, the church proceeded to impose physical penalties, to imprison offenders who disobeyed its canons and even to approve the sentence of death for the more flagrant who persisted in heresy and opposed the "catholic faith."

§1. **The practice of the early church.**—With the rise of heresy within the church abhorrence of heresy developed and heretics were treated by Christian writers as spiritual successors of Simon Magus and agents of the devil. The church's exclusion of heresy within its own pale was one thing, the punishment of dissenters or the heathen was another. In the period before Constantine avowed himself a Christian, the church had no power to exact physical penalties but its writers in their zeal for the purity of Christian doctrine, when they wrote against heresies, were severe even to bitterness in their condemnation of those who advocated them. In Greece religious dissent was an offense

against the state and one of the charges on which Socrates was put to death was that he was a setter-forth of new gods. Plato in his ideal republic punished departures from the prescribed religion. Roman law tolerated foreign cults but only so long as they did not threaten the inherited institutions of the state and, when Trajan soon after the year 100 made it a capital offense to be known as a Christian, it was because their gatherings seemed to indicate a secret organization with aims hostile to the perpetuity of the empire. However well the Christians kept the law of brotherly love to their fellow Christians, the only writers who showed it in their utterances on religious freedom were Tertullian and Lactantius who pronounced religious liberty an inalienable right of nature. It would be ungracious to suggest that they might have expressed themselves differently had the church in their day not been under persecution, struggling for the right to exist. All honor is to be given to them for their humane and, as we believe to-day, their Christian sentiments on human rights.

No sooner were the laws against the Christians annulled by Constantine than the enactment of civil penalties both against heretics and the heathen population was begun. Arius, treated by the church as a heretic, was banished by the state. Under Constantine's successors Theodosius and Justinian the practice of Pagan rites was forbidden and then declared a capital offense and dissenters from the orthodox Christian tenets were punished with death. When the first executions of dissenting Christians occurred in 385, only two Christian prelates opposed the penalty. The leading churchmen treated heretics with a ferocity of language almost incredible. Uniformity of ritual and doctrinal assent displaced Christian love and humanity. Church councils were scenes of personal rancor and opprobrious abuse. The excesses of the majority were at times extended to physical violence, ending as in the case of Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, in death. Athanasius could not have invented more un-Christian epithets for Arian dissenters than

he used when he denounced them as polytheists, atheists, Pharisees, liars, dogs, wolves, devils. The treatment of heathen in daily intercourse had examples of unpardonable discourtesy among the best. Gregory of Nazianzus, who cannot say too much in praise of the piety and beneficence of his mother, Nonna, reports that she never offered her hand or spoke a word to the heathen in salutation. Pope Leo I, 450, advocated the death penalty for heretics.

§2. **Mediæval theory and law.**—Before Leo I and about 400 Augustine, in commenting upon the parable of the marriage feast, based upon the words "Compel them to come in!", the teaching that the church is justified in restraining heretics by force and using violent measures to bring them back to submission to its rule. Not only did the authorities and theologians of the Middle Ages refer to the North African father for the use of measures of violence but treated his statements as justifying the death penalty for heretics, an extreme to which he did not go. Individuals were put to death for dissent to the church's doctrinal system and wars declared against entire communities infected with heresy. Christian princes were called upon to muster armies and march against such communities as the Cathari of Southern France and papal agents accompanied the armies and exulted over the ravages made by the sword. St. Dominic, after preaching to the rebellious churchmen of those parts, had predicted the resort to the sword when he said, "I have exhorted you in vain with preaching, prayer and weeping. In accord with my country's proverb, where blessings accomplish nothing, blows may avail, we shall arouse against you princes and prelates who alas! will arm nations and kings against you,"—*Cath. Hist. Rev.* 1923, p. 70. In like spirit war was fomented by popes and Christian Europe against the Saracens who held Jerusalem and eye-witnesses of the massacre which took place in the holy city reported without horror that the blood of the slaughtered ran in the streets and reached in the temple area to the bridles of the Crusaders' horses.

By the decree of the Lateran council of 1215, in case a prince neglected to cleanse his lands of heretical depravity, the Roman pontiff was to absolve the prince's subjects from their allegiance and offer his lands to faithful Catholics. What other fitting fate than death could be thought of when Innocent III likened heretics to scorpions wounding with the sting of damnation, to vermin hid in the dust, to Joel's locusts and when he compared heresy to a cancer working its way secretly like a serpent! The civil power was compelled by the ecclesiastical theory and, in cases, by special enactments of pontiffs, to put heretics out of the world. By logical processes the Schoolmen justified the policy. If clippers of the coin were executed, much more did those who corrupted the faith deserve death. Of all crimes heresy was pronounced the worst. Excommunication from the church and spiritual rewards were not a sufficient punishment—Thomas Aquinas argued that heretics had no right to live,—*meruerunt non solum ab ecclesia per excommunicationem separari sed etiam per mortem a mundo excludi*. Dante put heretics in the lowest place of hell and a hundred years after him the Council of Constance passed a formal decree that heretics should be punished by death in the flames—*etiam ad ignem*. Again, in the year the Protestant movement broke out, the fifth Lateran council made disobedience of the pope punishable with death. The few mediæval churchmen who dared to lift their voices against the sanguinary policy were treated as rebels against God and the church. As for religious tolerance, Marsiglius of Padua, according to Lord Acton, went further in commending it than did the much later writers, Montaigne and Locke. In offering the use of physical force to compel religious conformity, the Italian appealed to the words of James 4:12—that Christ is the sole judge with power to destroy and make alive.

§ 3. **The theory and practice of the sixteenth century.**—The principles of the Protestant Reformers should have kept them from all sympathy with the old order of religious persecution. The very revolt in which they were engaged

involved the right of religious dissent and private opinion. Their inconsistency is a blot on the Reformation movement but it is to the credit of the movement that the number put to death for religious opinions by Protestant authorities was relatively inconsiderable and that among Protestants there were always found writers who condemned religious compulsion. Luther began most nobly in his XCV Theses by declaring that it is an unchristian practice to use the sword against heretics. The Spirit of God tolerates no such thing. In his tractate on the Civil Estate, 1523, and again in his explanation of the parable of the wheat and tares, 1528, Luther reasserted this position. Alas! from 1533, when he explained the same parable, he set aside his former views. In urging measures of violence against the Anabaptists and other sectaries, he was in part but not wholly moved by the sense of the sacredness of civil order and the duty of obedience to the civil authorities. On the other hand, Leo X and the leaders of the old way acted upon the distinct principle that religious dissenters have no right to live. Aleander wrote, that "heretics must be punished with the iron rod and fire, and that their bodies must be destroyed that their souls may be saved." Even Erasmus was willing that Luther's body be broiled. With all his violence of temper, the Protestant Reformer felt the inconsistency of this attitude and at times returned to the milder views of his earlier period. Without wavering, he opposed resort to arms to sustain the Protestant cause![1]

The part which Calvin took in the execution of Servetus is adduced as a proof that the Reformers did not reject the religious policy of the Middle Ages. The Roman Catholic scholar, Paulus heads his chapter on the Reformer, "Calvin in the Service of the Papal Inquisition," at once discrediting Calvin and condemning the inquisitorial policy of mediæval pontiffs. No sufficient excuse can be given for his rigid measures. Servetus was sentenced to death on religious charges and Calvin showed his deliberate approval of such sentences in the treatise which he subsequently wrote defend-

ing the Spaniard's execution, and the death penalty for religious offenders. Calvin's successor, Beza, defended the same principle with his pen. The Second Helvetic Confession and other Reformed creedal standards made idolatry as well as other offenses against the first table of the Mosiac code capital crimes.[2]

The difference between the Reformers and Roman pontiffs in the treatment of religious dissent was this. The Reformers were not unaminous on the subject and the number of victims condemned to death by Protestant tribunals was relatively small. The Roman see was intolerant from principle and the successors of Leo X, Paul III, Paul IV, Pius V and Gregory XIII did what was in their power by sword and subsidies, by the methods of the inquisition, by war on sea and land to destroy the leaders of Protestantism, and crush the Protestant movement. Writing to Chiergato, 1522, Adrian VI dwelt upon "evangelical liberty" as the pretense under which Luther gave out that he was acting. Paul III was responsible for dividing Germany into two armed camps and Calvin stated the case truly when he wrote to Charles V that Paul had "breathed out nothing but blood and slaughter as you yourself can bear witness. Had you yielded to his fury, Germany would long ago have been deluged with her own blood." No word issued from the Vatican rebuking the Jesuits, who resorted to every measure known to human violence to exterminate the new religionists. The Jesuits proved to be, as Lord Acton said, "the deadliest foes that mental and moral liberty ever had known." The Roman tribunal of the inquisition erected by Paul III had the full concurrence of Ignatius Loyola who also influenced the pontiff to repeat Innocent III's mandate forbidding physicians to attend the sick until after they had made confession,—Döllinger-Reusch p. 331. Especially under Paul IV, 1555-1559, Rome itself was made the scene of the imprisonment and execution of heretics. Writers so recently as Balmes—p. 208—and a writer in the *Dublin Review*, 1850, have asserted

that the papal city never witnessed an execution for religious offenses, but the contrary has been proved true by the investigations of Döllinger, Pastor and Lord Acton—all three Roman Catholic historians. Lutherans, Calvinists, Waldenses, Anabaptists and Freethinkers were put to death. Lord Acton quoted Pistoja, a Capuchin, as preaching that heretics were being daily hanged or quartered in Rome. In 1557, the inquisition exempted the clerical members of its tribunals in Venice and other Italian cities from censure, in case they voted for the death penalty. To this day the documents preserved in the house of the Roman inquisition are kept sealed even to Pastor, who says that the number of its victims will never be known.[3] Pius IV in 1562, commended the law of the Republic of Lucca, "acting under pressure from Rome," which promised a reward of 300 pounds to any one killing a Protestant refugee.

If we turn to England, we are confronted with the bloody scenes enacted under Mary Tudor whose husband Philip II would gladly have introduced the full system of the Spanish anto-da-fe. In Elizabeth's reign the pope, English Jesuits and Philip joined in the attempt to blot out English heresy by open war, inciting rebellion among the queen's subjects and seeking the queen's murder. It is difficult if not impossible to understand how the English statutes directed against the Jesuits and Seminarists of Douai and Rheims could have stopped short of pronouncing them "open and avowed conconspirators guilty of high treason."[4]

The religious persecutions in Holland, France and Bohemia darken the pages of modern history. In the Dutch provinces, Philip II condemned all but a selected list as heretics and worthy of punishment. Even children were given to the flames for reading the Scriptures. The pope gave his approval of the bloody measures by sending a jewelled hat and sword to the Duke of Alva as a reward for the judicial execution of 18,000 persons for religious reasons during his term of office—1567–73. The message bade the Spanish governor-general, "remember when he put the hat upon his

head that he was guarded by it as by a helmet of righteousness and that it was an emblem of the heavenly crown prepared for all princes who supported the Roman Catholic faith." The motto engraved on the sword ran, "receive this holy sword as a gift from God with which thou shalt cast down the adversaries of my people, Israel."

In France, the policy of persecution opened, when Francis I looked on while a group of his subjects were being burned in Paris. The Jesuit order, was by its teachings in part responsible for the assassination of two French kings and for the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. Pius wrote to Count Santifiore, "take no Huguenot prisoner, kill every one that falls into your hands." The massacre according to Lord Acton, was "not a sudden and unpremeditated act." Three years before the event, the pontiff wrote to the French king that "when God has given to you and to us the victory, it will be your duty to punish the heretics with all severity and thus avenge not only your own wrongs but those of Almighty God." He quoted the example of Saul who was punished for sparing the Amalekites and further wrote, that "under no circumstances and for no consideration ought the enemies of God to be spared." Later the Roman pontiff wrote to Charles IX to carry on the work of death till every Huguenot had recanted or perished,—Acton, Cor. 122: 135. When the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day reached Rome, it was a signal for rejoicing. The canons of St. Angelo were fired off, a Te Deum was sung in St. Mark's church and a bronze medal cast, all by order of Gregory XIII.[5] On one side of the medal is represented an angel carrying a cross and a drawn sword, and directing the assassins on the streets of Paris, and containing the words, "The slaughter of the Huguenots—*Ugonotorum strages*. On the other side is Gregory's effigy. The pontiff wrote to Charles IX that "the massacre was better news to him than the news would be of a hundred victories of Lepanto,"—the decisive victory over the Mohammedan fleet, 1571. Gregory further showed his

exultation by calling to the Vatican the painter Vasari to paint the event in colors and at least one of his paintings still hangs in the papal palace. Gregory XIV despatched 4,000 troops to aid in exterminating the Huguenot party.

Cardinal Gibbons, who expresses "detestation of that inhuman slaughter," and other Roman Catholic writers continue to make the attempt to clear the pontiff of having exulted over the tragedy of St. Bartholomew and the cardinal declares that "religion had nothing to do with it and Gregory was utterly ignorant of it." Dr. Milner, attempting to exonerate the pope, ascribed the plot, "to the black vengeance of Charles IX and the remorseless ambition of Catherine de' Medici." These and other Roman writers fail to mention the medal and the picture of the Vatican.

The defense is made that popes and ecclesiastical courts never actually pronounced the death penalty, but, even if it were based on sufficient grounds, the defense is no tolerable defense. They knew that death by the civil officer would follow the ecclesiastical sentence of heresy as certainly as the wound follows a blow. They never uttered an official decree calling upon the state to repeal its laws. A writer of the eleventh century explained but did not exonerate when he wrote that, "our pope does not kill or condemn any one to physical death, but the law puts to death those whom the pope allows to be put to death and they kill themselves who do those things which make them guilty of death"—Martène, *Thes.* V: 1741. Five centuries later, Sander, in his *Rocke of the Church*, page 103, took a like position when he defended the popes by saying, that "the bishop of Rome never punished any who forsook the church with the material sword but only with ecclesiastical censures." The tribunal of the inquisition was first and last a papal measure, or, in the case of the Spanish court, had the papal sanction. Gregory IX actually exacted from the Roman senator on taking office an oath that he would seize and punish heretics eight days after the ecclesiastical sentence was rendered. Lord Acton,

in a letter to Mary Gladstone, passed the judgment that "the popes through the inquisition were not only wholesale assassins, but made the principle of assassination a law of the Christian church and a condition of salvation."

In Bohemia, Protestantism was to all appearances annihilated. The act was the Jesuits' master stroke. By the destruction of sacred books and the flames, and other methods of death and war they fought against John Huss and his memory. Four hundred thousand Bohemians are said to have fled their native land, and Döllinger says that while ninety per cent of the population at the opening of the persecution were Hussites, not one per cent was left at its close. When the Thirty Years War was brought to a close by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, Innocent X, far from applauding the end of hostilities which had desolated central Europe, condemned the treaty with a quiver full of Latin adjectives; and the stipulation that subjects should follow the religion of their princes the pontiff denounced as "an abrogation of the sovereignty of Rome and, therefore, void in law, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damned, reprobate and forever utterly null—*viribus et effectu vacua omnino fuisse et esse et perpetuo fore.* Although by the work of the Jesuits Hussitism in Bohemia seemed to have been buried in a grave as deep as the depths of the earth, a new nation has come into being which has put religious freedom among its laws and had for its president, an admirier and open follower of Huss. A considerable part of the people has broken away from Roman authority. Bibles hidden away for centuries have been brought to the light and Huss has been enthroned as the national hero. In 1918, at the three hundredth anniversary of the opening of the Thirty Years War and the execution of twenty-seven Hussite noblemen in Prague, the people pulled down the lofty statue of Mary erected on the public square and near the site has been erected a great monument to the memory of Huss.

§ 4. Cardinal Bellarmine and Louis XIV.—Cardinal Bellarmine set forth the Roman views of his age, the six-

teenth century, when he gave arguments for the mediæval method of dealing with heretics. His arguments drew from five sources, the Scriptures, the testimonies of Augustine, Leo I and other church fathers, the laws of Theodosius and other Roman emperors, considerations drawn from reason, and from observation. If heretics may be excommunicated, so the cardinal reasoned, much more may they be put to death, for temporal death is a lesser calamity than excommunication. The spiritual punishment is eternal in its consequences. Counterfeiters are put to death and heresy, a falsification of the faith merits the same penalty. The woman who repudiates her marital vow is put to death; much more should the offender be put to death who violates his vow to God. The cardinal proceeded to say that a member of the Roman church is no more free to renounce his allegiance than a monk is free to renounce his vow of chastity. The death sentence is a protection for the faithful who must be shielded from the deadly influence of contact with heretics and a mercy to the heretic himself as it may keep him from increasing his damnation by adding to his heresy—*majorem sibi damnationem*. The cardinal also took the position that the church has authority to start wars against Protestant dissenters as it had authority to start war against the Turks. He took pleasure in holding up Luther to ridicule "for childishness and impudence" in asserting that "the church" had never put any one to death. On the contrary, so the cardinal continued, numbers had been executed with the church's approval. Bellarmine was followed by members of his order justifying execution on religious grounds. The Jesuit, Raynard, d. 1663, pronounced heresy the most monstrous and destructive of offenses and burning alive a righteous penalty. Of course, when Luther said that the church never put anyone to death he had in mind the real Christian church, the body of true believers.

Louis XIV honored as a patron and defender of the Roman church, broke the solemn compact of the nation, the Edict of Nantes, issued 1598, granting the Huguenots

perpetual rights in France, imposed upon Huguenot families the dragonnades and banished persistent offenders from the country or delivered them to the galleys. No less a personage than Alphonso de Liguori joined in praising the French sovereign as "the most Christian king, the great Louis—and the high courage with which he had punished all groups of Calvin's followers with imprisonment and confiscation of goods and for having driven out many thousands of the heretic families from France.[6] In defending the king's crusade, Bossuet and the French clergy resorted again to the possible implications of the text "Compel them to come in." On the other hand, the royal persecution called forth one of the noblest appeals in favor of tolerance, the appeal of the Protestant Bayle.

§ 5. The movement towards religious liberty in Protestant lands.—Protestant countries have led the way in passing enactments of religious toleration. The first national edict granting such toleration was issued by Holland, 1584. In England full toleration was slow in being made a law of the realm but the progress towards it went on though interrupted by the Stuart kings and after their time. The burnings which had occurred during the reign of Mary Tudor were stopped when Elizabeth ascended the throne, 1558, although the Puritans and Roman Catholics were denied legal standing. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, Richard Hooker showed a tolerant spirit in his Ecclesiastical Polity. He was followed by witnesses for a better treatment of dissenters from the state religion, notably Chillingworth who made a plea for liberty of conscience, saying that we should "content ourselves with persuading others into an unity and charity and mutual toleration, seeing God hath authorized no man to force all men to unity of opinion. . . . Take away this persecuting, burning, cursing and damning of men for not subscribing to the words of men. Require of Christians only to believe Christ and to call no man master but him only." The Westminster Assembly, without adequately understanding the principle of toleration, placed in its confession the

fruitful words that "God alone is lord of the conscience," Cromwell enlarged the boundaries of national tolerance so as to include the Jews who had been banished from England five centuries before. The Act of Toleration of 1689, though it denied liberty to Roman Catholics, marked an advance in the right direction. Writers like Sidney and Locke elaborated on the theory of liberty. Gradually the sentiment of the English people and the laws of the land withdrew every disqualification based on religious considerations.

In France, it is true, liberty of conscience found a zealous and powerful advocate, however, not in a spokesman of the church, but in Voltaire and other free thinkers. The immediate occasion of Voltaire's attack against the inherited policy of the nation was the persecution of the family of Calas, a Protestant family of Toulouse. The father was charged with having murdered his son or having led the son to commit suicide rather than see him enter the Roman communion. The father was broken alive upon the wheel and other members of the family put in irons or forced into convents. Taking up the case, Voltaire continued to prosecute it by his pen and in the courts until the French king was forced to reverse the judgments passed upon the unhappy persons and to grant pensions to their survivors. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic code insisted upon religious liberty.

§ 6. **Religious liberty in America.**—Complete religious liberty found its first home on American soil and Rhode Island became the first commonwealth in the world's history in which it was made the fundamental law. Its zealous advocate Rev. Roger Williams, crossed the Atlantic for soul-liberty, as he called it, and partly for its sake suffered banishment from Massachusetts and the rigors of "the howling wilderness" in Winter time. Providence to which he fled, to use his own words, was to be "a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." In his tracts *The Bloudy Tenent of Conscience*, he defended the principle against the pen of that theological pillar of the Massachusetts theocracy, Rev. John Cotton. Williams has found a merited place in the Hall of

Fame. He was the progenitor of the founders of the American republic who kept the Constitution free from religious tests. The state of mind in Massachusetts was set forth by one of Williams' contemporaries in one of our quaintest of books, *The Cobler of Aggawam* written by Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Aggawam, now called Ipswich. The writer expressed the opinion that "a state might connive at false religions and opinions in some cases but not concede in any," and that a state tolerating false religions, was "a bear garden, an aviary of errors." Liberty of conscience he pronounced nothing but "a freedom from sin and error," and declared that he "stood amazed at those who pled that men ought to have liberty of their conscience and that it is persecution to debar them of it." As late as 1683, president Oakes of Harvard College, expressed himself by saying "I look upon toleration as the first-born of all abominations. . . . It was toleration that made the world anti-Christian." Opinion, however, in Boston was changing as the example of Cotton Mather proves.

It has been stoutly claimed that the Roman Catholics were the precursors of religious liberty on the American continent by the toleration given to Protestants in the colony of Maryland. Appeal is made to the letter of instructions which Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, gave to his brother, Leonard Calvert who led the first colonists in 1634, that "by sea and on land the Protestant contingent should not be molested by word or act." The facts are these. The Instruction was based upon considerations of expediency and not upon the sacredness of religious convictions. Lord Baltimore made no mention of the rights of conscience. He had undertaken the enterprise for purposes of trade. The open policy was made necessary by the religious opinions of the colonists, the majority of whom were Protestants. It was also made necessary by the Maryland charter which required that the churches and chapels in Maryland "be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England." The proprietor, Lord Baltimore, could not have done otherwise than he did. Cardinal Gibbons in a discourse

delivered in Westminster Cathedral, London, announced that civil and religious liberty was first established in America by the founders of Maryland, and supported his statement by a quotation taken from the first edition of Bancroft's History, "that in Maryland religious liberty had its only home in the wide world and conscience was without restraint." The paragraphs from which these words are taken continue to be given in the latest editions of the cardinal's *Faith of Our Fathers* without a hint that Bancroft introduced into the second edition of his work a modification of his statement. In that edition he wrote that Roger Williams was the first person in modern christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law. Cardinal Gibbons' statement, at the time it was made, called forth a refutation from Gladstone. In the colony of Maryland, priests did not hesitate to read publicly the bull—*in cœna domini*—with its maledictions of Protestants and other heretics and evil doers,—Neill in *Founders of Md.*, p. 101. Paulus is ingenuous enough to state the truth and pronounce the Instruction given to Leonard Calvert a matter of "political foresight." No consideration of trade or political expediency has ever been charged against the founder of Rhode Island.[7] Williams pled for liberty of conscience as a natural right of universal application.

By the time the separation of the American colonies from England was impending, liberty of conscience in matters of religion had become a widespread conviction from Massachusetts to Georgia. Addressing the Baptists of Baltimore, who had labored in Virginia in defiance of the religious laws of the colony and the protests of the established Episcopal clergy, Jefferson—*Works* 8: 137—said, "In our early struggles for liberty, religious freedom could not fail to become a primary object." He regarded it as one of his chief acts that he was the author of the Virginian statute of religious liberty. Civil and religious freedom were joined together as inseparable by the first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 1774.

In his instructions given a year later to Arnold, starting out on his expedition to Quebec, Washington bade him to have regard to the rights of conscience remembering that "God alone is the judge of the hearts of men and to Him only are they answerable." Finally, on American soil, cultivated almost entirely by people descended from Protestants, from Massachusetts to Georgia, the principles of full religious liberty and the liberty of speech and the press were set forth in the Constitution whose memorable language was that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof or abridging the freedom of speech and the press." The clause bearing on religion was recognized forthwith by the different churches. In his letter to the Baptists, 1789, Washington gave them the praise that they had "uniformly and almost unanimously been the firm friends of religious liberty." The same year, the Presbyterian General Assembly, giving assent to the Constitutional Act, declared that "God alone is Lord of the conscience. In all matters that respect religion, the rights of private judgment are universal and inalienable, and we do not wish to see any religious constitution aided by the civil power further than may be necessary for protection and security and at the same time common to all others." Religious liberty and freedom of speech, declared as an inalienable right by the American convention made up with but two or three exceptions of Protestants, has been adopted in the South American republics beginning with Buenos Aires, 1813, howbeit against the habitual protest of the Roman see.

§ 7. The present attitude of Roman Catholics and Protestants.—The Protestant theory of freedom of conscience has prevailed more and more in all Protestant countries even to Sweden and Norway. On the other hand, religious liberty as it has been granted in Roman Catholic lands of Europe as well as America has been granted in the face of the opposition of the Roman authorities.

Recent pontiffs, Pius IX, Leo XIII and Pius X, have

maintained the traditional papal attitude of the exclusive right of the Roman church, the assertion of papal rule where it has been the order, and the restriction of religious freedom. Lehmkuhl, 2: 790, admits that Pius IX in his *quanta cura* declared that liberty of conscience and worship is not a natural right. The assertion made by Pius IX, writing to William I, of Germany, 1873, that "every one who has been baptized belongs in some way to the pope," seems to a Protestant to be well-nigh ludicrous. Leo XIII disappointed all hopes that he might cut himself loose from the traditional papal claims and approve modern ideas of religious tolerance and freedom of opinion. In his bull *immortale dei* of 1885, he confirmed the utterances of Gregory XVI and the Syllabus of 1864 which condemned as insanity the proposition that liberty of conscience should be granted to all, but, in apparent contradiction, added that the church does not condemn the rulers who "to secure some great good or hinder some great evil, patiently allow" the custom of toleration, if established. Throughout his encyclical Leo spoke of the Roman church as identical with the Christian religion and asserted that, being divinely taught it is the most exalted of all authorities, "God having willed one ruler to be the head of all rulers and the chief and unerring teacher of the truth to whom is given the keys of the kingdom of heaven." States and individuals of "unbiased and earnest purpose," he further affirmed, can have no difficulty in finding out "the true religion," that it is the Roman Catholic system. Leo's meaning is plain as day, for he contrasted the movement of the sixteenth century with "the true religion" and reprobated that movement "as the fountain head of all those later tenets of unbridled license, wildly conceived and issuing in the terrible upheavals of the eighteenth century." Leo's teaching on the right of private judgment in religious matters as set forth by the American expositors Ryan and Millar is that "in a genuinely Catholic state, public authority should not permit the introduction of new forms of religion but, when several denominations have already been estab-

lished, the state may and generally should permit them all to exist and to function, the reason being that the attempt to suppress them might be injurious to the commonwealth."[8] The papal policy as defined by the most able of recent popes, therefore, conflicts with the theory of the American Constitution which treats religious freedom as an inalienable right. It seems to tolerate the American practice only until the time may come when the papal claims can be enforced with the assistance of the Roman Catholic population. In his encyclical *libertas*, Leo explicitly condemned "modern liberties so-called," namely the liberty of speech, the press, teaching and worship, denying that such liberties are rights given by nature.

In the new index of prohibited books which Leo issued he forbade Catholics reading works defending heresies and schism, or derogating from the divine merits of Mary and the saints and also works written by non-Catholics treating of religion. When Leo reared the splendid monument in the Lateran to Innocent III, he had a rare opportunity to say some word in favor of freedom of thought and speech and in condemnation of the treatment of religious dissenters in the Middle Ages and since. No word along this line proceeded from his pen. On the contrary, he showed his allegiance to the papal tradition in 1900, when, the statue was reared on the Campo di Fiori in Rome to Giordano Bruno, who had been stripped naked and burnt on that spot three centuries before, by issuing a protest against the monument in which he pronounced Bruno "a man of abandoned and impure life."

Leo's predecessor, Pius IX, in raising to the dignity of sainthood, Peter Arbuez the Spanish inquisitor whom the Spanish populace murdered, gave no hint that he condemned the Spanish tribunal of the inquisition. And Leo's successor, Pius X, in exalting to a like dignity, Peter Canisius who taught that heresy should be treated as a disease and people taught to hate heretics, again repeated the charge that Protestantism is lawlessness and responsible for the social

evils and revolutions of modern times. In his encyclicals against Modernism Pius not only condemned free inquiry, but forbade Roman Catholic students taking into their hands books containing heretical teachings, and charged the Roman bishops of the world regularly to send reports to the Vatican that this law is kept and Roman Catholic seminaries admit no writings emanating from heretics.

To follow Koch, the *Analecta ecclesiastica*, the official periodical issuing from the Vatican reprinted, 1895, a statement made in 1484 praising the Spanish inquisitor, Torquemada, for the benefits he had conferred upon the state and religion in punishing apostates and Jews with the severest penalties. The document contained the exclamation: "O, holy flames by which thousands and thousands were delivered from the jaws of error and perhaps from eternal damnation. . . . O, holy and revered name of Thomas Torquemada who kept back by measures of force and holy fear persons from apostasy!" In 1901, the Jesuit, De Luca, in his work on church law, included death among the proper penalties for disobedience to the church.

Even a distinguished American prelate, Bishop Gilmour, did not shrink from repeating as if they were true, old stories setting forth the alleged horrible fate of persons who disagreed with the accepted creeds. In his text-book on biblical history, the tale is printed in capital letters that Nestorius' tongue rotted in his mouth. Could any paragraph be more full of misstatements than the bishop's comparison of the methods employed by Protestants and Roman Catholics when he states that "to make converts, Catholicity has ever appealed to reason; Protestantism, like Mohammedanism, to force and violence. In England and Scotland, Protestantism was forced upon the people by fines, imprisonments and death. In America, the Puritans acted in the same way. Amongst Protestants, there are almost as many religions as there are individuals. The church is divided and torn to pieces, ending in infidelity and Mormonism."

In the matter of liberty of conscience and freedom of

thought Protestantism has much to regret and make amends for in the history which has followed the sixteenth century. The principles of the Reformers should have kept them free from all legal measures of intolerance and all persecution. Their own assertion of the right of dissent, so we today think, should have suggested such a course. Their acceptance of the Scriptures as the final manual of instruction should have confirmed them in it, and the examples of religious dissenters who had preceded them and the treatment they received from the ecclesiastical authorities should, we think, always have been in their minds. Wyclif, their true forerunner, had asserted the liberty of thought against the hierarchs of his day, one of whom Gregory XI said that "out of the filthy mouth of his heart he had vomited forth blasphemies and heresies." Huss, whom Luther exalted, had declared that he could do nothing against the Scriptures and his conscience. Both were condemned by an œcumenical council, the one to be taken from his grave, the other to suffer a horrible death by being burned. Luther himself at Worms, in 1521 stated the principle when in the face of all the authorities of the time, civil and ecclesiastical, he exclaimed "Unless I am persuaded by sufficient arguments from Scripture and reason, I cannot and will not recant; for to do anything against one's conscience is unsafe and dangerous." It is probable that no truth has been more clearly and sincerely stated since the days of the Apostles. Words such as these no œcumenical council or mediæval theologian ever uttered. They stand in notable contrast to the utterances of Leo XIII and Pius X. Luther's principle was asserted by the Lutheran official at the Saxon court, Minkowitz, who in the face of hard opposition to the Protestant cause at the Diet of Spires, 1529, said that "in matters of conscience there can be no question of majorities. In things which concern God's honor and the salvation of souls, every man must stand for himself." This, remarked Hase, is precisely the essence of Protestantism. Christ's words, "The truth shall make you free" are fulfilled not by measures of physical

compulsion but by persuasion, forbearance and love. Alas! that the authorities in the church of past centuries did not always follow this policy, a policy which may be drawn from St. Paul when he counselled that "if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness considering thyself lest thou also be tempted," Gal. 6: 1.

CHAPTER XXIX

CHURCH AND STATE

My kingdom is not of this world.—Luke 18: 36.

Papa princeps super reges—The pope is lord over kings.
—Gregory VII.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.
—Constitution of the United States.

BY tradition, the Roman Catholic church favors monarchy as the best form of government and has claimed for the pope superior jurisdiction in human affairs. The Protestant theory, as represented in American institutions, regards democracy as the best form of earthly government and favors the separation of state and church, each supreme in its own sphere. Government is derived from the people and sovereign power is exercised by magistrates whom the people choose and whom they may remove from office. If divine appointment, as is alleged, has made the Roman pontiff the supreme dictator in the sphere of religion and morals, the exercise of the prerogative is apt to clash with the modern theory of the province of civil law and the rights of the individual man.

The relationship of the church and the state to one another during the Christian centuries has had four periods,—the hostile supremacy of the Roman empire, the union of the two from Constantine to Charlemagne, 312–800, the supremacy of the church during the Middle Ages, and the separation of the two realms. Under the persecution which the Christians had to endure during the first period, the prevailing sentiment was that, Christ's kingdom being not of this

world, the church and the empire would continue to exist without legal support from the civil realm to the church. Tertullian's judgment was that, when the Roman empire ended, this dispensation would end. The attitude assumed the church to the civil administration was not one of hostility but of good will, as was shown in the prayer appended to Clement of Rome's Epistle to the Corinthians and the Apology of Aristides. The prayer ran: "Grant unto the rulers to whom Thou hast given sovereignty, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability that they may administer the government which thou hast given them without failure."

When Christianity was adopted by Constantine, the church became a semi-political organization. Its progress and outward prosperity were supposed to grow or wane with the favor of the emperor. Constantine regarded himself as bishop of the church in external matters. Emperors enacted religious laws, called synods and approved their decrees, executed penalties upon church offenders and pronounced, as did Theodosius, the Nicene form of doctrine the only one to be tolerated in the Roman empire, or made the practice of Paganism and heresy capital offenses, as did Justinian. Charlemagne, whose reign closed the period of the undisputed imperial overlordship, was compared to David, and called by Alcuin the ruler of the kingdom and the church —*rector regni et ecclesiæ.*

§ 1. The mediæval theory of power.—After Charlemagne papal supremacy was substituted for the supremacy of the emperor and the Roman pontiff, as the representative of God's dominion, claimed to be a super-sovereign in affairs civil as well as religious. The distractions of Western Europe following upon the fall of the Roman empire and the weakness of its civil rulers favored the exercise and increase of papal power. Lordly prerogatives were asserted for his office by Nicolas I, the first pope to wear a crown, over the entire church and over princes. Sovereigns received their crowns from popes as the warrant or the confirmation of their right to rule. The great papal rulers of the eleventh,

twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Gregory VII, Alexander III and Innocent III, sat in judgment upon kings, decided the validity of the laws and compacts of nations and fixed national boundaries. The pope and the emperor were regarded as having committed to them all earthly authority but with the ultimate right of jurisdiction in the hands of the pope. The theory was supported by the real or alleged gift of the right to reign upon Charlemagne at the coronation exercises in St. Peters before Leo III as well as by quotations from the Scriptures and such comparisons as the comparison of the pope to the soul and the emperor to the body, the one to the sun the other to the moon, the one to gold, the other to lead. As high as heaven is above the earth so high, the comparison went, is the pope above the earthly ruler and as the moon derives its light from the sun so the emperor derives his authority from the Roman pontiff. Augustine's conception was repeated by popes that earthly rulers secured their power through rapine, craft, murder and war, whereas the pope was the appointee of God and held the keys of the kingdom of heaven by reason of his succession from Peter.

Gregory VII, 1073–85, again and again fortified this position by quoting the words of the first chapter of Jeremiah, "I have set thee this day over the nations and over the kingdoms to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant." Neither the masses nor princes were competent to call in question the arbitrary exegesis of these words, which had no more reference to the Vatican than Shakespeare's treatment of Catherine of Aragon had to the rights of women in these modern times. The papal pretension found expression from Gregory in such expressions as "Jesus Christ our Lord, the king of glory, made Peter ruler over the kingdoms of the earth," "God exempted no one and withheld nothing from the pope's power"—*nullum excepit, nihil ab ejus potestate subtraxit*—and "to Peter was given the government not only of the universal church but of the entire world." In defiance of

the principle of historic exegesis and giving to an author the meaning he had in mind, Cardinal Bellarmine five centuries later, continued to use the words of Jeremiah to support the papal claim, as did Pius V before Bellarmine in his bull deposing Elizabeth and Pius X long after him, in 1910, in his Barromeo encyclical. Innocent III, besides using the comparisons already noted, asserted that the pope rules over the nations as Peter walked on the restless waters of the Lake of Galilee. Innocent IV said that the Apostolic see had received directly from Christ the pontifical and regal kingship—*pontificalem et regalem monarchatum*—and that the right both to excommunicate and to make war belongs to the church's jurisdiction—*gremio ecclesiæ ambo gladii habentur.* Mediæval popes deposed and set up kings and princes, fomented rebellions, summoned armies to carry out their designs, exacted taxes and reduced to the position of fiefs, Sicily, the kingdoms of Spain, Corsica, Portugal, Sweden, Poland and England, and sought to reduce Scotland, 1299.

The claim made by pontiffs was defended by the theologians. In his *Rule of Princes*, Thomas Aquinas pronounced the pope by divine decree supreme king over the entire world—*supremus totius mundi rex.*[1] Finally, after one prince and then another had been brought to submission, Boniface VIII, with the theory, was successfully attacked by Philip the Fair of France. However, the mediæval conception persisted as was shown when John XXII less than a generation after Boniface had Dante's treatise on Monarchy burned, the treatise which asserted that the emperor exercises authority by God's immediate appointment and is not dependent upon the pope's sanction. During the era which followed Dante, Marsiglius of Padua and Wyclif combatted the combination of civil and religious functions in the Roman pontiff and took the position that a pope may be deposed by an emperor. The Paduan's work was put on the Index 1558. Wyclif in his work, *The Church*, charged that, in accepting civil dominion from Constantine, Sylvester had made a criminal mistake and opened the way for all sorts of evils in

the church. To Peter was given evangelical dominion, not authority, in civil affairs.

§ 2. The persistent assertion of papal authority over the state.—In resisting the religious revolt of the sixteenth century, Leo X called upon the state to perform its alleged duty and punish the revolt as a crime, a course followed by Leo's successors into the eighteenth century. This meant judicial death for the leaders of the Reformation and that or other penalties for their supporters, and also open war in which the Vatican took an active part. In 1559, Paul IV in explicit terms made the claim that as the vicegerent of Christ, the Roman pontiff is vested with the plentitude of authority over peoples and kingdoms—*super gentes et regna*—and sits in judgment over all individual persons. Princes, falling into heresy, forfeit their right to rule. Pius V, in deposing Elizabeth as "the pretended queen of England," and as a heretic and the defender of heretics, likewise claimed to be, by divine appointment, "the ruler over all peoples and all kingdoms."[2] Of Pius V, Lord Acton, has this to say, "Pius deprived Elizabeth, and commissioned an assassin to take her life. . . . He called for her murder in execution of his sentence of excommunication and held it to be a sound doctrine that any man may stab a heretic condemned by Rome and that every man is a heretic who attacks the papal prerogative." The historian also wrote that "tyrannicide became generally popular under the presumed but not undisputed authority of St. Thomas Aquinas. Long after the death of Pius V, it continued to be taught by the most renowned divines, by Gregory of Valentia, for instance, and Suarez." Again, he wrote, that "the popes were not only wholesale assassins but made the principle of assassination a law of the Christian church and a condition of salvation."

The historian quoted Suarez who in 1613 defended the position that "popes may depose heretical sovereigns who resist dogmas of faith pertaining to the salvation of the soul," and Zaccaria, d. about 1790, to the effect that a person lying "under the pope's ban may be killed in any place."

In 1580, Gregory XIII, after pronouncing Elizabeth the cause of the loss of millions of souls, announced that there was no doubt that any one putting her out of the world with proper intention of serving God, not only would commit no sin but rather win merit. Sixtus V, during whose pontificate the Armada was directed against England, supported Philip's enterprise by treaty with the Spanish king and offering him at first three million scudi and later one million provided the fleet actually set sail in 1588. Three years later Gregory XIV, 1591, wrote that he regarded it as his duty to do all that he could to root out the Huguenots, even to making an alliance with the Turks against France and the same year sent an army to France to help protect the Catholic religion and blessed the flags of the troops.[3]

When James, drew up the oath for English Catholics, whereby they renounced the pope's right to depose kings, Paul V condemned the oath. Clement XI, writing to his "beloved son in Christ," Louis XIV, April 16, 1706, denied the right of a Protestant people to choose its sovereign without the pontiff's consent. "A non-Catholic person cannot without affront to the church assume the sacred title of king. Such as do, are cast out by the Word of God, 'Ye have ruled, but not through me.'" Clement was referring to the first king of Prussia, a Protestant who had been crowned a few years before.

The pope's super-sovereignty had a vigorous defender in Cardinal Bellarmine, who, in his elaborate treatment of jurisdiction, derived the pope's right from the excellence of monarchy as a form of government as well as from divine appointment. He, however, brought upon himself papal rebuke by making a distinction between direct and indirect authority exercised by the papal see, thus derogating from the full mediæval theory. He laid down three possible theories in regard to the papal sovereignty:—1. The pope has by divine right absolute power—*plenissimam potestatem*—over the whole earth in matters civil as well as ecclesiastical, peoples Pagan as well as Christian. 2. He has no temporal

authority, an opinion which the cardinal ascribed to Calvin. 3. He has supreme authority in the church and indirect authority in temporal matters. This last theory, he explained as meaning that the pontiff as the chief spiritual leader—*summus princeps spiritualis*—exercises supreme authority in temporal matters only so far as it is necessary to do so in order to secure the well-being of the souls of men. To secure this end, he may change kingdoms, set up and put down kings and confirm or annul laws. Bellarmine stoutly defended Paul V's decision, 1606, that it was unlawful for Catholics to take the oath that the pope has not authority to depose kings. With an eye to the mediæval idea that the emperor is the representative of collective civil power, the cardinal pronounced a single government of Europe the ideal which, however, for geographical and other considerations, he pronounced it impossible to realize in his day.

§ 3. **The theory and practice of the Reformers.**—In setting aside the papal sovereignty, the Reformers went too far in the opposite direction, and ascribed to the state functions regulative of ecclesiastical affairs. Luther, whose mind did not run in the direction of government, on occasion, used language which approached closely to the American position. In his treatise on the civil power, he said that "God has ordained two governments, the rule of God under Christ and the rule of the world under the civil magistrate, each with its own laws and rights and the laws of the worldly realm extending no further than the body and the external affairs of earth. Over the soul, God can and will allow no one to rule but himself alone." The administrative mind of Calvin elaborated a system which sought to treat the two realms as coördinate but the Reformer failed to keep them from overlapping. In the section in his Institutes on government, he defined it as the duty of the civil government, "to support the external worship of God, preserve the true doctrines of religion, defend the constitution of the church, and regulate men's lives in the manner required for the social welfare and keep us from living pell-mell like rats in straw."

The Genevan state was a theocracy in which functions now considered as belonging to the church, were exercised by the civil officials. They elected the church's elders, punished blasphemy with death, forbade parents giving the names of Roman Catholic saints to their children, banished heretics or executed them, and provided by taxation for the support of the ministry. Nevertheless, in insisting upon the sole right of the church to excommunicate its members and to determine the qualifications for the ministry and the requirements for eating the Lord's Supper, and especially in insisting upon the conscience as the ultimate judge in strictly religious matters, Calvin went in the direction of making the two realms sovereign each in its own sphere.[4] His far-reaching declaration was that "no one is subject to the ruler but in the Lord," *Instt.* 4: 20, 32.

Calvin's scheme was adopted by the Westminster and the other Calvinistic Confessions, and his paragraphs defining it were read and re-read by the Puritans of New England. Its principles were embodied in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 1641, and the Cambridge Platform, 1648. Civil magistrates, who in accordance with Isaiah 49: 23, were called nursing fathers of the church, asserted the right to convoke synods and approve their acts, collect taxes for the support of religious worship, banish and even put to death dissenters from "the standing order."

In spite of the failure of the Reformers to make a clear distinction between the functions of the two realms, the underlying principles of the Reformation particularly in lands adopting the Calvinistic type, proved to be the fruitful seed-plot of modern democracy and the separation of church and state. Calvin himself went beyond his earlier theory that aristocracy is the best form of civil government, and in 1559 advanced in the direction of democracy when he declared for government "in the hands of the many so that, if anyone arrogate to himself more than is just, the many may act as censors and masters to restrain the ruler's ambition." As developed by his successors, Beza, Hotman

and other professors in Geneva, Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, who spent time in Geneva, the Huguenot, du Plessis Mornay and other Protestant publicists, the controlling theory among the nations of Western Europe came to be that government is "by consent of the people."

Government, these writers taught, is based upon a contract, tacit or expressed, between the people and the prince. When the prince breaks his pledge, he may be deposed and, if necessary, be withstood by war. This theory they derived from the Scriptures and the law of nature. Geneva set the example of government by parliaments in distinction from a sovereign ruling by right of succession or papal approval, a form of government condemned by Bellarmine. The right to set aside princes, according to the Calvinistic writers, belongs not to "particulars," that is individuals, but to the body of the magistrates or a nation's assembly. In case the ruler violates the compact, the people, through its representatives, has the right to consult and, if necessary, to change the government.

This theory had notable expression in Holland, Scotland, and England, countries which have led the way in the direction of constitutional liberty. In Scotland, where the Reformation was established by acts of parliament, John Knox, to the question put by Queen Mary: "Think you that subjects having power may resist their princes by resort to violence" replied, "No doubt, they may, Madame, if princes exceed their bounds." In Holland, when William the Silent called upon Mornay for his judgment whether the Lowlands were bound to continue under the despotism of Philip II, received the reply that as Philip had broken the agreement entered into between himself and the country, the Lowlands were justified in doing the same and renouncing his rule. In his *Defense of Liberty against Tyrants*, Mornay set forth the theory in words such as these: All rulers receive their authority from the whole people. The ruler is only the minister of the state, the people the ultimate

lord. Their obligations are reciprocal. The authority of the people when it acts as a body, is superior to the prerogative of the ruler. If a prince fails in his obligation, the people may restrain him or refuse obedience. The contract between them is void. In obedience to this theory the people of the Lowlands adopted the Declaration of Independence, 1581. In England, it was Calvinists and Calvinistic principles which fought out the most notable of all struggles for constitutional liberty. One of its chapters was the struggle over the theory of the divine right of kings under the Stuart princes, ending in the Declaration of Rights, 1689. In the meantime the Long Parliament had represented the popular will and executed Charles I because he had broken his compact with the nation.

It remained for the North American colonies to become the home of full popular government and religious liberty. The people had it in their blood by inheritance and by the memories of the religious and civil oppression which had forced them to seek homes in a wild and far-off country. The Dutch Act of 1581 was followed by the Mayflower compact, in which the signers "covenanted and combined themselves into a civil body politic," as that declaration was later followed in England by the Solemn League and Covenant, the Bill of Rights, Cromwell's Instrument of Government, and in America by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1789. From the first, New England was familiar with the nature of a public compact through the church covenants which bound the members of its congregations together, and popular sovereignty was advanced by the town-meetings where debate was conducted bearing on public affairs. In appointing the tercentenary celebration of Plymouth, December 21, 1920, President Wilson, did so, as he wrote, "on account of the influence which the ideals and principles of the Pilgrims with respect to civil liberty have had upon the formation and growth of our institutions and our development and progress as a nation." Opinion in Massachusetts did not wait till the

Massachusetts convention of 1774 to join together "civil and religious liberties," and in Virginia preparation was made for joining them by the independence of the cavalier spirit and the spectacle of Baptists and Presbyterians disenfranchised by the established religion and having to beg for the privilege of holding their services. It was a notable indication of providential guidance that the Northern and Southern colonies united in the struggle for international independence and that the American Constitution was written by the joint act of their leaders. By the principle of popular sovereignty, government is by the people, of the people and for the people as the exponent of our institutions, Mr. Lincoln, put it. By the principle of religious equality before the law and the separation of church and state the government is pledged to take no part in an establishment of religion or show preference to any particular form of religious worship. Already a few days before the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia had abolished the Episcopal church as the established church, and declared that all men are equally entitled "to the free exercise of their religion according to the dictates of their conscience."

§4. **The Roman Catholic citizen and civil allegiance.**—The degree in which the Roman Catholic citizens of the United States may give full assent to the two principles of the Constitution, popular sovereignty and religious equality, is a question which admits of two answers, the one based upon papal declarations and the other on affirmations proceeding from eminent American Roman Catholic prelates and laymen. According to papal utterances, it would seem that the Roman pontiff may at any time, if he so chooses, exercise the superior right of laying upon American citizens mandates inconsistent with the law of their government. On the other hand, American Catholic citizens assert that there can in no wise be a conflict between allegiance to the "holy father" and loyal submission to the laws of the land. In proof, stress is laid upon their patriotism in our

wars from 1776 down. Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul have publicly given unstinted praise to the American principles of religious liberty and the separation of church and state, as well as to republican institutions. In an address made before the Catholic Club of Philadelphia, February 6, 1893, the cardinal said, "I am firmly persuaded both by study and observation that the church is more prosperous when she is free to pursue her divine mission without any interference from the state. Here, thank God, the church is free and therefore she is prosperous. Here the church and the state run in parallel lines, each assisting the other and neither of them unwarrantably intruding on the domain of the other. American Catholics rejoice in our separation of church and state and can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which should make a union desirable either for church and state." Archbishop Ireland pronounced the first amendment to the Constitution establishing the separation of the two realms "a great forward leap towards personal liberty." He further stated, "We Catholics would not alter, if we could, the Constitution in regard to religious freedom." In the famous address, delivered 1913, from which these quotations are taken, the eloquent prelate repudiated the charge that obedience to the pope is in any way inconsistent with the Constitution.

The latest testimony is the testimony given by Governor Alfred E. Smith of the state of New York, April 1927, in a notable answer to questions publicly put to him as a possible nominee for the presidency. The governor affirmed that he, "recognized no power in the institutions of the Roman church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land" and affirmed that "he believed in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality for all churches and all sects before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor; in the absolute separation of church and state and in the strict enforcement of the

Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion; in the support of the public school as one of the corner-stones of American liberty; and in the right of every parent to choose whether his child shall be educated in the public school or in a religious school supported by those of his own faith."

Declarations, such as these, would be sufficient to set at rest all doubt concerning the full allegiance of Roman Catholic citizens to American law, 1. if they were officially approved by the Vatican and 2. if the limit were agreed upon at which the province of the church ends. The word of the Roman pontiff is final and commands the obedience of Roman Catholics throughout the world. An utterance emanating from the highest prelate or a body of prelates however solemn, has authority only as it accords with the papal policy. In the first place, no modern pope has indicated that he favored American views or explicitly repudiated the mediæval theory of power according to which the pope is a super-sovereign. Leo XIII was reiterating the claims of his predecessors when, in his encyclicals known as the *Constitution of States and the Reunion of Christendom*, he told the modern world that he was appointed to be the head of all rulers and that he holds upon this earth the place of God Almighty. In the second place, modern popes have definitely placed themselves, as it seems, against the law of religious equality, enunciated in the Constitution and expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States. In the third place, the principles held by the majority of American citizens in regard to education and the sacredness of marriage and probably also the rights of the clergy as a special class, are in conflict with the mandates of the Vatican.

In his *Catholic Church and the Christian State*, Cardinal Hergenrœther—1: 804—laid down the position that the church does not in principle renounce any claim she has ever made. The cardinal's statement was not as strong as the declaration made by Leo XIII in his *immortale dei*,

1885, when he said, "If Catholics will give ear to us, as it behooves them to do, they will see what are the duties of each one in matters of opinion and action. As regards opinion, whatever Roman pontiffs have hitherto taught or shall hereafter teach must be held with a firm grasp of mind, and, so often as occasion requires, must be openly professed." If the Roman pontiffs in their treatment of states and civil power during the Middle Ages and later were acting by virtue of their infallible prerogative, it is difficult to understand how the pope can repudiate such treatment as the permanent policy of the papacy in these modern days, without renouncing the claim of infallibility.

Recent papal deliverances, say from Pius IX, help to perpetuate the fear of the pope's possible intrusion into American social and civil affairs One of the principles upon which the Roman see acted was to make nations fiefs and to demand from them perpetual tribute monies. Another principle was the right, as his prerogative divinely given, to allot at will lands and countries. To the partition of America between Spain and Portugal by a papal decree, may be added other cases, such as the gift made to the Portuguese by Eugene IV to hold as their own countries discovered by them from Cape Horn to India, the gift of the Canaries to the royal house of Castile by Clement VI, 1344, and the earlier gifts of Ireland to Henry II and England to the king of France. The fifth question which the Klu Klux Klan proposes to candidates for membership runs "Do you believe in the distinctive institutions of our government and the Constitutional rights of free speech, free public schools, a free press and the separation of church and state?"

Moreover, the papal utterances of the last fifty years seem to show studied hostility to the institutions of modern society. *The Syllabus of Modern Errors*, issued by Pius IX, condemned the principles of religious freedom and the separation of church and state and also the proposition that "law has wisely provided in some countries, called Catholic, that

persons coming to reside in them shall enjoy the public exercise of their own worship." Pius also condemned the proposition that popes had ever usurped the rights of princes. Twenty years later, as has already been indicated, Leo XIII, in his *immortale dei*, quoted the *Syllabus* as having properly branded as "false" such opinions as that liberty of teaching and worship is not the fountain of many evils, and that sovereignty resides in the mass of the people. Leo asserted that the ideal state is a state in which the Roman Catholic church exists to the exclusion of all other forms of worship. Ideal moral conditions prevailed in the Middle Ages when there was no toleration for religion in any form other than the Roman and these conditions ought to be revised. In the Roman church resides truth. All dissent from her is error in religion and rebellion to the ideal state. Leo also praised Gregory XVI for having "with weighty words inveighed against the sophisms" that it is right for individuals to form their own judgments of religion, that each man's conscience is his sole and sufficient guide, and that from the separation of church and state any improvement may be expected for either realm. Further, Leo pronounced it unlawful for states to place the various forms of religion on the same footing and, in his encyclical of Jan. 6, 1895, addressed to the American bishops, pronounced it an error to believe that the example set by America is to the best interests of the church and that it would always be right or expedient that civil and sacred matters be disassociated as they are by the American plan—*rei civili reique sacræ dissociatæ more Americano*. To these declarations must be added the encyclical of Pius X, September 8th, 1907, condemning Modernism, and likewise disparaged the separation of church and state and asserted that liberty of studies is favorable to the corruption of morals and the minds of the people.

If such declarations, sent forth from the Vatican, are to be received in their plain meaning, the conclusion seems

to be reasonable that, when the conditions are favorable, should that time ever occur, obedience to the holy father may require American Roman Catholics to take a position hostile to the Constitution. The justice of this conclusion is vouched for by writers who have come out from the Roman communion. Some of these persons, so long as they remained in the Roman communion, enjoyed a reputation for scholarship as well as ecclesiastical devotion. "It is a principle of Ultramontanism," says Prof. Koch that "the kingdom of God is of this world and that the power of the keys includes worldly jurisdiction over states and rulers." Among Koch's quotations are statements from Jesuit writers to the effect that "civil rulers must be subject to the pope and that the pope is the supreme judge of civil laws." Tyrrell, criticizing the encyclical of Pius X on Modernism spoke of the church as being reduced for all practical purposes to a bureaucracy" and complained that popes reprehend "our desire to separate church and state and count as a fault what is one of our best aspirations."

Events in modern Europe seem to have shown that the papal practice is adverse to the American principle. Several cases are sufficient. In Piedmont and the kingdom of Italy, the concession of religious freedom was fought step by step by the Vatican, which arrayed its power against the embodiment in law of Cavour's motto, "A free church in a free state." In France, the law of 1905, setting aside the Napoleonic concordat of 1802 and putting an end to the state's support of clerics and schools carried on by the religious orders, was resisted by Pius X in a bull dated February 11, 1906. In 1911, Pius X declared the Portuguese law separating church and state void.

After the incorporation of Rome in the kingdom of Italy, 1870, the Vatican forbade Italian Catholics to take part in politics and vote, an order not rescinded for many years. The principle that it is the pope's right to forbid Roman Catholics to engage in public affairs or take an active part in politics was stated by Leo XIII. In canonizing

certain saints, the Vatican has recently chosen not merely to put its mark of commendation on religious inquisitors whose action brought their fellowmen to death but also to exalt men once pronounced traitors by the state, as for example, John Felton, beatified in 1886 who was executed for posting in London the bull of Pius V deposing Elizabeth. And, Pius V who favored the queen's assassination is himself a saint in the Roman calendar! In the conflict going on in Mexico between the state and the church, Pius XI, 1927, supporting the priests in their opposition to the Mexican Constitution, called them suffering "angels." In 1857, when the Mexican Constitution was adopted abolishing clerical courts for clerical offenses, secularizing marriage and education, and granting religious liberty, Pius IX issued a bull declaring the decrees "null, void and without any value." The Knights of Columbus, 1927, memorialized the United States government to interfere with the execution of the constitution, an act happily counterbalanced by a letter from American archbishops dissenting on principle from such interference with the internal affairs of a sister state. What the pretension of the Roman hierarchy may be was shown when, at a public dinner given to Mr. Taft in Boston, March 18, 1912, Cardinal O'Connell was placed next to the president, the place naturally belonging to the Governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Foss, who when he heard of the arrangement declined to be present.

In pronouncing it "unlawful to place the various forms of worship on the same footing as the true religion," Leo XIII was in conflict with our Supreme Court which, quoting Marshall, in Watson against Jones, has ruled that "our law knows no heresy and is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect," When Leo's bull against Americanism appeared, 1899, Archbishop Ireland publicly repudiated positions which he had before taken, declaring that, when the question was one of submission to the Holy see, there was for himself no alternative, and that "loyal Catholics have but one rule of action, the

will and example of Leo. When the French or German bishops are with the pope, then I am with them and when they are against the pope, then I am against them."

The separation of church and state and the true conception of the church was admirably set forth in the decision of the Court of Appeals of New York, 1927 which, to quote a little more fully runs:

"Christ's kingdom on earth is the community or whole body of Christ's faithful people collectively; all those who are spiritually united to Christ as the head of the church without regard to differences of creed and doctrine. Its cause is advanced in divers manners, conspicuously through the work of religious associations and educational and charitable institutions of a religious character."

§5. The temporal power of the papacy.—For half a century since 1870 when Rome was made the capital of the kingdom of Italy, the popes have resented the loss of their temporal sovereignty over the city. More than a thousand years ago, Pepin endowed Pope Stephen with the territories he had conquered from the Lombards. Resisting the aspirations of Italian patriots for a united kingdom with the words, "we cannot—*non possumus*—" that is abrogate his civil title, Pius IX had continued to be the ruler of the city by the help of the Austrians and later Napoleon III and a garrison of 10,000 French troops. The papal and priestly misrule of Rome had been a by-word. Visitors to the city before 1870 were one in describing the venality of the officials, the frequency of crime, the unwholesome streets and the exactions made upon visitors. The coinage was deliberately falsified and minted under weight. Lotteries flourished. Foundling asylums were numerous. The censorship of the press was rigid.[5] When, by an overwhelming vote of 133,648 to 1,507, the citizens of Rome transferred their city to the king and government of Italy, Pius protested against the act as robbery, pronounced the papal title to the city legal, sacred and inviolable and "damned, annulled, nullified and abrogated the acts of the invaders

—*invasorum acta*—" and, further, called God and the entire Catholic world to witness that he was made a prisoner and rendered incompetent to exercise his pastoral authority securely, efficiently and with any freedom whatsoever. He had in the propositions of the *Syllabus*, six years before 1870, condemned those who favored the abolition of the temporal power and in 1862, according to Straub, called upon all bishops to preach that civil authority was conferred on the Holy see and that under no pretext might it be renounced. The successors of Pius continued to renew his protest. Ecclesiastical assemblies of Roman Catholic prelates and individual prelates have called for the return to the pope of his property. [6]

It became the custom to impose upon Roman Catholics the idea that the pope was "the prisoner of the Vatican." In Brussels and other cities, pictures were sold representing Pius confined behind iron bars. Cardinal Gibbons and other high American prelates joined in giving the impression that the pope is actually confined as in prison. In his *Bible History*, p. 281, Bishop Gilmour states that "In 1870, Victor Emmanuel took Rome and has since held it and kept the pope a prisoner in the Vatican." As late as 1922, the Roman periodical, *Month*, in its obituary of Benedict XV, treats that pontiff as having lived in his "prison palace."

In protesting against the loss of temporal sovereignty, Leo XIII, March 31, 1889, again represented the occupation of Rome as an act of violence, robbing the pontiff of his sovereign civil rights and also as the act of wicked groups and against the will of the peoples—*non populorum voluntas sed sectarum pravarum audacia*. Again, May 3, 1892, in a letter to the French cardinals—*Works* 5: 71—Leo affirmed that liberty cannot exist for the pontiff except as he is an independent sovereign. Among the most persistent advocates of the temporal power of the papacy was Cardinal Manning who affirmed that it is a power ordained of God and sacred by every right common to other powers, and by rights and sanctions which transcend all other authorities

on earth. The following reasons were given by Cardinal Gibbons for the justice of the papal claim:—1. The papal sovereignty is the most ancient in point of time. 2. It was not established by the sword. 3. The papal rule was beneficent. 4. The interests of Christianity demand that the vicar of the Prince of Peace should possess one spot of territory "which shall be inviolable so that popes may correspond freely at all times with all nations and peoples." The occupation of Rome by the Italian government, the cardinal contended, was a gross violation of the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," and compared it to David's "impious seizure of Naboth's vineyard."

The fallacy that the pope was illegally dispossessed of temporal authority by the vote of the Roman people has been taught to American children in the Baltimore Plenary catechism III: 539, 540. This document, which is commended by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, affirms that the temporal power came to the pope by the gift of those who had the right to bestow it, that "this temporal power was taken away by an act of violence" and, further, that the pope "as a temporal or ordinary ruler has the right to govern states and to manage properties that have rightfully come into the possession of the church." The papal title, based upon the gifts of Pepin, has recently been defended by an American writer in the *Catholic Historical Review*—April 1921,—who said that "the title of the popes to their temporal princedom rests truly upon every principle of justice and honor." If such be the contention of American prelates and writers, what assurance has the American public that the same principle may not be applied to American sovereignty?

As for the validity of authority based upon royal gifts made ten centuries ago, it does not comport with modern opinion of legal rights. According to the code of his age, Pepin's gift was regular enough. But if that gift constitutes a perpetual claim to civil jurisdiction over Rome, why should not the gifts made by other sovereigns to the pope,

also constitute a valid claim, as Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and Tuscany? Why might not the pope today on the same ground lay valid claim to England as a papal fief? Was it not given by John to Innocent III and his successors, to be theirs forever? If antiquity of title constitutes a lasting claim to civil authority, then the gift of this Western continent to Spain and Portugal by Alexander VI continues to be a legal claim "forever," and the occupation of parts of it by Anglo-Saxon peoples is robbery and sacrilege. Cardinal Gibbons says that "the people of Rome could not give away what did not belong to them." The American Declaration of Independence laid down the contrary principle, when it declared for the sovereign right of the people to change the form of government which they have inherited.

The present pontiff, Pius XI, December 23, 1922, continuing to protest against the loss of papal sovereignty over Rome, declared that the pontiff himself is the only authority competent to render judgment on the question of the pope's civil power, inasmuch as it involves the claims and the dignity of the Apostolic see. Rome, he declared, is justly the seat of a sovereignty which embraces all peoples and all nations. At the close of the Jubilee Year, December 15, 1925, Pius took occasion to again insist on the perpetual legality of the pope's title as sovereign over Rome and reminded the pilgrims that, while they had been free to circulate in the streets of the metropolis of Catholicism, the vicar of Christ and the father of the faithful is deprived of such freedom and, so long as present conditions last, he neither can nor may cross the threshold of the Vatican. Still, again on February 21, 1926, in the course of an allocution addressed to Cardinal Gasparri, dealing with the relations of the Vatican to Italy, Pius spoke of the pope's present position in Rome as "the iniquitous condition imposed on the Holy see" and that, so long as it continues to be imposed, it will not be possible for the pope to come to any agreement with the Italian Government, nor will he cross the threshold of the Vatican.

A new phase was given to the question by an article in the papal organ, *The Osservatore Romano*, published October 1927, proposing that the Italian government assign to papal jurisdiction enough territory on the right bank of the Tiber to form a papal state with civil authority and omitting the appeal to Roman Catholic countries other than Italy for help to make good the claim.

The wisdom and propriety of the papal power assuming civil authority and in that way endangering its influence as a spiritual force is doubted even in Roman Catholic circles. Be that as it may, Protestants insist that government is by consent of the governed and that the pope has no more ground to claim sovereignty over Rome against the will of the people than he has at present to claim sovereignty over any other portion of the world.

§6. The government of the Roman church the alleged model of the American republic.—It has been claimed even by high Roman Catholic prelates that the American government is fashioned after the pattern of the Roman church. Emphasizing the alleged derivation of the American principle of government from Roman Catholic sources, Cardinal Bonzano, d. 1927, at one time Apostolic legate to the Roman Catholic church in the United States, in speaking to the students of the American College, Rome, 1922, said, "The United States is based on principles which for centuries have been taught, fearlessly taught, and defended by the Church of Rome," *America*, Feb. 24, 1923. The claim is stated in this way: The president of the United States corresponds to the pope. The president appoints his cabinet. The pope appoints the cardinals. The several states correspond to the church dioceses and the governors to bishops. In reply, it is to be said, that no comparison could be more fallacious. The president of the United States is elected by the people. The pope is not elected by the people. The president is an executive officer. The pope combines in himself all three functions, legislative, judicial and executive. He is legislator making the laws, executive officer en-

forcing these laws, and judge pronouncing sentences upon persons and measures. By the American Constitution, these three functions are kept distinct and are divided between congress, the supreme court and the president. The papacy is an absolute monarchy. The people are sovereign and the source of power. To put it in the words of Beck on the Constitution—p. 231 "whenever the people of the U. S. dislike a statement of law authoritatively declared by the supreme court, they sometimes establish a new law by amendment of the Constitution. So the eleventh and sixteenth Amendments provided new laws setting aside laws declared constitutional by the Supreme Court."

The comparison has been buttressed recently by the claim that the ideas of popular government descended from the Middle Ages through Cardinal Bellarmine and that the writings of the cardinal issued about the year 1600 directly influenced the framers of the Virginia Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence. This claim which was first stated in 1917 seems to be accepted throughout the American Catholic church as well founded. Roman Catholic scholars of the highest repute repeat it as though it were historical fact and prelates of the highest eminence have set it forth before popular audiences. It is taught in the parochial school and repeated by Roman Catholic journals, so that the Roman Catholic population is being educated to believe the falsehood that our American civil liberties were rooted in Cardinal Bellarmine's discussions and are a heritage from the Middle Ages. The true line of succession through English struggles and English publicists and American Colonial history is ignored, as though they had not been. According to the new theory Jefferson drew from the cardinal and became, as it were, the cardinal's exponent on these Western shores.

The imaginary element of the theory is almost as prominent as it was in the creation of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, accepted as fact for six centuries and more. So deeply has the Bellarmine-Jefferson legend of the origin of the

Declaration taken root, that writers in the *Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1924, and January, 1925, felt justified in asserting that "Bellarmine's contribution to democracy is attested by the principles enunciated by the cardinal which were incorporated in the Declaration of Independence," and "the new principles of popular and democratic government found their vindication by the cardinal 300 years ago." A writer in *America*, May 19, 1923, says that democracy has in the cardinal "one of the clearest and most logical exponents and Americans have every reason to honor his writings as one of the sources from which Jefferson, —who knew them from notes derived from others,—drew some of the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence."[7]

The considerations that make it most improbable that Mr. Jefferson was indebted to Cardinal Bellarmine for his views on democratic government, are the following: 1. Jefferson nowhere in his writings mentions Cardinal Bellarmine except once in 1823 in recording a list of writers furnished him by Madison. The explanation given by some Roman Catholic writers for Jefferson's failure to mention Bellarmine, that it would have been dangerous for an American to have appealed to the authority of a Roman Catholic cardinal, is an explanation anything but complimentary to Jefferson's independence and courage. 2. Jefferson expressly referred in his writings to the teachings of Sidney and Locke—especially Locke— as well as to Aristotle, Cicero and other writers on government. 3. Jefferson's library contained a number of works on politics and government, including besides the works just mentioned, Plato, Calvin, Bodin, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical, Polity*, More's *Utopia*, Harrington Buchanan, Milton's *Prose Writings* and other volumes and pamphlets. Bellarmine's writings were not among them. 4. To Jefferson the struggle for English liberties and Colonial rights was more familiar than the civil war is to the present generation of American citizens. The words covenant, compact, consent of the governed,

employed to define the relation between the people and their magistrates, had a venerable Protestant lineage reaching back to the time when Cardinal Bellarmine was scarcely born.

5. Above all, if Mr. Jefferson had been acquainted with Bellarmine, he would have found in the cardinal a conception of government different from that set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Had the cardinal been followed, that document would not have urged the right of the American people to resist monarchy, taught by him to be the divinely appointed form of government, for of all forms, the cardinal taught that the very worst—*deterrimum*—is a democracy and that the people hold political power only *until*—*donec*—they have conferred authority upon a ruler. When he said, that "all men are born free"—*nascuntur omnes naturaliter liberi*—he was referring to the origins of government as they were set forth by Aristotle. He did not say that "all men are born free *and equal*," as a writer in the *Catholic Historical Review*, Jan. 1925, p. 513, asserts and then proceeds to add that "from this, Bellarmine's statement, the Declaration of Independence derived the expression." Nowhere in Bellarmine's three treatments of his great work bearing on government can a statement be found like unto the statement of the Declaration: "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Where in Bellarmine's works would have been found the provisions of the Constitution for religious liberty and the separation of church and state if the cardinal's authority had been followed? A writer in the *New York Independent*, Nov. 20, 1920, Father J. H. McMahon, insisted that "the Puritan doctrine of the separation of church and state is the logical preparation for Bolshevism. Our idea is to

undo the effect of the Puritan idea which has permeated the country." Cardinal Hayes of New York was misinformed when he commended as truth the Bellarmine-Jefferson legend in an address delivered in Detroit, October 18, 1927 to the National Council of Catholic Men. According to the *Catholic News*, the cardinal "pointed out that the Virginia Bill of Rights was taken almost verbatim from the writings of the Venerable Robert Bellarmine, the trusted advisor of four popes" and said further "it is with great pride as Catholics that we can recall that the principles; almost the very language of our Declaration of Independence, were written by the Venerable Bellarmine,—now on his way to canonization,—with the approbation of the Holy Father more than a century before the Declaration announced a new reign of liberty to the world."

When Richard Henry Lee went so far as to claim that the Declaration of Independence was copied from Locke's *Treatise on Government*, Jefferson, then well advanced in age, replied that "all the authority of the Declaration rests on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversations, in letters, printed essays or in the elementary books of public right as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." John Adams, writing Nov. 25, 1821, gave his opinion when he said that "the obligation of mankind to Mr. Locke for the diffusion of the principles of civil and religious liberty are beyond my power of calculation." Going further back, Adams at another time said that Ponet's treatise on *Politike Power*, published in 1556, long before Bellarmine wrote, contained all the essential principles of government which were afterwards dilated by Sidney and Locke."

In 1922, Pius XI in speaking of the nations which during the recent war had "resumed friendly relations with the Holy see or inaugurated them," pointed back to the Middle Ages as furnishing the example of the true society of nations and a period when the sanctity of law was observed and the pontiff recognized as "the seat of a sovereignty of divine

administration which overlaps the confines of all peoples and nations and embraces all peoples and nations." France, Great Britain and Russia had bound themselves by secret treaty not to allow papal representatives "to undertake any diplomatic steps looking to the settlement of questions relating to this present war." Nevertheless, the Vatican's pressure for representation on the League of Nations was supported as late as 1925 when the Catholic Council for International Relations meeting in London called for such representation in view of the "Holy see's unique influence and world-wide power."

The claim that the Roman pontiff has a superintendency extending to all worldly affairs is set forth in the painting which represents the Peace of Venice, 1177, and was still hanging in the Vatican a few years ago and is probably there still. The picture, which is a copy of the fresco in Venice, displays the humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa before Alexander III. The emperor is prostrate before the pontiff, who is clad in pontifical robes and wears a crown, and has his foot upon the emperor's right shoulder. On the picture are printed the words of the ninety-first Psalm, "thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder." So long as the theory of power which pontiffs for nearly ten centuries asserted, remains uncontradicted by one of their successors, uncertainty will continue concerning the policy which the Vatican may pursue in possible national crises and the possible attitude the American citizen may be called upon to take who looks to the "holy father" as God's vicegerent on earth and at whose nod, according to Boniface's bull, *unam sanctam*, earthly rulers must unsheathe the sword. Cardinal Manning praised Lord Denbigh for "being a Catholic first and an Englishman afterwards." If the words meant that, in matters of conscience, obedience must be rendered to God above the state, they cannot be criticized but, if they mean that in such matters as the separation of church and state the religious man has the right to resist them on ecclesiastical grounds, the cardinal's words are

inconsistent with American loyalty to the Constitution. At the time of the Armada, English Catholics refused to follow the pope and support Philip II. They upheld the English government.

CHAPTER XXX

QUESTIONS OF MIXED JURISDICTION

EDUCATION, MARRIAGE, CLERICAL IMMUNITIES

BY Roman Catholic law, education, marriage and clerical privileges are treated as concerns of mixed jurisdiction, belonging partly to the province of the church and partly to the province of the state. The ground of the classification is that such matters have a spiritual or religious bearing as well as a civil and social bearing. The list is arbitrary for it is difficult to mention any question which has not an import for the moral and spiritual well-being of the individual. If the practice of the Middle Ages were revived, there would be included among "mixed questions" the tenure and taxation of property. American Protestants agree with the statement made by Leo XIII in his *immortale dei* that in so-called matters of mixed jurisdiction it is God's desire that church and state should be in complete harmony. They dissent so far as the pope's meaning was that the church should assume to legislate in matters properly belonging to the civil jurisdiction or compel Roman Catholics to resist the state when it refuses to comply with ecclesiastical demands. With regard to mixed questions, Pius X in his bull, *pascendi*, 1907, declared that the church as queen and mistress has supreme right of control. And this may be inferred from the pope's claim to be the vicegerent of God on earth.

I. Education.—In the United States, the management of schools has been a question of active discussion from the middle of the nineteenth century. The Roman Catholic purpose to establish distinct schools under the charge of the

priesthood has been regarded as a threat to the public school system of the country. Where Protestants in the United States have recognized the establishment of such schools, it has been on the ground of the rights of minorities and to avoid more serious expressions of discord than discussions carried on with the pen and on the platform. The same question has been agitated in France, Austria, the German empire, and other European countries.

§ 1. **The Protestant Reformers and education.**—From the outset, Protestantism has urged universal education. During the Middle Ages lower education was confined to the cathedral and conventual schools which were mainly intended for the training of the clergy. The principle expressed by Jerome was the principle of the mediæval monastery, namely that the monastic's duty is not to teach but to pray —*monachus non docentis sed plangentis habet officium.* Bishops here and there expressly forbade convents for women to admit girls for instruction and, where convents taught girls, it seems that they did so to help in the maintenance of the conventual establishment. The Renaissance movement in Italy reached a limited class. It was in the face of opposition that Colet, Lily and others at the beginning of the sixteenth century introduced grammar schools in England. The democratic idea of education was for the first time attempted or at least approached by the German mystics along the Rhine in their schools in Deventer, Zwolle, Marburg and other places.

The Protestant Reformers created the village school, demanded that education be offered to all and called upon the state to provide for this end. In three distinct writings, Luther called on the magistrates of German towns to erect schools in every community. In the curriculum which he suggested, he anticipated our modern policies by prescribing that not only Latin and mathematics be taught, but also vocal and instrumental music. His scheme included schools for girls as well as boys, and was based upon the principle that children should be trained as spiritual beings and fitted

to become "able, educated, wise, upright and cultivated citizens." Yielding to a liberal turn of mind, Luther also declared that the secular advantages would justify popular education even if there were no soul or heaven but only the state and society.

In Zürich, convents were turned into schools. In Geneva, rigid laws enjoined a scheme of general education, and every child was compelled to attend school. Provision was made for the children of the poor to attend and citizens refusing to comply with the law were disfranchised. In Scotland, a like urgency was shown. The First Book of Discipline, 1560, provided for a general scheme of education by which elementary schools were to be set up in all parishes and a grammar school in every considerable town, and all children compelled to attend, provision being made for the children of the poor.

On American soil, the Puritans were quick to transplant the practice of universal education. Bancroft's statement—*Lit. and Hist. Miscellanies*, p. 405—that "Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools," is true, if the statement be applied to Calvin's spiritual descendants in America and Calvinistic countries of Western Europe, but to Luther belongs the merit of being the first to advocate the principle. Laws of Massachusetts, 1647, Connecticut, 1650, and New Haven, 1657, provided for elementary schools in communities of fifty householders and a grammar school in communities of one hundred householders. The leading reason given for schools in these codes, was that children might learn to read the Scriptures, it being, "the chief project of the old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures." Mr. Fiske rightly observed that "one of the cardinal principles of democratic Calvinism has always been elementary education." Colleges also, Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and Princeton flourished in Protestant communities.

It would be difficult if not impossible to find a papal encyclical issued before or during the Reformation period advocating general education or an encyclical addressed at

any time to distinctively Roman Catholic countries calling their attention to it. The illiteracy of lands, distinctly Roman Catholic, presents a marked contrast to the percentage of the educated in lands, distinctively Protestant as also of France, where by the laws of 1882-1905 the schools were "laicized" and religious teaching and teachers excluded. The contrast is shown by a comparison between Spain and Italy, on the one hand, and Prussia and Scotland on the other, or between the United States and Canada, on the one hand, and the other states of the Western continent. In Italy, thirty-seven percent of the population is illiterate, in Spain, forty-five percent while in Prussia all but three tenths of one percent read and write and in Scotland all but one and six tenths of one percent. In the United States where the immigration in recent years from Roman Catholic Europe has brought a multitude of persons unable to read and write, eight percent of the population is illiterate, while in Mexico and the South American States from forty-nine to seventy percent is illiterate. Who is responsible for these conditions?[1]

§ 2. **Religious schools in the United States.**—No clause bearing on education was inserted in the Constitution of the United States. The makers of that document, no doubt, took it for granted that schools would be carried on in the way they had been before the document was written. The subject has been regarded as fairly included under the powers granted to the government "to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity." Two years before the Constitution was adopted, national support was given to the cause of education in the Northwest ordinance which prescribed "that religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged." During the Colonial period, the Roman Catholic population, being small, the question of religion in the schools was not raised.

The first attempt to secure a municipal appropriation for a local Roman Catholic school was made in Detroit

in 1808 but failed. A similar attempt made in 1830 in Lowell, Massachusetts, where the Roman Catholic population was large, met with success. As early as 1840, petitions from the Catholics of New York were presented for a part of the state educational monies, and Archbishop Hughes took the position that the Catholic population had "a right to a fair and just proportion of the school funds."

From about the year 1850 two propositions have been urged by American Roman Catholics, the one calling for the establishment of a separate Roman Catholic school in every Roman Catholic parish, the other for a share in the school funds secured by taxation. The first proposition has met with such general response that at the present time there are separate schools for one half the Roman Catholic children of the United States. The second proposition has not been acted upon favorably in any of the states. A third proposition, emanating from various sources, calls for a law forbidding the Bible to be read in the public schools and has been acted upon favorably by Nebraska, Illinois and Wisconsin but denied by other states as Texas which has declared that the prohibition of the reading of the Bible, prayer and songs of a religious character "in public buildings would produce a condition bordering on moral anarchy." The suggestion made by Protestants that the Rheims version be read where the Roman Catholics are in the majority, has been set aside by Catholic leaders on the ground that the impression which the reading of the Bible makes depends to some degree upon the reader. The parish school was a subject of legislation at the Plenary council of Baltimore, 1852. The second Plenary council, 1866, spoke of the serious evils besetting Roman Catholic youth attending the public schools in the country. The third council in 1884 went further, predicting that "the merely secular education of the American school would by degrees degenerate into an infidel and godless education." The council ordered that a school be erected near every church, threatened with discipline priests neglecting to see that a school was erected and instructed Roman

Catholic parents to send their children to the parish school under pain of church penalties. The separate school system has had as its most vigorous supporters on the platform and in writings Archbishop Spalding and Bishop McQuaid of Rochester.

Early during this period of agitation, instructions had come from Rome bearing on education by the state and the obligation of Roman Catholics in America to provide a school system under the direction of the priesthood. In 1864, Pius IX denounced education conducted by the state independently of the ecclesiastical authorities as a "pernicious doctrine." Since that time the Roman see has definitely stretched forth its hand across the Atlantic to direct the policy of Roman Catholics in this country in the matter of education. In 1875, there came to the American bishops "an Instruction concerning the Public Schools of the United States" issued by the Congregation of the Propaganda, under which the American church then stood. The document, so it stated, was based upon investigations of our public school system starting from Rome and passed the judgment that, if religion and piety were not already expelled from the schools of "the most flourishing American nation," they were in danger of being expelled and further, that "the greatest evils were imminently threatening Catholic youth from its public schools and that such schools may not be frequented by Roman Catholics with a safe conscience," except where permission is given by the spiritual adviser. Declarations of this nature were specifically approved by Leo XIII as in his Canisius Encyclical—*Works* 7: 46-55—when he pronounced against mixed schools—*scholas mixtas*—and ordered that everywhere Catholics establish schools of their own with Catholic teachers. In his Barromeo encyclical, 1910, Pius X, in decreeing distinctive Roman Catholic schools, denounced "the conduct of our public schools which are entirely without religious instruction and where people make it a pastime to laugh at the most sacred verities," and condemned all neutral or lay schools as being under the direction of dark

groups—*tenebricosæ sectæ dominatus*—who are engaged in "imposing a yoke of hypocritical liberty."

The positions taken by Leo were that the Roman church has 1. the exclusive right to teach religion to its children; 2. that it cannot approve schools in which religion is not taught; 3. that the state has the right to see that the laws of health are observed and that nothing subversive of its authority is taught; 4. that the monopoly of education by the state is nothing short of despotism. The law, as stated in the Benedictine code, 1373–83, enjoins that religion be taught in every school, that teachers and text-books be subject to the bishop's approval and that, in the higher schools, the teachers be priests of acknowledged doctrinal knowledge. It forbids Catholic children attending non-Catholic, neutral and mixed schools, and in cases where the state supports a university not under Roman Catholic control, a Roman Catholic university is to be erected in the vicinity of the state institution.[2]

Some of the foremost advocates of the Roman Catholic school system, like Archbishop Spalding and Bishop McQuaid, have disavowed opposition to the school system under public control. Dr. Spalding wrote: "We are unreservedly in favor of free schools. I not only would not, if I had the power, destroy the public school system but would leave nothing undone to develop and perfect it." At the same time, the threat of strenuous opposition has been promised in case interference is made with the Roman Catholic schools by the state. For example, Cardinal Gibbons in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years*—p. 232—declared that "if the state should forbid us Catholics to continue our parochial schools, we would resist to the uttermost. The state has no right to deprive Catholics of the daily religious influence which we feel necessary for their spiritual and eternal welfare."

§ 3. The Roman Catholic school system from a Protestant and national standpoint.—Protestants agree with Roman Catholics that religion is an essential part of education, and that sound moral instruction is impossible apart from

religious instruction but they insist that religious education is primarily the duty of the home, that it is desirable where possible that the teachers in our public schools should be openly religious and that elements of religion common to all parts of the people or at least the large majority should be taught but that in view of the mixed population of the United States, no denominational teaching or influence should be allowed.

In urging their policy, Roman Catholic writers and especially members of the Jesuit order have made assertions which are adapted to influence a popular audience but are not justified by the facts. They have propagated the idea that the public school is "not an American institution and, in overthrowing the system, the citizen is not going in the face of American institutions," that the system comes from "an ancient Pagan source," and that not a single signer of the Declaration saw a public school. The treatment confuses truth by the abuse of words. The essential facts are that the schools of the Colonial period were supported by public funds as were the colleges in part, and that the modern public school system is no novelty. Likewise, it has been the fashion even in highest quarters to denounce our public schools as "godless" and to treat Roman Catholic parents sending their children to them without ecclesiastical permission as "recalcitrant children of the faith," for in them the "ruin of souls is inevitable." The charge that the schools are godless is an insult to the thousands of Protestants who teach in them and superintend them. Of the 150,000 teachers in our public schools in 1921, 130,000 had church affiliations.

To a non-Catholic the compulsory parochial school seems to be a menace to the unity of the nation and the religious harmony of the land. In the first place, it follows a mandate which, if it did not originally come from abroad, has been insisted upon by the Vatican. Its order seems to be hostile to individual liberty by dictating the policy which a portion of the American people must follow. Children, not furnished with a special exemption by the priest, are obliged to attend

the parochial school or suffer ecclesiastical penalties, and the custom of attending state universities or colleges, originally not under Catholic control, is only "tolerated" and is pronounced a menace to the faith of the Catholic students. When writers make the statement that "the Catholic and non-Catholic school systems are absolutely irreconcilable," they voice the judgment of the Vatican. See, for example, *America*, Oct. 3, 1925.

In the second place, the parochial school as a compulsory institution threatens to divide American citizenship and to emphasize or aggravate the differences dividing the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations. From their earliest period Roman Catholic children are separated from other children on the playground and in the class room, sit day by day under teachers who wear a distinctive religious garb, and by the method of their teaching and their appearance accentuate the doctrinal system and superiority of the Roman church as a preparation for the duties of citizenship. One of the very advantages of the public school system has been supposed to be that it brings together children of all classes and creeds and trains them up in the same national traditions and to a sense of equal privilege.

In the third place, the compulsory parochial school endangers the very principle upon which the republic was founded, the separation of church and state. It is adapted to create in the mind of the pupil the idea that all education, to be normal, must be under the control of the Roman church, that the Roman Catholic religion is exclusively the religion which God meant for this world, and that the only teachers fully competent to teach are priests and the "religious." Roman Catholics who attend the public school are treated not only as disobedient to the church, but to the Decalogue itself; God's eternal law. Popular manuals such as the *Manual of Prayers* issued by direction of the Baltimore council, p. 279, gives among the violations of the fifth commandment "the sending of children to Protestant and other dangerous schools."

Again, Roman Catholics, not content with having their own schools, have in cases openly shown a determination to romanize the public schools and made complaint of injustice in not receiving a portion of the public funds. They have introduced into public schools Roman Catholic teachers wearing their distinctive garb and the rosary. In 1894, when this practice was brought before the supreme court of Pennsylvania, the court upheld the practice but, in deference to the public feeling, the state legislature of 1895 passed an act forbidding the wearing of a distinctive religious dress in the public school-room and the act was upheld by the supreme court of the state. In 1905, the same question arose in the State of New York where the Court of Appeals upheld a decision of the state superintendent of schools, forbidding Catholic sisters wearing a distinctive dress in the public school-room. The reason given by the court was that such dress is adapted to inspire respect for the special religious body to which the teacher may belong and thus the practice violates the Constitution. If the Roman Catholic demand were to prevail, a member of the Masonic order would have the right to appear in Masonic regalia.

§ 4. **Proposed remedies.**—Among the remedies proposed to heal the division of sentiment and to preserve the traditional American practice of education are the following:

1. A compulsory law requiring all children to attend the public school until they have reached a certain grade. Such a law passed by Oregon in 1922 was declared by the courts unconstitutional on the ground that it would interfere with the rights of parents to direct how their children should be brought up. The opposition was expressed in the words, that the child is not "the mere creature of the state."

2. The state's recognition of the Roman parochial school through the purchase of the school buildings and a fair allotment of the school taxes to such schools. With the American population, made up as it now is, such a solution would require that the same privilege be granted at the state's expense to private schools maintained by Protestants,

Hebrews, Greek Catholics, Mormons, and free-thinkers. An insuperable objection is that the state would be supporting institutions in which the tenets of denominational religion were taught. Roman Catholics, it would seem, while they call for a division of school funds as an act of justice, are not in favor of full state supervision over their schools. To quote Bishop McQuaid, they are in favor only of "a certain amount of oversight over Catholic parish schools."

3. A third remedy which is proposed is a law compelling the attendance of all children in schools conducted by the state, with the provision that during a certain portion of the school period, they be at liberty to attend religious instruction as their parents may appoint. This plan is substantially the plan encouraged by Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul and put into execution in Stillwater and Faribault, Wisconsin, 1891. The salient advantages of the plan are that it preserves the American principle that it is the state's duty to educate its citizens, that it gives Roman Catholics the opportunity to counteract the so-called godlessness of the public schools, and that it would place side by side children of all classes and of all religious types in the study of the secular branches of education. In a number of cities, the scheme has been put into operation and many Protestants welcome such a solution. Eminent Roman prelates, as Cardinal Hayes of New York and Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee have publicly endorsed it, so far as it provides for religious training.[3] In 1927, the plan received the approval of the New York Court of Appeals which declared that it involves "not the slightest infringement of constitutional right or abuse of statutory requirements." The decision makes the attendance of the children upon courses in religion dependent upon the parents and permits the grant of credits for hours spent in religious instruction.

Protestants dissent from the opinion of Cardinal Satolli, at one time apostolical delegate to the Roman churches of the United States when, in an address before Gonzaga

College in 1883 he said that "the more public opinion and the government of the United States favor Catholic schools, the more will the welfare of the commonwealth be advanced. The Catholic education is the surest safeguard of the permanence throughout the centuries of the American constitution and the best guide of the republic in civic progress." For three-quarters of a century before a parochial school was established the welfare of the republic was guarded, so far as education in the school may guard it.

II. Marriage and the state.—There is no difference among Roman Catholics and Protestants in regard to the right of a church body to make requirements bearing on marriage for its own members. To an offensive class belong requirements which asperse the laws of the state by discrediting marriages performed under them or nullifying such laws. For generations, the Roman Catholic marriage laws have come into conflict with the marriage laws not only of states predominantly Protestant but of Roman Catholic states which have authorized civil marriage. Modifications of Roman canon law have been made by Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria and Bavaria and the republics of South America. The last of the South American states to legalize marriage by the civil law being Ecuador and Bolivia. Modifications removing the barriers to the validity of marriages not entered into before a priest have been consistently met with protest from the Vatican. The state treats marriage as a right of nature, and by its law consults the temporal well-being of its citizens.

As already said, the language of recent pontiffs comes very close to putting marriages not performed before a priest in the rank of concubinage. According to D. Hay Fleming, the Roman bishop of Galloway recently said, "by the highest authority no Catholic can contract a valid marriage outside the Catholic church and that any such sacrilegious attempt is held to be an act of foul concubinage." In the Syllabus of 1864, Pius IX declared that the civil contract between Christians does not constitute true marriage—*veri nominis*

matrimonium—and condemned the opinion that matrimony by its very nature is a matter of the civil law. Twelve years before, 1852, Pius in *acerbissimum* pronounced civil marriages nothing else than low and abominable concubinage—*turpem et exitialem concubinatum*—a relation cursed by the church. Leo XIII, in *arcanum*, affirmed that the union of a man and a woman which is non-sacramental—*citra sacramentum*—lacks the force and essence of righteous matrimony and, in an encyclical of April, 1878—*Works* 1: 12—virtually called civil marriage legal concubinage. In his letter to the Cardinal of Canossa, February 8, 1893—*Works* 5: 144–152—after insisting upon Christ's elevation of marriage to the dignity of a sacrament, the pontiff took the position that the state usurps the rights of the church when it legislates independently of her on the subject of marriage or denies to the church the right to pass censures upon parties to a marriage. For Christians, says the Catechism of Pius X, "it is not sufficient to be married by the civil officer, because marriage is a sacrament and only what is a sacrament in God's sight is matrimony." The encyclical *provida*, issued by Pius X in 1906, discrediting mixed marriages, created such a stir in central Europe that the pontiff was forced to explain its positions in a separate encyclical. Slater in his *Moral Theology* says that "the civil authority probably has power over the marriages of non-baptized subjects so that it may make prohibitory impediments to such marriages," the inference being that it has no authority to lay down impediments for the marriages of baptized persons. By the canon law, the civil jurisdiction over marriage is limited to what are called its civil effects, such as property rights. This is the position taken by the Baltimore catechism when it says that "the church alone has the right to make laws concerning the sacrament of marriage. The state also has the right to make laws concerning the civil effect of the marriage contract."

One of the first acts on Roman marriage issued on American soil was issued by Bishop Carroll in 1792—Guilday, *Life*

of Carroll, II: 775, 780. It denied absolution to all not married before the priest till they make acknowledgment of their disobedience. The sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1849, forbade priests to assist at a marriage already performed by a Protestant minister or in case the parties intend after the Catholic ceremony to appear before a Protestant minister. By the decree of the first Plenary council of 1852 priests were forbidden to give benediction to those about to be married by a preacher. By the decree of the third council, 1866, Catholics marrying before a sectarian minister were ordered excommunicated. Such injunctions may be regarded as a family matter intended only for communicants in the Roman church, or they may be applied to all baptized persons, for the pope claims to have a certain jurisdiction over them all. But when mixed marriages are pronounced "detestable" as they were by Benedict XIV a different law holds, for sentence is rendered against the decrees and customs of states. When Benedict was forced to suspend the Tridentine law concerning mixed marriages in Holland and Belgium as the Roman laws were later suspended in Austria, and in Breslau, Cologne and other German dioceses and granted the validity of mixed marriages, Benedict as did Pius X two centuries later, exercised the papal right to suspend a church law and treat as valid a law hostile to the law of the Roman church. Throughout the German empire marriage before the civil official is obligatory and must precede a ceremony performed in the presence of a Protestant clergyman or priest, and if they violate the law they are punished by a fine of three hundred gold marks or three months imprisonment. Austria as well as Germany, including Bavaria, assign the girls and boys which result from mixed marriages now to the mother and now to the father for their religious status and education, except where a definite contract bearing on the subject has been made before the union. In France by the law of 1802, which was anticipated by the law of 1792, and by present law the civil ceremony must precede any

religious ceremony. In the face of such legislation the German bishops and archbishops in 1923, declared that the Roman church was losing yearly more souls through mixed marriages than were being won through missions in all the world, and forbade absolution to the betrothed Catholic party who refused to subscribe to the Roman laws on marriage. In 1921, the Bavarian hierarchy prescribed an oath to be signed by both parties and by the priest before the ceremony, stipulating that all the children shall be baptized and brought up "in the Roman religion." A signed pledge of like import is required in England of each of the parties to a mixed marriage. The English pledge includes the oath that "my marriage in the Catholic church shall not be preceded nor followed by any other religious ceremony."

Protestants hold that society and the state have full right to make laws bearing on marriage and that they are as sacred as ecclesiastical laws so far as they are not immoral, and also that all persons baptized or not baptized are on an equality when they consent in marriage according to the primal law of nature ordained of God. Protestant practice goes no further than to recommend marriage before a clergyman as did the Westminster *Directory of Worship*, 1645, when it declared "that although marriage be no sacrament nor peculiar to the church of God but common to mankind and of public interest in every commonwealth, it is expedient that marriage be solemnized by a lawful minister of the Word that he may counsel with the parties and pray for a blessing upon them." In 1653 marriages were ordered by the Long Parliament solemnized before a justice of the peace. The Pilgrims found the custom of the civil marriage ceremony in vogue in Holland and with the Puritans transplanted it to New England. Not until the latter part of the seventeenth century was a marriage performed in New England before a minister.

Cases where Roman canon law may clash with the state so as to discredit marriages performed according to the civil law are such as the following: Excommunication may be

pronounced upon the Roman Catholic who is united to a non-Catholic or resort had to other measures designed to cast an odium upon the parties which may interfere with their good standing in the community or their support. Would the penalized party making appeal to the civil court obtain redress? Or if, in the case of the marriage of non-Catholics, one of them enters the Roman church and secures divorce with the right of remarriage, would the state nullify the remarriage if performed before a priest? For by the canon law—1120–1126—such marriage, legitimate by the civil code, may be dissolved in favor of the Catholic party according to the *privilegium Paulinum*. Again the many bars or impediments which the Roman law sets up may and do clash with the customs of modern society and put a stigma upon those who ignore them such as the bar prohibiting marriage with a deceased wife's sister, marriage between third cousins, or marriage within the so-called limits of spiritual affinity as of a god-parent and his god-child or a guardian and his ward.

The attitude of the Roman church towards civil marriage, as represented by Sullivan and others, is that the state has "no right whatever to nullify marriages although it has the right to regulate them by requiring, for instance, that a license be obtained and the marriage registered." This rule, although the statement as made allows no exception, is to be taken as referring to Roman Catholic marriages, for some Roman writers claim that the church has no authority over the marriage of persons not baptized.

In several recent cases, notorious on account of the high position of the parties, the Roman tribunal of the rota, by annulling marriages and allowing the parties to remarry and be in good standing in the Roman church, has not only asserted a right to act independently of the state but to set aside a relation ratified by nature. Marconi and Miss O'Brien, daughter of Baron Inchiquin, were married, 1903, separated, 1925, and divorced by civil decree, 1927. In spite of their having lived together for a term of years as man and

wife, the Vatican granted them a divorce, 1927, on the ground that, in marrying, they had made an arrangement to separate if at any time it should please them to do so. The former husband was immediately remarried and received, so it was reported, in audience by Pius XI. Logically, it would seem that the parties had been living in a state of concubinage for a number of years, for, if their relation was not one of marriage, it was concubinage.

In the second case not only did the Roman tribunal set itself above the ratification which nature gave to a marriage lasting nearly a quarter of a century and by the birth of children acknowledged by all as legitimate but annulled the act of Protestant clergymen valid by the law of the state. The Duke of Marlborough and Consuelo Vanderbilt were married, 1895, in St. Thomas church, New York, according to the laws of the state of New York by two Protestant Episcopal bishops and the rector of the church, many witnesses being present. Two sons were born of the union. After living together a number of years, the parties agreed to a deed of separation which was later revoked. The duke was guilty of misconduct and in 1920 they were divorced by English law upon the ground of the husband's infidelity and after the wife had in vain expressed her desire to live with her husband. The wife married again. In 1926, the husband, formerly a Protestant, carried from an English ecclesiastical, court a plea to the Roman rota for divorce and the marriage was annulled on the ground that, at the time of the ceremony, Miss Vanderbilt was under pressure from others to go through it. The testimony is reported to have included that, at the time of the marriage, the bride was in love with another man who, however, was married in 1890 five years before herself and when she was not thirteen years old! The civil law, in cases where force has been used, holds that subsequent consent validates the marriage.[4] The Roman tribunal defied this principle and ignored the solicitation of the wife that the husband respect her marital rights. Early in 1927, the Duke of Marlborough entered the Roman church, is married

again to a person to whom, it is said, he had been attached during his previous marriage and has been received by Pius XI. What again, it may be asked, was the relation between the two people during the time when they were living together as man and wife? The Roman decree being valid, was not the relation one of determined and continuous fornication and the sons born of the union illegitimate by Roman law?

The Roman Catholic defendant cites the canon law—1087—that "a marriage is invalid when entered into because of violence or grave fear caused by an external agent unjustly and to free oneself from which one is compelled to choose marriage." But what virtue belongs to a prescription of the canon law which supersedes the habit of nature by which the marital bond is recognized! And what becomes of the superior sanctity, alleged to be ascribed to marriage by the Roman church, if the marriage habit may be treated as though it had not been and the subsequent marriage of the parties given canonical blessing!

Two other cases may be given. The first, a suppositional case stated by the Jesuit Gobat—Hoensbroech: *Papstthum*, II: 287—is as follows: A man violates a girl who gives birth to a child. The state provides a penalty. The man joins a religious order which forbids marriage. Has the state the right to claim the penalty for the injured party? The answer is probably not. Certainly not, if the offender was a cleric when the girl was injured. In the other case, which occurred in an important suburb of a large American city, the priest was found cohabiting with an unmarried woman by the woman's brothers. The guilty parties were taken to a neighboring town and married by the civil magistrate, so the press stated in extensive accounts of the affair. The priest a day or two afterwards was nowhere to be found. What would the civil law do in case the woman claimed her marital rights? The law of the Roman church is explicit that a marriage entered into by a priest is null and void and no woman whom he has abused has a

legal claim for damages. Shall the state adjust its customs of marriage to the regulations of the Roman church or must the Roman church bring its regulations into accord with the laws of the state? Which realm is sovereign in matters of marriage? It is to be noted that a judge if he is a Roman Catholic is not barred by the canon law from giving a sentence of divorce, the responsibility for the separation being looked upon as resting upon the married parties.

If we turn back the pages of history again to Henry VIII and his separation from Catherine of Aragon and marriage to Anne Boleyn, it is evident that Clement VII had no scruples about granting the king dispensation on the ground of canonical technicalities for such technicalities had been passed over often enough in Henry's generation. Marital separation and re-marriage among Henry's own kin had been allowed by the pope. While Henry's application for divorce was being held up at Rome, his elder sister Margaret, the wife of James IV of Scotland, had received a dispensation on the ground of the blood affinity of the two parties in the fourth degree. At James' death, Margaret married the Earl of Angus, and later received from Clement VII a dispensation to leave Angus and marry Henry Stewart who in turn had been divorced from his wife to marry Margaret. She then obtained a decree nullifying her union with Henry, though her son, James V, prevented the decision from being published. A short time before Henry's case, dispensation was granted by Julius II to the king of Castile to leave his wife on account of her sterility and marry another.

In the case of Mary Queen of Scots, her second Scotch husband, Bothwell, had received a dispensation to marry Lady Jean Gordon, the two being within the forbidden canonical degrees and later, eight days before Bothwell's marriage to Mary, Bothwell's marriage with Lady Jean was declared by Archbishop Hamilton's court invalid from the beginning. Plainly with Clement VII, the question was not of marital fidelity or domestic morals. Henry VIII had corrupted Anne's elder sister. By mistresses, the king had

children whom he created dukes. No pope condemned him for these irregularities. At a later time, Clement was charged by Sixtus V with upholding Henry's marriage with Catherine from a sordid motive. Sixtus pronounced the union sinful and one which Rome had no right to tolerate. In the matter of valid marriage, it seems to be true, that the Roman pontiff when he so chooses is above all tribunals, civil and ecclesiastical.

III. Clerical exemptions from civil duties.—The benefit of the clergy, so-called, giving to clergymen exemption from certain civil duties, goes back to the time of Constantine and the Roman emperors. Constantine released the clergy from compulsory military service. Theodosius released them from the duty to testify in the civil courts and Heraclius, 628, confined the trial of all offenses committed by priests to clerical courts. The principle was stated elaborately in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals and became law in the Middle Ages. English mediæval history knows of no more bitter struggle than the struggle over the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court in questions of church property and clerical offenses, even to gross crimes. The struggle was at its height when Thomas à Becket resisted Henry II and the Clarendon Constitutions. Thomas' arrogance found expression in the exclamation, "Who does not know that priests are the fathers and mothers of kings!" The benefit of the clergy was extended to all manner of clerics, the members of the lower as well as the higher orders, and a statute extended it to all who could "read like a clergyman."

Wyclif reports that in his day the entire body of laymen —*tota ecclesia laycalis*—wanted to know why clergymen were not excommunicated for physical offenses as well as laymen. He demanded that prelates should be deprived of the right to impose physical penalities—*de eccl.* 154–156. Referring to the evils of "the benefit of clergy," Luther complained that "if a priest were murdered, the whole country was laid under the interdict. Why, then, should not the same concern be felt in case of a peasant's murder? Whence this great

difference among Christians who are equal? Human law and inventions and nothing else!"

The mediæval conception of the immunity of the clergyman's person has been set aside by Protestants. His official position gives him no sanctity entitling him to exemption from performing any legitimate duties required by the state of its other citizens. Only in matters that are distinctly of an ecclesiastical nature does he claim independence. The Roman Catholic position is that injury done to the person of a priest is sacrilege. Cardinal Bellarmine—*de cler.* 1: 28–30—taught that it is repugnant to the clerical office for the clergyman to be subject to the secular judge in civil matters. It would be, he said, abominable for the civil officer to punish a bishop, being himself amenable to punishment by the bishop. At the same time, however, he declared that this theory is not derived from divine appointment, but from the analogy of the soul's superiority over the body and the superiority of parents over children.

In the Syllabus of 1864, Pius IX demanded for the priesthood immunity or special protection in the courts in all cases "temporal, civil and criminal." The bull, in *coena domini*, damned all magistrates citing priests to appear in the civil courts or announcing judgment against them The anathema was pronounced by Pius X, October, 1911, against any one who without the sanction of the ecclesiastical superior compels a priest to appear before the civil court to bear testimony. By the canon law the clergy is "immune from military service and the tenure of civil office."

The civil courts of the United States proceed on the principle that the laws of church bodies in matters of administration are final and that the state's duty consists in discovering what such laws are and whether they have been followed. In the Roman Catholic church, the funds derived from collections are managed by the clerical body and usually are wholly subject to the bishop. The "trustee system," as it was called, was insisted upon by some of the American churches early in the nineteenth century but did not become

accepted practice. In cases, as recently in Rhode Island 1927, where a question of the disposition of church funds was brought before the civil court, the decision has been against the contributors and followed the practice of the canon law.[5] Of the possible causes of friction perhaps the tenure and, administration of church property and its taxation constitute the chief cause. One of the crying evils of the Middle Ages was the exemption of the holdings of convents and ecclesiastical dignitaries which were defended on the ground of the charities distributed by church establishments and the deeds of testators. In recent times countries like Austria, Piedmont, Italy and France have been obliged in deference to the body of citizens as a whole to abolish and sequestrate ecclesiastical endowments. In view of the past history of landed possessions held by the "dead hand" of the church, it behooves the American state to be on its guard to prevent abuses by ecclesiastical bodies in enlarging the territory of untaxed property.

If mediævalism should ever be enthroned in these modern times and mediæval practises be revived, it would be at the loss of distinctive factors of American institutions. Clericalism, which Gambetta pronounced the foe of the French republic, would again rule. Archbishop O'Connell, so it was reported, made the demand, on his return March, 1912, from Rome where he received the red hat, that as a "prince of the church" a cardinal is entitled to be saluted by our ships and the flag on his arrival in American waters. If the pretension to such treatment were acknowledged, cardinals visiting Washington would outrank cabinet officers and Roman prelates claim, as their due, precedence of every Protestant clergyman, no matter how eminent he might be from the standpoint of character, ability and public usefulness. Such procedure would overthrow the traditional American theory of the equality of its citizens. When a cardinal takes his oath, he promises to uphold "the temporal rights as well as the liberty, the honor and authority of our lord, the pope, and his successors."

The following statement is made by so high an authority as the Catholic *Encyclopedia*—XIV: 250–254. "Those who live in schisms, heretics, and the excommunicate, though not members of the church, are as a matter of objective right and duty still her subjects. In a Christian but non-Catholic state where the constituency, though subject by baptism, are not members of the church *per se*, the jurisdiction of the church would stand but *per accidens* exercise is impossible." In France and Portugal, the writer proceeds to say, "the separation of church and state has been conducted in violation of rights and contracts both natural and positive." Statements like these seem to be susceptible of the interpretation that popular rights are superseded by ecclesiastical claims and that, if ever the majority of American citizens is Roman Catholic, the Roman church may legislate for itself superior advantages. However, if the slogan coming from Ireland in its recent troubles with England, "as much religion as you please from Rome but no politics" is the governing watchword of American Roman Catholics, there is little likelihood that the clause of the Constitution prescribing the separation of church and state will be weakened and the equality which belongs to men as a natural right denied.[5]

CHAPTER XXXI

MORAL PRINCIPLES

"Let your communication be Yea, yea; and Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."—Matt. V: 37.

"What a man should not speak, he should not hear."—Tertullian.

"It is not possible to imagine a case or think of a fiction in which it is allowable to tell a lie."—Wyclif: *de. eccl.* p. 162.

IN this chapter it is not proposed to give credit to rumors but to set forth principles of Alphonso de Liguori and writers of the Society of Jesus as laid down by them and to follow the judgments of Pascal and former honored members of the Roman communion such as Döllinger, Reusch, Koch, Schnitzer, Tyrrell and Count von Hoensbroech, the last having an experience of sixteen years in a Jesuit convent. The principles of moral conduct advanced and defended by the Jesuits were condemned by popes and the scandals of Jesuit practice in the confessional and outside of it were for a century so patent that Spain, Portugal, France and other states, twenty-seven in all, banished the Jesuit order from their limits. Finally, Clement XIV, 1773, claiming to act "with certain knowledge" suppressed the order together with all its institutions, and ordered it to remain extinct forever. Since its restoration in 1814, it has played a prominent rôle in bringing about the statement of the dogmas of the immaculate conception and papal infallibility, and more recently as is charged, the issue of the encyclicals denouncing modern biblical studies and theological freedom. The treatment gets high warrant from the honors paid to Liguori by papal decrees, which place him as the authority in the

department of moral theology at the side of Thomas Aquinas as the master in the department of dogmatic theology.

It is not the writer's opinion that the morals of Jesuit authorities and Liguori control the practice of American Catholics, but the testimony of scholars, at one time esteemed as of the highest rank in the Roman church, to evils accruing to pure Christianity from Jesuit doctrinal, moral and civil principles known by the name of Ultramontanism is too strong to be set aside. Jesuit teachers have been closely associated with the philosophy of probabilism.

§ 1. Casuistry and probabilism.—Casuistry is the system whereby through ambiguous language and mental quibbling and the inordinate weight given to the principle of expediency, the plain truth is distorted or suppressed and acts otherwise sinful commended as proper and allowable. Moral theology, a study which in the Roman schools mixes casuistry and ethics is regarded, to quote Dr. McCabe, a former Franciscan, as "the most important of sacerdotal studies and in many monastic orders the only study seriously cultivated." The subjects most extensively dealt with are confession to the priest and matrimony. All sorts of cases of conscience, as they are called, real and imagined, are placed before the student.

Out of the practice of religious casuistry in the schools came the philosophy known as probabilism which is the teaching, that moral acts, in themselves sinful, under certain circumstances lose their sinfulness and are permissible. By weighing their quality in the balance of speculation, the principle is evolved that a man may commit a sin without sinning. The dangerous principle is based on the teaching that the intention of the actor makes his act good or bad, so that it becomes an axiom for those who choose to make it such that one may be innocent in doing a bad act when he is able to persuade himself that it is useful. In the words of Pascal, "we remove the vice of the means by the purity of the end" —*nous corrigeons le vice du moyen par la purité de la fin.*

When the opinions of moral authorities differ, the priestly confessor may allow and forgive a course of action even though there be the opinion of only one doctor for it. The principle relaxes the clear authority of conscience. After declaring that the rule of conduct is the law of God and the conscience, Liguori pronounced the decisions of conscience fourfold, right, erroneous, dubious and probable. The law of probability is put in the place of the law of certainty. For the straight guidance of moral intuition and Scripture argumentation is substituted. Likewise, probabilism relaxed the authority of conscience by drawing a distinction between small sins and large sins and made lesser sins lawful as a means of avoiding the commission of sins alleged to be greater. The Jesuit writer, Gobat, confessed that in his day there was scarcely a moral question on which conflicting opinions were not held in equal number on both sides.

The system grew out of the practice of the confessional and the counsels proper for the priest to give. In the course of time, it was used to justify lax precepts not only for the purpose of dealing leniently with the erring but of encouraging the rich and powerful in the pursuit of their pleasures and schemes of force. After the organization of their order, the Jesuits came to be masters in hearing confessions and the work of "directing the intention," as it was called, became their chief concern. They were instructed to seek penitents, especially among women of the influential classes. They kept registers, day by day, of the numbers shriven. So active were they in the confessional that the interviews between priest and penitent at times lasted three and four hours, so that Clement VIII, 1592–1605, was led to express wonder how such long periods could be profitably employed. The practice was commended whereby confessions were made by a penitent a number of times a day, a precept which Liguori confirmed by his own example. It was taught that the confessor's counsel was as binding as the Word of God. "He who would do God's will must obey his confessor as God." The confessor is to be obeyed for

God does not allow him to err. Such were Liguori's directions.

The practice of probabilism followed easily from the principle laid down by Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, which obliged the members to call white black and black white if instructed so to do by their superior and, in subjecting themselves to his will, to be as passive as sticks in the hand or a corpse. The probabilistic system was deliberately built up, beginning in the latter quarter of the sixteenth century and running well beyond the seventeenth century, mainly by Jesuit theologians but also by members of the Dominican order in Spain and also in Germany and Belgium. It found its most notorious expounder in Alphonso de Liguori of the Redemptorist order in his extensive work entitled *Moral Theology*. The treatises setting forth its teachings written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries form a library by themselves. The number of Jesuits who opposed the theory in the first half of the seventeenth century has been pronounced by a master of the subject, Reusch, "hardly noticeable." Not until a century and a half had elapsed did a distinguished work appear by a Jesuit author in opposition to it, the *Dogmatic and Moral Theology of Concina*, 1749–1751.

About 1650, the system found a mighty assailant in Pascal in his *Provincial Letters*. Bossuet joined other French bishops in condemning a list of the errors the philosophy taught and, more than a century later, Eugene Sue in his *Wandering Jew* ascribed to members of the Jesuit order a career of obliquity whose horror makes it almost incredible. To such attacks were added the hostile decrees of popes. Alexander VII, 1655–67 condemned forty-seven of its propositions, Innocent XI, 1676–89 sixty-seven and Benedict XIV as many or more. Here are some of the propositions which emerged out of the probabilistic discussions and were condemned by Innocent XI. Nos. 25–28.—When the cause is a just one, it is right to take an oath without having the intention of keeping it, and, when the cause is a just one, equivoca-

tion is allowable in order to promote one's own well-being or the honor of one's family. Not being bound to reveal secret crime, one may practice mental reservation in taking an oath. No. 34.—It is right to perform abortion when the offended girl is in danger of being killed or becoming disreputable. No. 36.—It is right to commit theft not only in the case of extreme necessity, but when the case is a grave one. No. 48.—Fornication of itself involves no wickedness —*malitia*—and it is bad only because the law prohibits it. Wantonness is not forbidden by the natural law, and, if it had not been forbidden by God, it would often be a good thing. No. 50.—Cohabitation with a married woman, as long as the husband allows it, is not adultery, and it is enough in the confessional to say "I fornicated." No. 60.—A person who enters the confessional may be absolved even if he break the laws of the church and of God habitually and there seems no hope of his reclamation, provided he expresses sorrow and an intention to amend his ways.

§ 2. **The end justifies the means.**—The system of moral casuistry led to the principle that the end justifies the acts done to secure it. The intention, so it was taught, makes bad acts good if a proper end be proposed to the mind. To establish the doctrine, appeal was made to the examples of Abraham who told lies in regard to Sarah, Lot, and his treatment of his daughters and Rahab, whose falsehoods got protection for herself and family, and even to Paul's counsel that it is better not to marry, marriage being regarded as an evil and celibacy as the better part. The principle was stated by Busenbaum, d. 1668, a leading German Jesuit, in his *Moral Theology*, a book which is said to have run through two hundred editions in less than a century. In treating of cases of theft and deception, the author used these words, "when the end is allowable, the means are also allowable"—*cum finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita*. Escobar, a noted Jesuit writer, d. 1669, defended the position "that the end gives to acts their real character." As put by the Jesuits of Southern France, whatever comes from a good motive—

bona fide—never is sin. La Quintinye, complaining to the head of the Jesuit order, Oliva, that this was the teaching among his fellow-Jesuits, wrote that the statement was made publicly that, if a mother adulterated with her son, she did no sin provided she believed in her heart that such adulteration was not sin.[1]

Alphonso de Liguori, who leaned heavily upon Busenbaum's work, taught it lawful to induce another to do a lesser sin in order to deter him from committing a greater sin—*licitum est inducere alium ad minus malum ut impediatur a majori.* For example, a person may be made drunk to keep him from a greater evil. The principle that evil may be done that good may come, which Paul in his letter to the Romans repudiated, was made to serve the motto of the Jesuit order, "Everything for the greater glory of God,"—*omnia ad majorem dei gloriam.* With the fancied purpose of honoring God and extending His kingdom, ecclesiastical writers commended shady and wicked practises, economic dishonesty, tortuous methods of securing information and immoral methods on missionary soil to gain converts and, as Clement VIII affirmed, displayed wonderful facility in discovering from princes in the confessional box the secrets of their domestic affairs and administration, in order to get for themselves influence in directing the policy of states.

It is urged that the loose principles taught were intended for priests and the confessional and not for the eye of the laity. This claim would not remove their immoral character nor could it be expected by sane men that counsels set forth in manuals for priests and used in the confessional would not become public property.

§ 3. **Application of the principle.**—The system of probabilism and the principle that the end justifies the means were applied with zeal to the last five commandments of the decalogue, which deal with the relations between men and expressed themselves in teachings such as the following:

1. Murder.—"Thou shalt not kill."—If a man kills another in an angry dispute, the offender is under no obligation to

pay a penalty provided he had no intention to kill. Although the duel was forbidden by the Council of Trent as a "detestable custom introduced by the contrivance of the devil," and again by Clement VII, 1592, Alphonso gave the counsel that, in order to save his honor, a man may challenge an offender to a duel provided he has no intention of fighting and, if there is no other way of saving his honor, he may fight a real duel which ends in death. This was one of the propositions condemned by Alexander VII. Duels were frequent in France under Henry IV, were at times fought with ten and fifteen contestants on a side, and between 1644 and 1654, 960 nobles are said to have been killed in duelling contests,—Reusch, p. 108. Alexander also found it necessary to condemn the propositions that a husband does not sin who kills his wife caught in adultery, and that it is permissible to kill a false witness or a false accuser or even a judge himself if a false judgment is imminent.[2]

It was taught by the Jesuit, Mariana, in his treatise on royalty—*de rege et regis institutione*, 1598, and accepted by the Jesuit Suarez, d. 1617, that, in the interests of religion, a prince may be murdered. Mariana commended the assassination of Henry III, 1589, who had been threatened with the ban of excommunication by Sixtus V. Ignatius Loyola seems to have justified the penalty of death for heresy,—Mirbt, p. 282. Bellarmine, eminent in the Jesuit order, recalled that Jehoiada deposed Athaliah and then had her murdered, and that the pope under the new dispensation corresponds to the high priest under the old. A hundred and more years later the Jesuit Zaccaria, 1712–95, in his *Manual of Moral Theology*, repeated the doctrine that individuals banned by the pope might be put to death wherever found. It would be surprising if the English law down to 1689 had not demanded the oath from Jesuits disavowing the doctrine of regicide,—"I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure that damnable doctrine that princes excommunicated by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other person whatsoever."

When Paul Oliva, head of the Jesuit order, was called upon by Innocent XI, 1680, to disavow the doctrine set forth by Mariana, and the demoralizing principles of probabilism, it is said that Oliva wrote acknowledging the receipt of the command but did not disavow the principle,—Koch, p. 27. No wonder that Lord Acton says "If any man accept the papacy with confidence, admiration and unconditional obedience, he must have made terms with murder,"—Cor. p. 128, sqq., see also Pastor 9: 923, Smith: *Age of the Reformation*, p. 328.[3]

2. Fornication.—Offenses against the seventh commandment, were dealt with at greatest length by the Jesuit moralists and Liguori. It is out of the question to place before the eye many of the moralists' discussions and the question arises, how it was possible that the matters discussed should have entered the mind of one destined to be placed among the highest saints as was the Redemptorist and, how a pure mind could dally with them, turn them over and over, look at them from every angle, and propose lax solutions to be given to penitents in the confessional. The fact that a woman thought that she was serving God by pouring into the ears of a man not her husband descriptions which are almost unprintable, seems itself to be a condemnation of the secret confessional.

Here are some of the cases: If a man of a higher social class deflowers a girl and has made a promise of marriage, is he bound to keep the promise? No, for a promise given when there is no intention of keeping it is not binding. Besides, such a promise is not binding if the girl be of a much lower class than the man, for the girl should have known that the distinction of rank and wealth is a barrier to marriage. —Must rich men provide for their illegitimate offspring? The answer is, No, for poorhouses and foundling asylums are erected to care for such cases.—If a wife commit adultery, she may deny it to her husband provided, in committing adultery, she had in her mind that she was not committing the offense. If she is confronted by her husband, she may

deny it by saying "I did not break the marriage vow" because, at that moment, the marriage bond still exists, or she may deny the act if she has been at the confessional and been absolved by giving the answer, "I am innocent" or she may say "I did not commit adultery," thinking of "an act which she was bound to confess,"—see Gury I: 182.—A cleric who has entered a house and committed adultery may, if detected, kill the husband provided he has a reasonable hope of escape. These cases are not the worst. Liguori himself asked pardon of the chaste reader for adducing some of the questions which he discusses.

3. Truth-telling and equivocation.—"Thou shalt not bear false witness." "To give help with the aid of equivocation," said Alphonso—II: 151—when the cause is a just one is not evil. A person accused of a crime or a witness in a just cause is not telling a lie when he says in an undertone, "I am not *saying* that such and such a thing occurred." He lets others be deceived if they choose to be. The following case occurred during the time when the Jesuits were attempting to overthrow the English government or to convert James I. John Ward cited before the courts, 1606, denied that he was a priest. When he was confronted with a certain Hawkesworth, a priest who had conformed to the Anglican church and of whom Ward had denied all knowledge, Ward explained his false oath in this way, that, when he said, "I am not a priest," he meant not a priest of Apollo; when he said, "I have not been overseas," he meant over the Indian seas; when he said, "I have not known Hawkesworth or seen him" he meant that he had not known him scientifically or seen him in the beatific vision. If a man asks for absolution, said Liguori, and makes threats of violence if absolution is not granted, the priest commits no sin if, in saying "I do not absolve thee," he speaks the word "not" in an undertone so that the penitent does not hear the words.—A man sets apart 1,000 marks for a girl as a future marriage portion. At his death she becomes a nun. Shall she take the legacy with her? Yes, because the purpose of the giver was that she

should enter a "proper order of life" and, becoming a member of a religious order, she entered upon the order of spiritual marriage.—Two men play a game of cards for a donkey. The one looking across the table notices the cards in the other player's hands and wins. Is he entitled to the donkey? Yes, for he saw the cards unintentionally.—A woman who has been corrupted by a priest appears at the confessional. The rule is that no priest has a right to absolve a woman whom he has himself corrupted but, in case she so modulates her voice that the priest is not sure of her identity and gives her absolution, the absolution is legal. He could only have assured himself of her identity by asking questions and so exposing his own guilt and that he is not required to do.[4]

4. Keeping faith.—According to the Gratian code, a promise made to an excommunicated person may be ignored. The Council of Constance passed a decree that faith need not be kept with a heretic. This teaching was acted upon by the emperor, Sigismund, who set aside the passport to Huss, assuring him of protection. Ferdinand of Aragon wrote to Sigismund to put Huss to death, on the ground that there is no such thing as breaking faith with one who has broken faith with God. When Luther received from the Emperor Charles V the invitation to go to Worms with the promise of safe conduct, he needed not the warning of Chancellor Brück that the rule was not kept that "one is bound to keep faith with heretics,"—a principle of action which had the full approval of the papal legate, Aleander, who urged Charles to break his promise. The sentence of the Council of Constance seems to admit of no doubt, for the Council of Trent, in inviting the Protestants to attend its sessions, engaged not to apply the canons of any council especially the canons of Constance and Siena to "the prejudice of its public assurance of safety and the most full security and unrestricted liberty granted to the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg." The Jesuits of Martinique who became bankrupt, 1762, offered to pay off their large debt to the Marseilles merchants with masses!

§ 4. Alphonso de Liguori, Cardinal Newman and John Wyclif.—Duplicity and other unrighteousness of conduct seem to have gotten approval from the popes themselves when they commended the writings of Alphonso de Liguori, and pronounced him a saint and a doctor of the church. As the result of an investigation, carried on for six years by the Congregation of Rites, Liguori's writings were praised as containing "nothing worthy of censure," and, in canonizing him, 1839, Gregory declared that his works might be generally read. In the preface to an edition of his *Moral Theology*, 1847, Pius IX lauded the author as that "most learned and holy man," and, in pronouncing Alphonso a doctor of the church, 1871, ordered that his books be held in equal esteem with the writings of other church doctors and be openly taught in schools, colleges, disputations and sermons. Pius gave as among the saint's merits that he had rooted out from the Lord's field "Jansenism, that pest begotten in hell, and that there was scarcely an error of the pope's own age which he had not refuted, at least in great part." Liguori, so to speak, was Pius' man for, as indicated before and as Pius himself announced, the Italian moralist "had by his writings proved by the strongest arguments and expounded most excellently the dogmas of the immaculate conception and the infallibility of the Roman pontiff." In 1879, Leo XIII pronounced him "the most learned and holy doctor, and the safe guide of directors of conscience," and his *Moral Theology* "the most celebrated in all the earth." A year later, as already said, Leo coupled him with Thomas Aquinas, the one the most preëminent teacher of moral theology, the other of dogmatic theology.

The admiration for Liguori was shared by Cardinal Newman, and an interesting glimpse into the cardinal's method of thought was offered in a conversation over the merits of the Italian moralist. Speaking of Liguori's *Moral Theology*, the cardinal pronounced the author "that holy and charitable man," though he himself, so he stated, did not follow him in all portions of his teaching. "The saint," the cardinal

went on, "laid down an equivocation as allowable, that is a play upon words in which one sense is taken by the speaker and another sense intended for the hearer, where the cause is a just one. I like the English rule of conduct better, but, in saying so, I am not saying anything disrespectful of St. Alphonso who was a lover of truth and whose intercession, I trust, I shall not lose though on the matter under consideration I follow other guidance in preference to his." The cardinal then proceeded to say that there are "various schools of opinion on moral questions allowed in the church. Protestants forget that while Catholic books allow in cases the winking at lesser sins as the means of winning men from greater sins, such teachings are meant for the confessional and not for the preacher." And yet Pius IX ordered Liguori's teaching set forth from the pulpit! When Newman found that the English translation of the saint's writings omitted parts of the Italian original, he justified the omissions by announcing that certain arguments and sentiments might be suitable for Italy and not suitable for England. As an example, he gave the following: "I do not believe any priest in England would dream of saying 'My friend is not here,' when he meant my friend is not in my pocket or under my shoe." A play upon words, the cardinal remarked, Alphonso certainly regarded as allowable and he gave as the reason for the Italian's teaching that "lying is a sin against our neighbor but not a sin against God." Such remarks are adapted to confirm the conclusion drawn from Newman's writings that there was a tortuous vein in the cardinal's mind. A conspicuous case was the Oxford tract No. 90 in which Newman, still an Anglican clergyman, argued that the XXXIX Articles do not exclude transubstantiation and other Roman dogmas, himself resorting to the trick of interpreting the word "Romish," as not intended to be of the same meaning as "Roman." The charge of tortuousness must have been in Lord Acton's mind when he pronounced Newman "that splendid sophist."[5]

How far the cardinal went in accepting Roman Catholic

forgeries appears from his approval of the story of the liquefaction of St. Januarius' blood. Even the house of Loreto gave him no difficulty. To Henry Wilberforce he wrote, "God also floated the ark on the surges of a world-wide sea and said that faith might remove mountains. Could he not do this wonder also"—that is, remove Mary's house from Palestine to Italy? "All Rome believed it," he said, and "he himself had no doubt about it."

How different was Wyclif's stout testimony about truth-telling from Newman's dubious discussion! With the Scriptures as his sole guide, the reforming preacher of the fourteenth century demanded that an Englishman and a Christian should always tell the truth and never prevaricate. Half-way between the two Oxford preachers lived Archbishop Ussher, who, at the time when the Jesuits were developing their system of casuistry, put into the Irish Articles, 1615, the statement that "the popish doctrine of equivocation and mental reservation is ungodly and tendeth to the subversion of all human society." To the elaboration of the precept that the truth is always to be told, Wyclif devoted many pages of his *Truth of Scripture*. Not even the most trifling falsehood may be told, so he taught, even though the falsehood may avert evil or secure a desired good. Words may not be used in a double sense or mental reservation practiced. Truth always is truth; falsehood always falsehood. Every lie is a mortal sin—*omne mendacium est mortale*. No circumstance is sufficient to justify a sin as though it were not sin. If this were not true, Christ himself, according to his human nature, might have been willing to have been the prince of liars. Wyclif was opposing some of the doctors of his day who held it to be right to give false opinions and tell lies for the honor of God—*ad honorem dei*—and to avoid creating disturbance in the church.

Döllinger, 1874, protesting against the elevation of Liguori to the doctorate of the church, designated him as a "man whose false system of morals, perverted worship of Mary, and habitual use of the crassest fables and fabrica-

tions turn his writings into a storehouse of lies and errors. In the whole course of history there is, so far as I know, no example of such a monstrous and pernicious perversion of the truth."[6] At the same time the eminent historian and opponent of the dogma of infallibility pronounced "the Jesuits superstition incarnate." In his work on the papacy he quoted St. Bernard as saying that it is better that a scandal arise than that the truth be abandoned—*melius est ut scandalum oriatur quam veritas relinquatur.*

Cardinal Gibbons, if possible, was more fulsome in his praise of Alphonso de Liguori than Cardinal Newman and yet, as quoted by an ex-monk, the Italian said that "there are no more holy married women than there are white flies and that these women weep over having gone into the world and married at all." The same writer cites mediæval writers as comparing virginity to gold and the sun, celibacy to silver and a lamp and marriage to copper and the night. Did not the Tridentine catechism recommend that, unless compelled to go abroad by necessity, "wives should stay at home and never venture to leave their homes without the permission of their husbands!"

§ 5. Controversial methods.—The question arises how far the Jesuitical principle has affected writers of the Roman church who deal with Protestantism and how far the Italian motto is followed that "if a thing is not true it is well invented,"—*si non e vero e ben trovato*—to justify the perpetuation of old fables for a fair and strict statement of truth. Notable examples have already been given of popes who have twisted the truth by commending falsifications of ancient documents in the interest of the papal office, the acceptance of the Isidorian Decretals as genuine, the abuse of certain biblical texts by perpetuating mistranslations of the Vulgate, giving countenance to delusions as the experiences of saints and holding up to praise the Middle Ages as preëminently a time of civil order and human well-being.

But it is not necessary to go to the far past for ex-

amples. The canon law still holds that a papal decree is not in force until it is announced in a diocese so that the *tametsi* clause of the Council of Trent not having been proclaimed in England and Scotland, Cardinal Manning, 1884, could say that the marriage of a Roman Catholic and Protestant in these countries by a Protestant clergyman or civil magistrate was valid.

Illustrations are afforded in recent writings by American Catholic scholars of approved scholarship and of ecclesiastical eminence. Writing of Luther, Professor Guilday makes the inexplicable statements that "Protestant scholars in America, England and Germany, have made it plain that Luther's idea of God is repugnant to our natural feelings," that Luther's translation of the Bible is "openly called a plagiarism," and that "the leading Protestant historians ridicule the idea that Luther is the father of popular education."

Father Woodlock in his work, *Modernism*, places Harnack at the side of Strauss and accuses Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts of "subtlety of mental reservation and duplicity," for the bishop's treatment of the virgin birth of Mary. The recent studied attempt to derive the statements of the Declaration of Independence from Bellarmine has already been referred to as also the attempt to discredit "the boasted morality of New England, the home of Puritanism." Bishop O'Gorman in his *History of Roman Catholics in America*, reports that "of late years some Roman Catholic writers have claimed that Washington died a Catholic" and contents himself with the criticism that "the most we may perhaps say is that he was thinking of such a step when death overtook him." This kind of fanciful writing was extended by Dr. Milner to John the Constant and Cromwell as being reported to have turned Catholics before their death, and most recently extended to Dr. Döllinger to the effect that before his death, he had sought peace with the Roman authorities—a report which he himself denied in his last moments and, after his death, was denied by his closest friends.

Another application of this method has been to spread in writings and advertisements in the daily press the false information that all the greater inventions and movements of modern progress have been due to Roman Catholics with the purpose of showing the superior advantages of the Roman profession. Bishop Gilmour, for example, in his manual for young people, declares out and out that "to Catholics is due the discovery of nearly all the valuable inventions we have. It will be seen that with the exception of the steam engine and the railroad, little that is really new has been discovered by others than by Catholics." All of which means that the bishop chose to overlook in his list such names as Sidney Morse, the inventor of the telegraph and Cyrus Field, of the ocean cable, the inventors of the cotton gin, the harvester, and the Hoe printing press, Westinghouse, Edison, Ford and others—all recent Americans and non-Catholics. Still another sort of statement, it is possible, to regard as a mistake of the author but is intentional as a means of winning popular admiration for the pope and allegiance to his authority. For example, Bishop Gilmour, in the work for schools already quoted, affirms that Benedict XV, "an international figure, by his 'Note of Disarmament' paved the way for 'the fourteen points' of President Wilson which practically opened the way to peace."[7]

Complaint is made by Cardinal Gibbons that Roman teachings and practices are grossly misrepresented by Protestants and that the Roman church is "the victim of the foulest slanders" especially from the pulpit and "that upon her fair and heavenly brow, her enemies put a hideous mask." Misrepresentations by Protestants are not to be denied and are greatly to be lamented. In answer, it is again to be noted that the sanction of bishops, archbishops and cardinals is given to Roman Catholic writings which offend against fair treatment and truth and they proceed from writers of exalted station in the Roman communion, while the statements of this or that Protestant preacher or writer carry only a personal authority.

§ 6. Protestant principles of morals.—The approved principle of Protestantism, long ago stated by Wyclif, is that the truth should be always spoken and that evasion and equivocation are always bad. Veracity is not only the best habit, it is the only allowable habit. The withholding of a part of the truth, when it is intended by so doing to accomplish some end, personal or ecclesiastical, is equally culpable as telling an out and out lie. A lie told to man is equally as bad as a lie told to God. A German ex-Catholic in replying to the *Lives of Luther* written by Denifle and Grisar quotes Luther as condemning even falsehoods told in fun, civil falsehoods and all pernicious falsehoods that may hurt our neighbor. The law of the Decalogue "thou shalt not bear false witness to thy neighbor" was more than confirmed when Christ made of equal authority love towards God and love to one's fellow. Paul wrote "Lie not one to another." What shall be said of a policy which warranted Alphonso de Liguori in replying to the question "whether a priest may take more than the prescribed fee?" to answer that "the priest may give money over to another priest, paying him the regulation price and retain the rest for himself"? Truth should be as unspotted as the light. Man should not deceive because God does not deceive. "It is impossible for God to lie." —Heb. 6: 18. Deception cannot be praiseworthy in religion when it is vicious in secular life. Casuistry exalts sophistry and almost certainly ends in permitting intended deception by outspoken untruth or concealment of the truth.[8]

The maxim that "the end justifies the means" is much older than Jesuitism and underlies the Apocryphal literature, the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and other ecclesiastical forgeries, and the reprehensible fraud of Chrysostom in gaining the ordination of Basil by deceit. On the other hand, the right principle that a "lie is a sin *per se*" and that "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth" should be told was set forth by Augustine in his treatises on Lying and on Faith, Hope and Love. Our Lord's words are rule, when he said "Let your speech be yea,

yea, nay, nay, for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil" or, as they run in Moffatt's translation, "Let what you say be simply 'yes' or 'no'; whatever exceeds that springs from evil."

CHAPTER XXXII

WORSHIP

They that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.
John 4: 24.

Unto us Thou hast given spiritual food and spiritual drink and eternal life through Thy Son.—The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

PRAYER, praise, the confession of sin and meditation,—Protestants and Roman Catholics agree in acknowledging as essential parts of Christian worship. On a par with these or above them, the Roman system places the sacrifice of the mass and other sacramental devotions. The Protestant churches include preaching and the reading of the Scriptures.

§ 1. **The object of worship.**—Protestants know of one person only to whom worship is rendered, God as He is revealed in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. They not only find no precedent in the Scriptures for the worship of other beings but positive injunctions against such worship. The Psalmists and Prophets called directly upon God and confessed to Him their transgressions and bitterly condemned worship paid to false gods or human beings. When John was minded to bow before the angel, he was forbidden to do it and told that the angel was a "fellow servant of the prophets thy brethren," Rev. 21: 9. The Roman Catholic lays down three grades of worship namely, the worship of God called *latria*, of Mary called *huperdulia*, and of "others who reign with Christ in heaven" called *dulia*. To worship proper it adds the veneration of images and relics—*can.* 1255–58.

§ 2. **Formularies of worship.**—In the Roman church and some of the Protestant communions the form of worship is

exactly prescribed and set forth in liturgies. Other Protestant communions content themselves with laying down principles or offering examples, exact compliance with which is not demanded. The earliest liturgies go back to the fourth century. In the Roman church the pope alone has the right to decide the ritual and the service books which may be used. The two books the Breviary and Missal are of universal prescription except as permission is granted for the use of several other liturgies which are more than two hundred years old, such as the Syriac and Milanese liturgies. The Book of Rites and other books contain the ritual for the administration of the sacraments, the consecration of bishops and priests and other functions.

The Missal and Breviary are made up of elements gradually brought together during many centuries from Leo I, 450, to Pius X, 1910. By order of the Council of Trent, Pius V issued an authoritative edition of the Missal, 1570, which afterwards was revised and added to by Clement VIII, 1602, and Urban VIII, 1631.[1] The present official edition was printed in 1884 and contains the service of the mass and services for festivals of the church year beginning with Advent Sunday and including the days dedicated to Apostles, martyrs, doctors of the church and other saints and also requiem masses. The Breviary, slightly revised under Pius X, consists of services for every day of the year and is imposed upon priests and the religious. It gives readings from Scripture including all the Psalms, excerpts from the Fathers and other church writers, homilies, prayers, and incidents or legends from the lives of martyrs and saints,—many of them good, others questionable or fabulous. The Breviary may be read anywhere on the road or in the street, in the private chamber or in the open air but must be read every day. "In the esteem of the faithful," says Dom Cabrol "the Missal and the Breviary should rank only second to the Holy Scriptures."

Among Protestants, the Moravian, Lutheran, Anglican and other churches have liturgies. Luther had no intention

to set aside the forms of the Missal except so far as he regarded them as unscriptural. He retained the word "mass." The Anglican Book of Common Prayer was made up chiefly from the mediæval service books or "Uses," as they were called, the Consultation of Archbishop Hermann, prepared by Melanchthon and Bucer, and Lutheran forms. In the Prayer Book as adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Athanasian Creed is omitted.

The Reformed churches branching out from Calvin and Zwingli have for the most part substituted for an elaborate liturgy "orders of service" consisting of prayers, extempore or read, congregational singing, the reading of the Scriptures, a sermon and the benediction. The services used in Geneva consisted of an invocation, a prayer, the singing of a psalm, the sermon and a form of absolution. The Scotch Book of our Common Order, 1564, known also as Knox's liturgy, containing many prayers was probably not intended to be compulsory. Calvin's principle, that the fewer ceremonies the better was followed by the Scotch Presbyterians and the Puritans of Great Britain and the new world who opposed the Act of Uniformity of 1559, prescribing the use of the entire Book of Common Prayer without omission or additions.

Much has been made by Cardinal Gibbons and other writers of the devotional books produced within the Roman communion such as the *Imitation of Christ*, the *Christian Perfection of* Rodriguez, the *Spiritual Conflict* by Scupoli, and the writings of St. Francis de Sales. The cardinal speaks of "a countless host of other ascetical authors" and expresses the opinion that search will be made in vain "outside the Catholic church for writers comparable to these in unction and healthy piety." If there was a desire to discuss a question, where opinion depends so much upon training and habit, attention might be called to the library of devotional writers English Protestant literature is able to furnish from the *Prayers* of Bishop Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, *The Pilgrim's Pro-*

gress, Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* and Law's *Serious Call* down to Keble's *Christian Year*, Phelps' *Quiet Hour* and collections of sacred poetry, such as *Christ in Song*. The vast number of English and German hymns should not be forgotten nor the large number of biographies of Protestant missionaries down to the Lives of Livingstone, General Booth and Mary Slessor. In these last volumes, the ascetic element—the substance of the *Lives of the Saints*—is lacking but the practical and sober element is not.

§ 3. **The language of public worship.**—In the Protestant churches the language used in the sanctuary is the language understood by the worshippers. In this they follow the Prophets who uttered their messages in the current vernacular, and Paul who said that it was better to speak five words that could be understood than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue—I Cor. 14: 19. The Roman church continues to use the Latin in all its services as was done in the Middle Ages when the modern languages of Europe were in the process of formation. Only the sermon is preached in the language of the people. The reasons given for the continued use of the Latin is that it promotes the unity of Roman Christians who in all parts of the world listen to the same service read in the same tongue, and the solemn impression it makes upon the hearers, as if under its stately and mysterious clauses, hidden religious forces were concealed. A further reason is that by reading the Missal and Breviary in Latin the priest retains his familiarity with the language in which papal encyclicals are usually issued and discussions in œcumenical councils are conducted. Alexander VII, 1661, condemned the translation of the whole Missal as "an attempt to expose to the vulgar the dignity of the holy mysteries." Recently missals have been issued with an English version at the side of the Latin original. The use of the Chinese in worship was forbidden to the Jesuits.

The Protestant practice which was set forth in all the Protestant Confessions is thus stated in the XXXIX

Articles, "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the primitive church to have public prayer in the church or to administer the sacrament in a tongue not understood by the people." If any languages have the claim to sanctity, it would seem that Hebrew and Greek, the languages of the Bible, possessed it.

§ 4. **The central feature of worship.**—The central act of worship in the Roman church is the mass; in the Protestant churches the sermon. The Roman worship is the result of a long process completed in the Middle Ages, full of symbolism and external transactions in which the priest is almost the only actor while the people are passive except as they give responses. The Protestant form seems to correspond closely with the services of the first century as they may be gathered from the pages of the New Testament. Two reports have come down from Christian sources dating from the second century, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles which gives prayers intended for the eucharistic service and Justin Martyr whose account of the Sabbath worship includes prayers, the reading of the Scriptures, a homily, the eucharist, the fraternal kiss, and the carrying of the elements to the sick. In addition, we have the important description of the worship of Christians carried on before sunrise and including antiphonal "song to Christ as God," handed down from Pliny, the Roman governor over a part of Asia Minor. There is no reason to suppose that there was a uniform scheme of service required of all congregations. In the attitude taken in prayer there was no uniformity. Tertulian reports that on Sundays and during the Pentecostal season, the worshippers stood in prayer. As late as the time of Augustine different attitudes were taken in public prayer.

In the Roman service the altar is central and the tragedy of the cross is enacted over and over again in thousands of places every day. Lighted candles, readings in an unknown tongue, priestly genuflexions, the swinging of censers, processions of priests and acolytes, the frequent changes of priestly garments occupy the attention of the worshipper,

stir his imagination and impress him with the sense of the invisible presence and also of a mysterious power inherent in the priestly minister, through whom God speaks and offers heavenly grace. Innumerable requiem masses are said in which the priest acts as "creator of the Creator" to compel God to come down from heaven. The worshipper may not understand a single word that the priest utters, he may be in a remote part of the sanctuary and hear nothing that is said, but in the priestly transaction and in the uplifted host and cup he is carried back to the reconciliation of mankind made by the Son of God in the supreme tragedy of the cross. For the most ignorant who cannot read and the stolid, the mass suggests the invisible supernatural power which is round about men and above men. It is adapted to make an overpowering impression on the savage accustomed to magical arts and equally on the devout who accept the doctrines of the priesthood and the transubstantiation of the bread and wine. The appeal is made to the feelings and imagination and the sense of mystery aroused or stimulated.

In the worship of the Protestant churches, the appeal is made to the intelligence of the worshipper, not to the eye and the imagination. Instruction takes the place of the religious spectacle. The priest becomes the preacher. On the pulpit lie the sacred Scriptures from which the way to God is made known or made known more perfectly. The homily of the ancient church, addressed to the people, which had been superseded during the Middle Ages by the visible transaction on the altar, was revived by the Reformers. Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Latimer and John Knox were great preachers and the people flocked to hear them. The pulpit discourse became a call to action, an appeal to repentance, a counsel of consolation. For the preacher the school-house and the open air offer a platform as well as the loftiest cathedral.

In the great churches of Rome, the altar is conspicuous, not the pulpit, if there be a pulpit. If St. Paul were to come back to the earth and enter the splendid edifice outside the walls named after him, he would see the medallions of the

popes, magnificent columns of alabaster and malachite but wait in vain for a sermon. In the Roman Catholic churches of Europe, the preaching is largely confined to the Lenten and Advent seasons. In Protestant countries like the United States and England, the sermon in Roman Catholic churches has become frequent and, on occasion, "missions" are conducted in which series of discourses are preached setting forth the facts of the Gospel and the special tenets of Romanism.

Another feature which continues to distinguish the worship of Protestants from the worship in Romanist churches except in parts of Germany is singing by the congregation. From the first, it was encouraged by the Protestant Reformers. Paul and Silas sang in the prison at Philippi. Luther issued the first printed hymn-book in 1524, containing eight hymns, four of them his own, and followed it by other collections. "I place music," he said, "next to theology. I can understand why David and all the saints put their divinest thought into song." Zwingli wrote hymns and, in 1539, Calvin issued a book of psalms and hymns. The French versions set to music by Clement Marot are to this day used by French Protestant congregations. Bishop Jewel spoke of thousands singing psalms in front of St. Paul's cathedral, London. The Methodist revival of the eighteenth century was advanced by the new hymns, written by the Wesleys and contemporary hymn writers. The Pilgrims brought with Ainsworth's version of the Psalms a dozen tunes and the first book printed in what is now the United States was the Bay Psalm Book printed at Cambridge. In the Roman church, the priest intones the service, and the singing at best is confined to select voices. Latin hymns alone are used in the celebration of the mass. By order of Pius X, 1903, choirs are restricted to male voices and the Gregorian music.

In the Breviary there are, it is said, 173 hymns but not one of them is sung by the people. All are derived from mediæval or ancient authors and some of them unexcelled for devotional spirit and tender beauty but many of them are

addressed to Mary. A Roman Catholic writer makes the statement that "few of our English hymns possess any merit." Newman's *Lead Kindly Light* and Faber's hymns are exceptions and these authors started with Protestant surroundings and education. The writer continues that "well-ordered singing by the people is assuredly edifying but the problem of church song is full of difficulty, especially as regards our American people, who, as a class cannot be considered musical." On the other hand, Protestant hymnology, English, Scotch, American and German, not to speak of the hymns of other countries, is very extensive and rich. Wherever Protestant missions are established, hymns and church music go. They are equally devotional with the Roman Lives of the saints and more sanely devotional than they, containing the outpourings of the soul which have gone up from the time the *te deum* was used until today.

§ 5 Sacred places, times and persons.—Another notable difference between the worship of Protestants and Roman Catholics is the treatment of sacred places and times, as well as persons. The New Testament has no reference to any holy day other than the Sabbath and the Passover. Days dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to martyrs and to saints as well as the festivals set apart to commemorate the leading events in our Lord's life are of church prescription, but obligatory by the Roman law and together make up the church calendar, as it is called. Seven periods set apart for prayer each day are called the canonical hours.

Church festivals were set aside by Calvin as adapted to foster superstition, while the Lutheran and Anglican churches retained a limited list. The Puritans and Presbyterians followed the practice of Geneva and, in their stead, appointed special days of thanksgiving and humiliation as events seem to call for. The day after the Pilgrims chose Plymouth as their home, being Christmas, Governor Bradford was careful to note that "no one rested on that day." On the second Christmas, when the governor found some making it a holiday and playing ball, he interfered telling

them that, if they would not work, neither should they play. The Westminster Assembly declared that "festival days, vulgarly called holy days, having no warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued."

In the matter of church architecture and church furnishings the Protestant Reformers also departed far from the practice of the Middle Ages. They fell heirs to large churches on the continent and to the cathedrals of England and Scotland but removed from them partly or altogether altars, crucifixes, relics, candles, censers, images and confessional boxes. The Genevan wing, including the followers of Zwingli, the Huguenots, Puritans and Presbyterians went further in this direction than the Lutherans and the Anglicans. Their houses of worship were made as simple as possible within, with bare walls, nude of all symbolical objects, in the hope that the attention of the worshipper might be fastened wholly upon God and spiritual verities, and not be distracted by works of art and man's device.

In Roman Catholic churches, especially of Europe, the statues of Mary and saints often occupy such conspicuous places that only a keen eye discovers the cross. Relics are still regarded as adding sanctity to consecrated buildings by church rites. The worshipper who kisses one of the toes of the reputed bronze figure of St. Peter in Rome secures fifty days' indulgence by the grant of Pius X and some, as the writer has witnessed, kiss all five toes of the Apostle's extended foot. The blessings offered to those who climb up the holy stairway in the papal city, are extended to other stairways in localities of which Pontius Pilate never dreamed, as at Beaupré where an indulgence of three hundred days is given for each step ascended and, in all, so the guide book reports, indulgences for the considerable period of twenty-three years. A similar stairway of St. Joseph at Montreal attracts many worshippers.

The mass of merit, ascribed by popes and tradition to Mary and her prayers, is staggering in view of the silence of the New Testament. Her worship constitutes, with the

sacrifice of the mass, the most conspicuous feature of worship in Roman Catholic countries. One marvels at the vast opportunities the popes have had to get their information about her and the saints, and the super-earthly power they have at their command. The rosary, by which Mary is honored, is the chief medium of Roman Catholic devotion and was exalted in encyclical after encyclical by Leo XIII. In 1901, at the close of his life Leo spoke of the church at Lourdes as dedicated to it, of "the mysteries of the rosary" and of St. Dominic who won a victory over the heretical Albigenses, by his prayers to Mary—*Mariales preces.*[2] The pontiff called her the "high queen of heaven . . . the most mighty mother—*potentissima*—the mediatory of our salvation, who through her love long ago—*olim*—gave aid that the faithful might be born into the church"—*Works*, VIII: 54.

The rosary consists of fifteen decades of beads, each representing one Lord's Prayer and ten Ave Marias. The prayer to Mary, the Ave Maria, runs "Hail, Mary! Full of grace! The Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners now and in the hour of our death." Equally moving and equally unscriptural is the prayer, *Salve regina*, of the Breviary repeated unnumbered times. It runs "Hail, queen mother of pity, our life, sweetness and hope. To thee we, exiled children of Eve cry out. To thee we cry and lament in this valley of tears. Therefore, O our advocate, turn to us thy pitying eye and lead us to Christ after this our exile is at an end. O, clement, pious, sweet Virgin Mary."

The indulgences offered by pontiffs for prayers to Mary "the mother of mercy" cover untold numbers of years, if they are made daily. From the Manual of Prayers commended by the Baltimore Plenary council, this petition may be taken, "Remember, O most loving virgin Mary, that never was it known that any one who fled to thy protection and sought thy intercession was left forsaken. My mother, to thee I

come. Before thee I stand sinful and sorrowful. O mother of the Word, graciously hear and grant my prayer." In some of the prayers given in the Manual, appeal is made to the false translation of Genesis 3: 15, as for example: "Let us beseech the blessed Mary of Mt. Carmel, that in the hour of death she may bruise the head of the serpent, thine adversary." The following petitions are offered by the Plenary catechism—for rising, "Jesus, Mary and Joseph, I give you my heart and soul,"—in dressing, "O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us,"—on retiring, "May the blessed virgin Mary, St. Joseph and all the saints pray for us to our Lord,"—on awaking during the night, "O Jesus, O Mary, let me die rather than offend you by thought, word or deed." In answer to a question, the catechism says, "We need Mary's prayers at the hour of death because at that time our salvation is in greatest danger and our spiritual enemies most anxious to overcome us."

If Mary found a most zealous devotee in Leo XIII, so did Joseph and Mary's father, known as Joachim. Leo made these two saints the special patrons of the home and directed that Joseph be invoked to use his influence with "his foster son and his bride." In 1889—*Works* III: 272–278, he attached seven years of indulgence to the following prayer. "Protect us, most faithful guardian of the divine family, the elect guardian of Jesus Christ. Keep from us, most beloved father, all error and sorrow. Be propitious to us, our most potent helper, in our battle with the powers of darkness, defend God's holy church from hostile attacks, and protect us by thine unending patronage, that being moved by thy example and helped by thy care we may live piously and die piously and come to the perpetual bliss of heaven." In 1883, Leo commended the scapulary of St. Joseph inscribed with the words, "Patron of the church, pray for us."[3] An extended prayer to Joachim prescribed by the pontiff, 1890, with the promise of three hundred days' indulgence, if said once a day, has this petition among others,"O great patriarch, come to the help of the church, pray for its triumph,

scatter the forces of darkness, break down their pride, and, above all give us childlike devotion to thy tender daughter, our most holy mother, Mary."

The sacred heart of Jesus and the sacred heart of Mary have reached great popularity in the Roman church as objects of devotion and have called forth liberal indulgences to cover ecclesiastical penalties. The cult of the sacred heart of Jesus has spread since the seventeenth century when it was advocated by Margaret Mary Alacocque, 1647–1690, who was canonized, 1920. While engaged in prayer before the host, so she alleged, Christ appeared to her, opening his breast and showing his heart aflame with love for mankind. Christ called her, "the beloved disciple of the sacred heart," and she further reported that she received many visits from the Savior and was healed by him a number of times of maladies. When the tomb of this pious but imaginative woman was opened, 1830, two instantaneous cures are said to have occurred. The festival of the Sacred Heart was raised to a high rank in the church calendar by Leo XIII who also appointed a Litany of the Sacred Heart, with the promise of three hundred days' indulgence for those who say it, and for souls in purgatory. The present pontiff, Pius XI in announcing on the last day of 1926 the festival of the kingdom of Christ consecrated himself and all good Christians to Christ's "most sacred heart."

Devotion to the sacred head of Jesus, as the seat of wisdom has recently been commended by Teresa Higginson, 1845–1905, who predicted that such devotion would be "the chief measure in the conversion of England." This woman, of whose sanity Herbert Thurston has expressed doubts,—*Month*, Jan., 1925,—is reported to have lived for twenty years upon the blessed sacrament. She had innumerable visions, received from Christ an espousal ring, and also received from him the holy communion and the precious blood itself.

§ 6. The spirit of worship.—Much as Protestants today condemn features of Roman worship as their fathers did,

they are nevertheless impressed with the devotional loyalty of Roman Catholics and the absorption which they show in the services of their churches. They are also impressed with the adaptation of those services to give religious solace. In their own churches they would gladly bring into greater prominence this element of worship and by the "enrichment of the service," so-called, are seeking to combine with the instructive element, represented by the sermon, a larger measure of the devotional element. Considerations drawn from a comparison of Roman Catholic and Protestant worship are the following:

1. The Protestant condemns as wholly without the warrant of Scripture the devotion paid to Mary and the saints and veneration paid to relics and images, as also the sacrifice of the mass.[4] Such worship is the invention of man. The title "queen of heaven" was given to a heathen goddess in the time of Jeremiah who spoke of those "who burned incense to the *queen of heaven*, poured out drink offerings to her and made cakes to worship her," but the title does not befit the "mother of Jesus." Some Roman litanies and catechisms teach that she was wrapt up into heaven and crowned there. A modern Romanist commentator says that "next to Our Father, the Hail Mary is the sweetest and the most powerful prayer. It gives to our heavenly mother great pleasure and will make sure her intercession. The oftener we recite the Hail Mary, the greater pleasure we give our dear mother."[5]

2. The Protestant finds that, as a rule, Roman Catholic church buildings within are well adapted to develop reverence for sacred things. Who would want to forget the impression which the great cathedrals have made! In Roman churches, the worshipper finds himself encompassed by an atmosphere of mystery in which the sense of the divine presence is nourished. Although God cannot be seen yet, within and above the obscurity of the sacred enclosure, He is felt to be listening to the petitions lifted up to Him, as considerate of the low estate of those who in silence cry

out to Him as He is of the affairs of the universe. On the other hand, Protestants by their churches which need no light of candle, have sought to make the impression that God may be seen everywhere and that especially from within the pages of the Book is He revealed. They have exalted the *message* and made their appeal to the conscience. They have put aside mystery born of dimly lit spaces for knowledge waiting to be expounded like good treasure to be taken from the place where it is hid. If the Roman Catholic, as it were, takes off the shoes from his feet and bows reverently at the altar, the Protestant does the same as he listens to the Word of God.

3. The Roman service binds the living church with the Christian assemblages of mediæval and ancient times by its hymns and prayers and litanies and thus promotes an intelligent faith in the article "I believe in the communion of saints," but it limits itself to the liturgical forms of those periods. On the other hand, the Protestant service encourages freedom of worship and admits prayers and hymns not only of a thousand years ago but prayers and hymns of the modern church, such as *When I survey the wondrous cross, Jesus Lover of my soul, Rock of Ages cleft for me.* It widens the limits to which the "communion of saints" extends and includes hymns filled with the spirit of Christian devotion even though the authors were not able to repeat the Nicene creed as *Nearer my God to Thee* and *Lord of all being throned afar.* It can adopt and is adopting, where it has not adopted them before, the Apostles Creed, the *te Deum* and the litany. In giving freedom it seeks to guard against formalism.

4. The Roman worship magnifies the symbolical. Statues, pictured windows and altar emblems, lighted candles and other signs attract the worshipper's eye and appeal to his religious imagination. The Protestant has feared and still fears that worship is in danger of stopping with the seen and ascribing to the symbol a living power. Paul has no word about ecclesiastical symbols and Stephen had a good deal to

say which should be a warning against their abuse. Protestantism in its historic Puritan form went further in eschewing symbolism than Protestantism does today. But Puritanism discarded it from a high motive to secure the worship of God without the impediment of any material object. By free prayers and by sermons the Puritans were nerved, as the Huguenots were nerved, with iron heroism to accomplish the tasks which they felt called upon to accomplish. They needed no images. They felt the immediate presence of the Most High. When Christianity was a fresh and conquering force, Clement of Alexandria wrote, "We have none of them." *Strom.* 7.

5. Protestants are free to find elements of devotion in all Christian forms. The canon law—1258—forbids Roman Catholics to join actively in the religious services of non-Catholics although it "tolerates their passive or mere bodily presence" at civil functions, marriages and funerals where there is no danger of their being perverted. The Protestant may worship anywhere. It is for him to decide where he can find God and honor Him. If, thinking of the Roman service, he commends its beauty adapted to meet the religious imagination and to encourage devotion, he also thinks of some of its parts as belonging to the "beggarly elements" of which Paul spoke. He wishes to avoid formalism and superstition and feels that in distinctly Roman Catholic lands the worship of the churches has kept the people in spiritual ignorance of the full import of spiritual religion. His inherited teaching is that it is the province of the soul in secret or in public, in the home or the church, to find a sanctuary and worshipping to say with the Psalmist "Unto Thee will I lift up my voice." He is untrue to that teaching unless he lays stress upon Christ's law that "the Father seeketh such to worship Him as worship Him in spirit and in truth."—John 4: 23.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE ATTRACTIONS OF ROMANISM AND THE ATTRACTIONS OF PROTESTANTISM

Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free. —John 8: 32.

Remember Thy church, O Lord, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in love.—The Teaching of the Twelve.

THE cleavage of Western christendom has lasted for four hundred years and, if the encyclical of Pius XI, issued at the beginning of the year 1928, is to be followed, it is scarcely less distinct than it was in the middle of the sixteenth century. On the one hand, Pius affirms the specific doctrines which the Protestant Reformation renounced and, on the other, adds the Vatican requirements of Mary's sinlessness and heavenly exaltation and papal infallibility. The Roman communion still claims to be the sole custodian of Christian truth and the sole judge of what Christian truth is. Protestantism continues to insist upon the final authority of the Scriptures and the equal and immediate operation of the Holy Spirit for every man who looks to God for saving help.

The membership of the two communions remains relatively the same. Since the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, each has held the territory it then occupied. By the Greek Uniate movement, Rome won adherents in Europe but it has lost adherents in France, "the oldest daughter of the church." Within the ranks of the Anglican church it has communicated to many the spirit of its ritual and obedience and from that body drawn many converts. Through emigration its constituency has been increased in Holland and Scotland but in Bohemia it has seen the spirit of Huss revived and in all

parts of the world it has been obliged to adjust itself to constitutions making religious freedom law. In the far West, it still controls the populations of South America but in the upper part of the American hemisphere with some exceptions, it yields in influence and in numbers to Protestantism.

This religious stability of peoples is due in part to temperament but in larger part to heritage. What, it may be asked, are the attractions which hold persons of intelligence and of piety, now to Roman Christianity, now to Protestant Christianity? The answer has engaged the thought of devout persons and many of the first minds for three centuries. Are the attractions derived from elements of Christian truth or ritual or form of government or practical results? The question is not chiefly a scholastic or a casual question. It is asked by those who are sincerely anxious to see the religious schism of the West healed by the emergence of one corporate Christian body or, at least, to see the day when each communion will recognize the other as a part of Christ's kingdom.

I. The attractions of the Roman system are antiquity, visible authority, unity and Christian symbolism. By one or more of these considerations men are willing Roman Catholics or are inclined to the Roman church.

1. Antiquity.—The Roman church claims a venerable age. Its years go back to Apostolic times when the succession of Roman emperors had just begun. The very name "Roman" exercises a spell. It suggests power and ancient lineage. As among the Hebrew people, the type of Abraham persists, so it is fairly expected that in the Roman communion the Apostolic life as it was manifested in the first century has survived. And so beyond dispute it has, for the Roman church has the Scriptures, worships Christ and honors the memories of the Apostles. Through its unbroken history of eighteen centuries and more it has witnessed states rise and fall, dynasties and revolutions come and go, the extension of the Christian message to the ends of Europe and the

furthermost parts of the earth. So persistent a survival may easily influence the mind to support the fancy that age of itself constitutes merit. Survival through centuries is to be accounted for but, if age were the criterion of excellence, then the Greek church has it equally with the Roman. And, if age were a sufficient criterion of excellence changes would be rare and the American republic itself would be discredited. The charge of novelty seems justified when Roman Christianity is brought face to face with Apostolic teachings. When the Protestant Reformers were assailed with the charge of introducing innovations, they replied that they were reviving the Apostles and reaffirming Apostolic ideas which had been replaced with human doctrines. Cardinal Newman, accounting for his belief in transubstantiation said "I had no difficulty in believing in it so soon as I believed that the Catholic church is the oracle of God." That meant that the Roman church is the Church of God. If it is, so Protestants urge, then the Apostles were mistaken.

2. Visible authority.—The Church of Rome speaks in a tone of final authority. In religion as well as in other matters the mind is inclined to rest upon that which can be verified with the touch and the eye. Spiritual though its realities are, the testimony of the Holy Spirit in the soul—the inner light—is not regarded as conclusive. The Roman church makes the appeal of being the infallible witness of the truth in three ways, by its very existence, going back to the first century when Christianity was first propagated, by the sacraments through which the priesthood dispenses heavenly grace and more patently through the Roman pontiff, the alleged vicegerent of God. The Roman Catholic, in thinking of the "Holy Father," thinks of a person endowed in a unique way with heavenly wisdom and as the spokesman of divine truth but he must forget that from the Holy Father have gone forth utterances which offend against the principles of righteousness and the well-being of man. He has issued commands to enslave peoples, to wage wars and carry on the inquisition and encyclicals attesting the reality of

witchcraft. It is argued that Christ would not have left his church without an inerrant human teacher or as Leo XIII—*Works* VI, 156–189,—expressed it, "Christ willed that there should be one to occupy his place when he was gone to heaven." If *this* be the case, why, it is reasonably asked, should the Scriptures be opened for the wayfaring man. In his encyclical of Jan., 1928, Pius XI, was in line with his predecessors when he denominated the "Roman church the true and only Church of Christ" and, coupling together the spiritual supporters of Photius of Constantinople and the early Protestants, called upon their descendants "to obey the bishop of Rome as the highest pastor of souls and submit to the magistracy of the Apostolic see as the root and matrix of the Catholic church."

On the one hand, we have Cardinal Newman and others who in entering the Roman communion have found rest to their souls and intellects. Newman spoke of his transition as "a coming into port after a rough sea," a transition which followed soon after he wrote the following words, Oct. 8, 1845, "the simple question is can I be saved in the English church? Am I in safety were I to die to-night?" On the other hand, we have others equally conscientious, as we suppose, and equally well informed, as we know, abandoning the Roman communion on account of the fallacy of the papal theory. "Sooner or later" so Tyrrell, a man of keen and devout mind, said "The historical lie of the papacy must be realized by every educated Romanist,"—*Life* II: 383. He must be brought face to face with popes whom Möhler called "monstrous" and with Alexander VI who by the testimony of the Roman Catholic historian, Pastor, followed to the end of his life the demon of sensualism. He must close his eye to iniquities of church administration carried on not only without the pope's rebuke but carried on by his direct approval and command. In view of the historic facts of the papal government, is it possible to maintain the proposition that the Roman pontiff has sought the spiritual welfare of the world and set an example in his own conduct of

devotion to the spiritual aims of the kingdom of God? There have been good men who have sat in the papal chair. Others have vied with the worldy princes of their day in schemes of personal ambition and vicious life. Papal infallibility is a spiritual imposture.

3. Unity.—The Roman church presents to the eye an imposing spectacle of external cohesion. Over against the picture of its alleged unity, Bishop Gilmour—p. 320—set the picture of the alleged warring divisions among Protestants when he said, "the sects have lost their power and are divided and torn among themselves, their only bond of unity being a common hostility to Catholicism." The unity of Roman Catholics consists in the use of the same ritual, the same seven sacraments and submission to the authority of the Vatican. But, in spite of these elements of agreement, there have been dissensions and strife in the Roman body from the Middle Ages down to the present time when Modernists, who advocate the value of modern biblical learning, rebel against Roman rule as unbearable absolutism. Protestantism, Gallicanism, Jansenism, the Old Catholic movement in 1870, all show that the unity of the Roman communion is after all not a uniform and pacific agreement of its members in all things.

4. The symbolism of worship.—The sign element in the Roman ritual is impressive, not only because of the significance of the signs such as the cross, holy water, the emblems used in baptism and confirmation and the rites of ordination, but also because they seem to call forth and stimulate the devotional spirit. If accepted without misgiving, the Roman service and the ministrations of the priesthood which dispense grace are adapted to bring to the soul spiritual realities, to soothe and comfort, to allay misgivings and to give rest to the conscience. Persons may die with less dread when the cross is pressed to their lips and sleep with less anxiety when their beds have been sprinkled with holy water. Only sober observation can determine whether the use of symbols and forms, if persisted in, is

hostile to what is known as the religion of the soul, that is immediate communion with the invisible God and reliance upon the help of the Holy Spirit. It is the old question of the letter and the spirit, of outward observance and inward piety, and of the exact meaning of our Lord when he said, "They that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

II. The attractions of Protestantism are the love of truth, the sovereign rights of the individual, liberty of conscience, the progress of Protestant countries, the priestly standing of the laity and the simplicity of worship.

1. Truth.—If the Roman system lays stress upon loyalty to the church, the Protestant system lays stress on loyalty to the truth. The church may give freedom, the truth certainly does. The Roman Catholic does not ask what is truth but what does the church say is truth,—*Koch*, p. 17. Christ talked about himself and about the kingdom of heaven which is first a power of godliness in the soul and then an association of believers. If anyone has known what religion is and what it demands, Christ, the Apostles and the Evangelists knew and this knowledge is embodied in the Scriptures, which issued from the hands of Apostolic men. If, following Jeremy Taylor we are asked, "Where was your church before Luther?" we answer with the Irish prelate, "It is there where it was after, even in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament and I know no warrant for any other religion."—*Works* VI: 652.

2. The sovereignty of the individual.—In matters pertaining to God each man is free. Christ spoke to individuals and laid on individuals the responsibility of deciding what their destiny is to be. The Holy Spirit is promised to anyone who will appeal to Him for guidance. Others may help by their counsel, but betwixt man and his Maker no human mediator has been appointed. The door to God is open to all who choose to enter in by prayer and consecration.

3. Freedom of conscience.—The freedom of the conscience is of the essence of Protestantism. Conscience is

the candle of the Lord. Wyclif and others who asserted its rights suffered obloquy, or death, or both. It is a promising sign that the old English Schoolman and John Huss have in these latter days had worthy successors in Döllinger, Loisy, Schnitzer and men like them, who have put conviction above religious training and ecclesiastical place. In leaving the Society of Jesus, Tyrrell wrote, "I have discharged my conscience. God has brought me forth to the light of liberty." —*Life* II: 499. Over against the obligation to conscience in religious matters may be placed an example of coercion of thought suggested by Francis Xavier. To the king of Portugal he wrote, that the only way to convert the East Indians was to force the governors, on pain of the confiscation of their goods and long imprisonment, to make converts, assuring him that the nations of Ceylon and other parts would be Christians in a year, if such policy were followed. —*Barrett*, p. 228. Individualism may be abused and become a wilful defiance of proper authority, as absolutism is the abuse of authority. It is only as the soul is guided by an enlightened conscience and acts in obedience to it that individuals or authority are justified to act.

4. Civil and social progress—The Protestant spirit is favorable to the impulse to develop the mind and improve social conditions. It is opposed to restraints put upon free discussion by ecclesiastical authority and upon new ideas by conservative custom. Protestant bodies have by no means always followed this rule. Nevertheless, it is the principle of Protestantism which has favored progress in the departments of popular education, scholarly research, inventions having for their purpose the increase of domestic well-being, locomotion, hygiene and civil liberties. The comparison, which Lord Macaulay made between Protestant and Roman Catholic countries, applies to-day as anyone may prove who chooses to study, with a map before him. In the light of geography and American conditions, the remark of Prof. Guilday is difficult to understand, that "the Protestant reformation had nothing in its methods and

principles which was to enoble our modern civilization." So far as is known, it was Luther who first spoke out in the modern world boldly against the begging habit. The German people listened, so that it was a matter of common observation that one going from one end of Germany to the other saw many things but no beggar on the streets or at the church doors. Geneva under Calvin was subjected to rules of sanitation it had never known before. In 1890 Cardinal Manning said that, "All the great works of charity in England have had their beginning out of the church, for instance the abolition of slavery and the slave trade and the persevering protest of the anti-slavery society. Not a Catholic name, so far as I know, shared in this." The cardinal's testimony notwithstanding, an American writer expresses the judgment that "the work of the leaders of the Reformation was one of sorrowful darkness, despair and disintegration."

The charge that Protestantism justifies revolt is true. It has been denominated from the time of Leo X, the sower of the seeds of rebellion. Adrian VI was right when he pronounced "Lutheranism a rebellion," but, as we hope, wrong when he declared that it was "sending people to hell." Adrian died, with Rome taking as a joke his complaint that "the church was suffering from abominations and abuses in spiritual things from which the entire world had been crying out for relief." In the sixteenth century, rebellion was the only way to bring about ecclesiastical change. The rebellion did not contemplate bloodshed, and whatever bloodshed was involved in the Protestant movement was not a part of the program of the Reformers. The right to rebel has the approval of the highest authority. Christianity was a rebellion. Christian repentance is a revolt. Rebellion has introduced evils but it has brought relief from oppression and put an end to stagnation. American liberties are the product of a series of rebellions.

5. Laicism.—It is difficult to determine what Pius XI exactly meant, when at the close of 1925 he said, that "Laicism by lowering Christianity to the level of all other

religions has caused discord between the nations, produced contempt of domestic obligations, discord in the family and threatened society itself with ruin." Protestantism exalts the layman and puts every believing man into the hierarchy. Christian merit follows devotion to duty, public and private, in the family and on the street. Fidelity, not vocation, determines the honor a person shall receive. A long list of laymen, women and men in Protestant lands, in these recent days has put society under a debt for the social and moral changes which they carried through, and of the like of which the mediæval Crusaders never dreamt.

6. Simplicity of worship.—Historically, Protestantism has favored simplicity of ritual and ecclesiastical art. If it has seemed to favor what is called rigor and barrenness in its public services and church architecture, it has done so in the interest of sincerity and the worship of the spirit. It has pointed to the closet as an altar of prayer and taught home-piety. It holds itself aloof from the materialization of religion. It has warned against the danger of visualizing spiritual realities through emblems. It has sought to find out the will of God in the pages of the open Book.

The intelligent Protestant, although he may be thoroughly addicted to the principles of Protestantism, is not satisfied with it as though it were the ideal form of the Christian religion or the only form of the Christian religion. Recent developments indicate that many Roman Catholics, who are fully addicted to the underlying principles of early Christianity, do not look upon the Roman Catholic system as the final or the only form of Christ's religion. Truth is many colored and the Holy Spirit chooses in his operations not to be uniform. Apostles themselves had differences and stood perhaps for different methods in Christian work and types of Christian experience. Elements in the Roman system might be adopted with great advantage by Protestantism, and Protestant principles be adopted to the great advantage of the Roman Catholic system.

The ultimate test of a Christian communion must be the test which Christ applied to individuals when he said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Pure religion and undefiled has been exhibited under both systems. After considering the long history of Roman Christianity and its services during the Middle Ages, its roll of godly men and women, its imposing array of Schoolmen and modern scholars, Dr. Philip Schaff, in the last writing which proceeded from his pen pronounced the Roman church "a glorious church." Looking over the history of Eastern Christianity and the councils which were held in the East, the creeds which were composed in the Greek and the hymns and songs which have come down in that language, he called the Eastern church, likewise "a glorious church." Then, turning to the Protestant bodies and their testimony to the supreme value of the Scriptures, their insistance upon liberty and their promotion of social reforms and popular rights, he pronounced them one by one "glorious churches." Nor did he forget the work of the Salvation Army and its self-denying founders, and remembering the words, "He hath exalted them of low degree," gave it his high praise for the good it had done by ministering to the outcast and the unemployed.

An estimate, such as this, at once betrays the historic spirit which honors facts and the Christian spirit which seeks to find good wherever it manifests itself and led St. Paul to write to the troubled church in Corinth his words on "charity."

The corporate union of christendom may be a thing of the far distant future. The mutual recognition of Christians, one of the other, is a present possibility and obligation. The early Protestant Reformers were one in recognizing the Roman communion in spite of its errors as a part of the Christian church. The mistake of the Roman authorities was that they treated Protestantism as a crime. They had no conception of the rights of conscience. Religious dissent was heresy and heresy merited death. It is a most happy omen that of late years a different attitude has been openly

expressed by Roman writers and Roman ecclesiastics, high in position. The name heretics is not so frequently used as it once was. In its stead Protestants have been spoken of as "Our separated brethren," as by Cardinal Gibbons. Roman Catholic priests writing to Protestant clergymen have closed their letters with the words "Your brother in Christ." Bishops, as the writer knows, have met his words "You know I am a heretic," with the reply "No, not heretic, but a brother."[1]

The cause of Christian fellowship between Roman Catholics and Protestants may be promoted in the following ways: 1. By the recognition that different dispositions may demand different religious methods. 2. By the study of church history and the abhorrence of all misrepresentation in the interest either of Romanism or Protestantism, and by comparing the best in the Protestant communion with the best in the Roman communion. 3. By social intercourse between Roman Catholics and Protestants, coöperation in all enterprises that have for their object obedience to Christ's second command "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" and the cultivation of the spirit embodied in St. Paul's words, "in honor preferring one another." 4. By the use of the old formulas, the Apostles Creed, the te Deum and the litany about which there is no dispute. 5. By acknowledging Christian worth and service wherever they are manifested. 6. By laying emphasis upon God's immediate guidance of Christian people.

The center of Christian devotion is Christ and the hope of all Christians is the cross. Christians, Roman and Protestant, will be drawn together in proportion as they feel the spirit expressed by the Quaker poet, Whittier:

O Lord and Master of us all
What e'er our name or sign
We own thy sway, we hear thy call
We test our lives by thine.

LITERATURE AND NOTES

A small number of books is given. An exhaustive list would fill a volume.

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Chapter I. p. 9. Leo XIII in his encyclical on Canisius, 1897, after identifying the "Lutheran rebellion" with "a ruin of morals . . . and a bad poison spreading through almost all lands" spoke of those, that is Protestants against whom Canisius contended as "enemies of the Christian name" *Christiani nominis hostes*. In his encyclical on Missions in India, he spoke of the Roman Catholics resisting the "attempts of the heretics who feigning Christ's name" were carrying on their work. And Pius X in his Barromeo encyclical called the early leaders of Protestantism "enemies of the cross of Christ," as did Nicholas V, Jan. 8, 1454, the Saracens.

Chapter II. 1. p. 16. Opinions have differed among Roman Catholics on the authority of the Syllabus of 1864. Newman set aside some of its articles on the ground that they had not been signed by Pius IX. Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, p. 108. Hergenröther, Manning, *Petri priv.*, 6: 38; Lehmkuhl 2: 780, and Straub 2: 398–402, and Leitner, p. 15, have pronounced it infallible. Lord Acton, *Cor.* p. 148, said that it is hard to prove that it is an *ex-cathedra* declaration but impossible to disprove it. Dr. Briggs reported that Pius X assured him the Syllabus was not infallible and on that ground gave the opinion that Pius' own encyclical against Modernism would also not be regarded as an infallible utterance. For the difficulty of deciding what is an *ex-cathedra* decision, see Döllinger, *Papstthum*, p. 227 sqq.

2. p. 27. Döllinger-Reusch, *Selbstbiog. d. Card. Bellarmin*, p. 94, says "that Bellarmine's book was never published in Rome,"—a statement apparently contradicted by an ed. 1830–40, bearing the imprint of Rome. Bellarmine's process of beatification, begun 1629, was again and again put aside until it was finally taken up 1886. The objections were the cardinal's alleged ambition, nepotism and prevarication.

Chapter III. Lit.—Burckhardt: *The Renaiss. in Italy*, Basel, 1860, trsl., 8th ed., 1920.—Scholz: *Publizistik zur Zeit Philip IV u. Bon. VIII*, pp. 529, 1903.—Riezler: *D. lit. Widersacher d. Päpste*, pp. 336, 1874.—Haller: *Papstthum u. Kirchenreform.*, pp. 548, 1903.—Huizinga, of Leyden: *The Waning M. A.*, 1924.—Coulton: *St. Francis to Dante*, 1906; *Five Centt. Relig. from 1,000* A.D., Cambr., 1923, pp. 573.—Adams: *Civilization dur. the M. A.*, 1894—Munro: *The M. A. and Mod. Europe*, 1905—Gasquet, R. C.: *Eve of the Reftn.* 1905; *Monastic Life in the M. A.*, 1922.

Notes. 1. p. 41. See Finke, *Aus d. Tagen Bon. VIII*, p. lxxxviii. Haller, p. 45, says of the Avignon exile period Geldsammeln war d. vornehmste Sorge.

2. p. 50. Peter de Roo: *Materials for a Hist. of Alex. VI*, 5 vols., 1924, attempts to show that Alexander was an excellent pope and a man of good moral standing, an attempt as hopeless as to unfreeze the polar circle. Thurston, R. C., *Month*, Apr., 1925, pronouncing Roos' attempt futile, says, "I will not dwell upon the absolutely unprintable description of the way Alexander spent the night between All Saints Day and Nov. 2, 1501," and speaks of "a

moiety of the confiscated Colonna property bestowed upon his son whom he had by a certain Roman lady after he became pope."

3. p. 51. Writing of his times, Guicciardini, 1483–1540, said "I don't know if there be a man more disgusted than I am with the ambition, avarice and effeminacy of the priests. Nevertheless, my position at the courts of several popes has made it necessary for me in view of my private interests to respect their positions. Otherwise, I would have loved Martin Luther dearly not in order to get rid of the laws laid down by Christ's rule but in order to see that pack of villains reduced to the point of being either without vices or without authority."

4. p. 54. Jewel, *Apol.* p. 71, set forth his impression of the conditions prevailing in Rome, thus: "There be many thousands of common harlots at Rome and the pope himself doth gather yearly of the same harlots upon 30,000 ducats by the way of an annual pension. He himself doth openly maintain brothel-houses and by a most filthy lucre doth filthily and lewdly serve his own lust," etc. In his *Obedience of a Christ. Man.*, p. 191, and his *Answer to More*, pp. 52, 150, Tyndale repeated the same charges and said that "the pope has granted unlawful whoredom to as many as bring money and as through Dutchland every priest paying a gulder unto the arch-deacon shall freely and quietly have his whore," etc.

5. p. 55. The fresh description of the student's visit 1504 was discovered and publ. by Hausleiter, 2nd ed., 1903, pp. 88.

Chapter IV. Lit.—*Lives* of Luther and other Reformers.—Lives of Luther. R. C.—Denifle: *Luther u. Lutherthum*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., 1904.—Grisar: *Psycholog. Life of L.*, Trsl., 5 vols., 1913–17.—O'Hare: *The Facts about L.* with introd., by Guilday, 1916.—Prot. by Schaff, Kolde, Boehmer, Jacobs, McGiffert, P. Smith, Mackinnon, 1 vol., 1926.—*Lives of Calvin* by Schaff, W. W. Walker, Kampfschulte, R. C.—Kidd: *Documents Illustr. of the Reformation*, 1911—*Hist. of the Reformation* by Brieger. Rockwell: *Doppelehe d. Phil. von Hessen*, pp. 374, 1904.—Walther: *Für Luther wider Rom.*, 1906—Bezold, Lindsay, 2 vols.—P. Smith: *Age of the Reformation*, pp. 861, 1920.—A. V. Müller, ex-Cath.: *Luther's Theol. Quellen*, 1912. Against Denifle and Grisar.

Notes 1. p. 58. Prof. J. A. Robinson, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1903, says "The statement that the Reformation can scarcely be called a rel. revolution at all, may prove to be an overstatement but there are nevertheless weighty arguments which may be adduced in favor of that conclusion." See also Harvey, *Am. Journ. of Theol.*, Oct., 1915. Guizot in his *St. Louis and Calvin*, p. 150, was right when he pronounced "the Reformation essentially and from the first a religious reform."

2. p. 65. The original letter written Ap. 28, 1521, was purchased by J. P. Morgan, 1911, for $25,000, and presented to William II, who decorated the donor with the order of the Black Eagle. See Smith, *Cor.* 1: 547.

3. p. 67. Sohm, *Ch. Hist.*, p. 22, following Burckhardt and Gregorovius says "Never was a group so brilliant in its activity, so rich in its pursuits and gifts, so mighty in its creative power, producing immortal works and at the same time so bestially egoistic and profoundly corrupt as the Renaissance group in Italy of the 2nd half of the 15th cent."

Chapter V. 1. p. 74. For the discovery and text of the lectures, see Ficker: *L.'s Vorlesung über d. Römerbr.*, 2 vols., 1908.

2. p. 75. Grisar speaking of the bible, which Luther used while in the convent and which in later years he described as bound in red, says that the monk immersed himself in his studies and after brilliantly fulfilling the conditions, received the D.D. title.

3. p. 76. Paulus: *Tetzel*, p. 31, calls the dealing between Albrecht's agents and Leo as "above all a financial transaction." Schulte: *D. Fugger in Rom.* p. 121, speaks of Albrecht's appointment to the see of Halberstadt as "an instance of simony pure and simple, if there ever was such a thing." The original bull of March 31, 1515, giving Albrecht the indulgence-franchise is in Munich.

4. p. 81. The 75th thesis runs *etiamsi quis per impossibile dei genetricem violasse, est insanire.* For Luther's letter to Albrecht, see Köhler, 139, 144, and Kidd 27 sqq. Luther repeated the assertion in his Resolutions, 1518. Tetzel, writing Dec. 31, 1518, denied being guilty of the blasphemy either in the pulpit or in writing, Paulus, p. 61.

5. p. 81. Janssen—Pastor 2: 83 sq., acknowledges that according to papal bulls as well as the Mainz *Instructions*, the only condition of securing an indulgence for the dead was the payment of money, it being stated that repentance and confession were not necessary.

6. p. 86. The word was freely passed around in Worms that Huss was on trial again. For letters bearing on the incident at Worms, see Smith, *Cor.*: 506–547. The statement issued by the secretary, John von Eck, an official of the Abp. of Treves, is given by Kidd, pp. 82–85. Effort is made by Grisar 1: 389–91 to show that Luther did not use all the words ascribed to him. Eck gave the words as quoted and reported that Luther spoke in Latin until he came to the clause "Here I stand," *hier steh ich.* The use of the two languages corresponds with Oldecop's report of Luther's method in the lecture-room.

Chapter VI. 1. p. 92. Majunke: *Luth's. Lebensende*, 4th ed., 1890, p. 102. Paulus: *Luth's. Lebensende und d. Eislebener Apotheker*, 1898. Kidd: *Luth's. Selbstmord*, 1892, etc. The account of the Eisleben druggist was published in Cochlæus' biogr. of Luther, 1565. A recent instance of spreading false rumors to discredit heresy is afforded by two reports of Döllinger's last hours, and circulated by Rom. Cath. newspapers. One, that Döllinger died like Arius, was refuted by the physician who attended the historian in his dying hours; the other, that before dying he returned to the Rom. ch., was refuted by Döllinger's intimate friend, Dr. Reusch, in *Döllinger's Letters and Explanations of the Vatican Decrees*, 1890. Bozio's statement professed to be based upon the report of one of Luther's servants whose name Bozio did not give. In a work publ. at Antwerp, 1606, Sedulius added to the Bozio lie that ravens accompanied the procession carrying Luther's body from Eisleben to Wittenberg.

2. p. 96. Abp. Tenison in *Notes of the Ch.*, p. 251, said of Luther that "he was a man of warm temper and uncourtly language but it may be considered whether, in passing through so very rough a sea, it was not next to impossible for him not to beat the insulting waves till they foamed again."

3. p. 97. Calvin who was little behind Luther in the use of extravagant language, if at all, in a furious though merited letter to Paul III, spoke of the pontiff as "the vagabond of the age, that madman, that Satan." Knox's tongue matched Luther's for sharpness and invective.

4. p. 101. If anyone ever heaped up personal charges it was Denifle, who dared to write that Luther was a slave of concupiscence, and his Gospel, a seminary of sins and vices, 1: 764; that he falsified the Schoolmen, misunderstood Tauler, had not read Thomas Aquinas, 1: 473–483, 501, and that the notion that he understood Augustine and through him had found the path of St. Paul, is fit only for an ignoramus, pp. 463–467. Luther was falsehood personified, a dolt whose ignorance is such as only to provoke laughter, pp. 458, 508, 544, 551. These assertions have in large part been answered by the Rom. Cath. writers Scheel and Holl and the ex-monk A. V. Müller, as well as Walther and other Prot. writers.

5. p. 102. Prof. von der Hagen, in an address in Berlin, printed 1838 and 1883, showed with a clever pen that Luther never lived. It was intended to be a satirical take-off on Strauss' myth of Jesus and suggests Whately's *Doubts concerning Napoleon's Existence.*

6. p. 108. Döllinger's notable judgment of the German Reformation given in his later period—*Akad. Vortr.*, 1: 76, runs "For a long period in my life the occurrences in Germany, 1517–1552, were an unintelligible riddle to me. I saw only the nation divided into two parts and destined to eternal hatred and strife. Since I have studied the history of Germany and Rome during the M. A. more closely, I think I understand the riddle as I did not before and adore the div. providence by which the German people became an instrument in the house of God and not an ignoble one. . . . At present, spiritual Rome is in Germany mightier than in Italy. This was also the case in the 14th and 15th centuries and then there happened what we all know."

Chapter VII. 1. p. 111. Newman Feb. 10, 1842, in the Birmingham Oratory vol.

2. p. 114. When the convention of the Episc. diocese of Long Isl., 1922, sent a committee to the superintendent of schools of N. Y. City to say that Henry VIII was not the founder of the Angl. ch., "America," June 10, ridiculed the action as "the solemn resolution which may justly be regarded as epoch-making for ruthlessly robbing Henry VIII of his crowning glory. . . . Henry did not start the Ch. of Engl.! Alas, what short memories ungrateful beneficiaries have! If it was not his Majesty who in the world did?"

3. p. 116. O'Hare, p. 275, speaks of Calvin as Luther's "vindictive and licentious ally who evolved the gruesome system of an absolute predestination than which Satan himself could hardly formulate a dogma more designed to insult God and deceive the souls of men. Card. Gibbons, p. 28, suggests that the Reformers "would be hailed as true soldiers of the cross, if, instead of sanctioning rebellion, they had waged war on their own passions."

Chapter VIII. Lit.—Works against Modernism.—Pius IX, Syllabus trsl. in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1927.—Leo XIII on Americanism, *Works* 7, 223–33, —Pius X encyclicals, 1906–10,—Hecker, *The Church and the Age*, 10th thousand, 1890.—Elliott, *Life of Hecker*, with Intr. by Abp. Ireland, 1891–1894.—Walsh, *The 13th Cent. the Greatest of the Centt.*, 1907.—*The Calvert Series*, by

Belloc, Chesterton, Ward, etc., N. Y., 1925.—F. Woodlock, S. J., *Modernism and the Christian Ch.*, 1925.—For Modernism, Houtin: *L'Americanisme*, trsl., 1910; *Hist. du Modernisme*, pp. 458, 1913.—Sell of Bonn: *Kathol. und Protest. in Gesch., Rel.*, etc., 1908.—Ex-Catholics, Loisy: *The Gospel and the Ch.*, trsl., 1912; *My Duel with the Vatican, Autob. of a Cath. Modernist*, trsl., 1924, etc.—Tyrrell: *Programme of Modernism, a Reply to the Enc. of Pius X*, 1908; *Christianty at the Cross-roads*, 1910; *Autob. and Life* by Petrie, 2 vols., 1912.—Schnitzer of Munich: *D kathol. Modernismus*, pp. 212, 1912.—Koch of Braunschweig: *Katholizismus und Jesuitismus*, 1913;—The works of McCabe, and Hoensbroech-Barrett: *The Enigma of Jesuitism*, 1927.

Notes.—1. p. 124. Leo's words are *omnium princeps et magister longe eminet inter scholasticos doctores*, Works, 1: 88, 108. Leo again and again returned to the praise of Thomas.

2. p. 124. For trsl. of Benedict's bull, and Pius X's bull of Sept. 8, 1907, see *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, 1921, 55–63, 1923, 401–12.

3. p. 128. For Mediævalism, see the ex-Catholic, Heiler p. 590 sqq. The conflict within the Roman communion against the received results of physical science may be dated from the condemnation of the R. C. Professor Mivart, 1827–1900, whose articles in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1892–1893, were placed upon the Index. He was excommunicated by Cardinal Vaughan. It is interesting to note the unquestioned admiration which Belloc, and Chesterton in his *Back to Merry England*, etc., cherish for the Middle Ages. Coulton's works based upon historic investigation present the M. A. in their true light.

Chapter X. Lit.—Vincentius of Lerins: *Commonitorium pro cath. fidei antiq. et univers.*, Migne 60: 640, Mirbt p. 57 with the lit. there given. Trsl. with Latin text, 1886, reprinted from the ed. of 1651. Also Cambr., 1915, by Moxon with Introd.—Engl. R. C. Vs. of the N. T. appeared at Rheims, 1582, the O. T. at Douai, 1609.—The Westminster Vs., London, not yet complete. The Prot. Vs. of 1611, the Rev. Vs. of 1881–85.—Weymouth and Moffatt's trsll.—For R. C. treatment; C. of Trent, 4th Sess.; The Vat. Decrees; Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*. Works v: 201, 224.—Bellarmine *de verbo* in 58 chapp.; Perrone: *Prel.* 2: 1043–1254; Gibbons, VIII; *Cath. Enc.* 2: 545 sqq.; Gasquet: *Old Engl. Bibles*, 1908.—For Prot. treatment, Wyclif: *de ver scrip.*, 3 vols., 1904,—Tyndale: *Intr. to Pentat.*,—Calvin: *Instt.* I: 1–3.—1st and 2nd Helv. and Westm. Conff., XXXIX Artt.; Whitaker, Chillingworth,—Abp. Tillotson: *the Rule of Faith and Vindication of the Prot. Rel.*, 1680.—Westcott: *The Bible and the Ch.*, 1885.—Falck: D. *Bibel am Ausgange d M. A.*, 1905.—Harnack: D. *priv. Gebrauch d heil. Schriften in d alten Kirche*, 1912.—Dobschütz: *Infl. of the Bible on Civilization*, trsl., 1914.—Gould Prize Essays, ed. by Jacobus. Comparing R. C. and Prot. Bibles, 1905, 2nd ed., 1908.—Canton: *The Bible and the Anglo-Saxon People*, 1914.—Dwight: Centen. *Hist. of the Am. Bible Soc.*, 2 vols., 1916.—Miss Deanesly: *The Lollard Bible and Other Med. Bibl. Vss.*, 1920.

Notes. 1. p. 148. In *Providentissimus*, one of the most elaborate of his encyclicals, Leo commended the study of the Scriptures to priests, but with the Tridentine qualification that tradition is on a par with the sacred text and that the text must be interpreted in the sense held by the church.

2. p. 159. Byrne: *Cath. Doctr.*, p. 11, says that "some of the truths of religion are not contained in the Scriptures but have been handed down to us from age to age, and are found in the creeds, the writings of the Fathers, and especially in the decrees of councils."

3. p. 161. Sir Thomas More argues: "For my part, I would little doubt but that the Evangelists and Apostles both of many great and secret mysteries spake much more openly and much more plainly by mouth among the people than ever they put in writing, forasmuch as their writings at that time were likely enough to come into the hands of pagans and paynims, such hogs and dogs as were not meetly to have those precious pearls put under their nose nor that holy food to be dashed in their teeth."

Chapter XI. 1. p. 174. From Bellarmine's exposition of the Pss. See Döllinger-Reusch, *Selbstbiogr*, p. 181. For the Vulgate see Berger: *Hist. de la Vulgate*, Art. *Vulgate* in Hastings Bible Dict. and Cath. Enc.

2. p. 174. The Ital. Test., Milan ed., 1924, runs "*La discendenza della donna e in generale l'uomo genere, ma principalemente il salvatore Gesu Cristo.* The note in the Douai version is "*ipsa*, the woman. So some of the Fathers read conformably to the Latin. Others read it *ipse*, viz. the seed. The sense is the same, for it is by her seed, Jesus Christ, that the woman crushes the serpent's head."

3. p. 177. According to Miss Deanesly, pp. 185, 333, there are only five known cases of English priests after 1408, having copies of the English bible and there is no record of an Engl. clergyman before that date owning an Anglo-Saxon, English or French translation. See Workman, *Life of Wyclif*, 2: 190 sqq.

4. p. 191. By 1907 no less than 880,000 copies of the Gospels and the Acts in Italian had been issued. The 210th ed. appeared on the Vatican press 1923, containing Leo XIII's indulgence and letters of Pius X and Benedict XV. In 1919, Prof. Luzzi's transl. was substituted by the Waldensians for Diodati's of 1607. Pius XI has commended the circulation of the Scriptures in a letter to Abp. Lepicier, 1924. See *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1924.

5. p. 193. On hearing of objections to the issuing of a Gaelic trsl. of the Bible by the Soc. for the Propagation of Christ. Knowledge on the ground that it would encourage a perpetuation of the language, Dr. Samuel Johnson replied "I did not expect that it could be, in an assembly convened for the propagation of Christ. knowledge, a question whether any nation uninstructed in religion should receive instruction, or whether that instruction should be imparted to them by a translation of the holy books into their own language." He went on to compare one withholding the Bible to men extinguishing tapers in the lighthouse when ships were in danger of going on the rocks.

Chapter XII. Lit.—Rom. Cath.—Th. Aquinas: *contra errores Græcorun*, ed. by Reusch with Gr. and Latin Texts, 1889.—The Trid. Cat.—Bellarmine —Leo XIII: *de unitate eccl.*, Works 5: 156, 189.—Newman: *Devel. of Doctr.*, etc.—Straub of Innsbruck: *de eccles.*—Card. Gibbons, pp. 74–92.—Wilhelm and Scannell, 2: 285–351.—Prot.—Wyclif: *de eccles.*, pp. 600,—Huss: *the Church.*—Augsb., II Helv. and Westm. Conff., XXXIX Artt.—*Notes of the Ch., as laid down by Card. Bellarmine*,—Hatch: *Growth of Christ. Institutions*, 1887.

—Hort: *The Chr. Ecclesia*, 1897.—Gore: *The Ch. and the Ministry*, 4th ed., 1899.—Lindsay: *The Ch. and the Ministry in the Early Centt.*, 1902.—Briggs: *Unity of the Chr. Ch.*, 1909.—Rashdall: *Christus in ecclesia*, 1912.—Swete: *The Holy Cath. Ch.*, 1915.—Headlam: *Doctr. of the Ch. and Reunion*, 1920.

Notes. 1. p. 197. Ward: *Life of Newman* 1: 88, 94. In commissioning Dalgairns to tell Father Dominic of his purpose, Newman said "I wish him to receive me into the Church of Christ." See also Birmingham Oratory vol., p. 313. Writing to Henry Wilberforce, Newman said "It is utterly marvellous how a person of your clear intellect can seduce himself into the notion that a portion of christendom which has been disowned on all hands by East and West for 300 years and is a part of no existing communion whatever but a whole in itself is nevertheless a portion of some other existing visible body, nay of two existing bodies, Greek and Latin." Ward 1: 129.

2. p. 208. Pius IX, as quoted by Straub 1: 307, *notissimum est cath. dogma neminem extra cath. eccl. posse salvari.*, etc. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles made a distinction between the church and kingdom of God "Let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom."

Chapter XIII. 1. p. 214. Straub gives eight attributes, 2: 590, namely visibility, unity, infallibility, sanctity, apostolicity, perpetuity, catholicity, necessity. In regard to unity, so good an Anglo-Catholic as Dr. Gore says "the unity of the church is in Scripture a unity of inward life an invisible fact: it is in this that her essential unity primarily consists, *Rom. Cath. Claims*, p. 30.

2. p. 227. Erasmus, Luther, etc., gave as the meaning that the reader must not depend on his own understanding but on the Holy Spirit; Bengel, and Alford, that prophets in predicting future events did not speak out of their own brains but as future events were interpreted to them by the Holy Spirit. On going over to the Rom. ch., Newman, *Apol.* 189, wrote, "We have too great a horror of the principle of private judgment to trust it in so immense a matter as that of changing from one communion to another."

3. p. 229. Chillingworth remarks that Augustine decided for the Bible as against Manichæus on the ground of fame, celebrity, consent and antiquity. Calvin, *Instt.* 1: 7 and *Tracts* p. 39, says that "Augustine had no intention to suspend our faith in Scripture on the nod of the church but only to intimate that those not yet enlightened by the Spirit of God become teachable by respect for the church and thus submit to learn the faith from the Gospel."

4. p. 234. Wyclif wrote that "when people speak of the church they mean the pope and the cardinals" *de eccl.* p. 99; *Sel. Works*, ed. by Arnold 3: 44, etc. In his early work on the Decalogue-Flajshans ed. p. 19,—Huss said that the Christian has three mothers, a mother after the flesh; a spiritual mother, the church; and a celestial mother, Mary. Dr. Briggs in his *Theol. Symbolics* constantly called the church "Our Mother."

Chapter XIV. Lit.—Mirbt: *D. Papstthum*—Shotwell-Lewis: *The See of St. Peter.* Trsl. of patristic documents with explanations.—Rom. Cath.: Th. Aquinas: *The Errors of the Greeks*,—Trid. Cat.—*Vat. Dogm. Decrees*—Bellarmine, 5 books. Very elaborate—Gibbons, pp. 92–132 and *Vatican Council after Fifty Years*, 1: 1, 186.—Straub: *de eccles.*, 2: 348–594.—Pastor: *Hist. of the Popes.*—Abp. Kenrick: The Address intended for the Vat. Council, Naples, 1870, trsl., Am. Tract Soc.—Langen: *D. Vatik. Dogma*, etc., 1871–73.—Lord

Acton: *The Vat. Council* in *Freedom of Thought.*—Newman: *The Vatican Council, the Syllabus of 1864 and the Vatican Decree* in *Angl. Difficulties*, 1875.—Card. Manning: *Temporal Power of the Pope, the Vicar of J. Chr.*, 1866; *Petri Privilegium*, three letters, two written before the Vat. Council and one after, 1871.—Barry: *The Papal Monarchy from Greg. VII to Boniface VIII*, 1302.—Lattery, S. J.: *The Papacy*, 1924.—Carrière: *The Pope*, trsl., 1925.—Art. Pope in Cath. Enc. Prot.: Augsb., ii Helv. Conf.; Westm. Conf.—Barrow-Ranke: *Hist. of the Popes.*—Nielsen: *The Papacy in the 19th Cent.*—Krüger: *The Papacy in Mod. Times*, trsl., 1909.—Schaff: *The Vat. Council* in *Creeds*, vol. 1.—Lietzmann: *Petrus und Paulus in Rom.*, 1915, 2nd ed., 1927.—Jackson: *Peter, Prince of Apostles*, pp. 320, 1927.—Ex-Cath.—Döllinger: *Das Papstthum*, enlarged ed. of *Der Papst und das Concil*, by Janus written during the Vat. Council.—Koch: *Cyprian und d. röm. Primat*, 1910.—Schnitzer: *Hat Jesus d. Papsthum gestiftet* and *D. Papstthum keine Stiftung Jesus*, pp. 73, 83, 1910.—Hoensbroech: *D. Papastthum.*—McCabe: *Crises in the Hist. of the Papacy.*

Notes 1. p. 241. For papal prerogatives, see Code of Canon Law Nos. 219, 221, 226, 227, 329, 452, 1143, 1518, etc.—For names see Bellarmine. *The Annuario Pontificio* opens its list of prelates with the words "Pius XI, Gloriosamente regnante, Sommo Pontefice, Successore di S. Pietro."—The names given in the Cath. Directory, 1923, are: "His Holiness, the Pope, Bishop of Rome and Vicar of Jesus Christ, Successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the Most Holy Pontiff, Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church, Patriarch of the West, Primate of Italy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Roman Province, Sovereign of the Temporal Dominions of the Holy Roman Church."

2. p. 243. Leitner: *Kath. Kirchenr.*, pp. 13–15, says that the pope is no longer bound by conciliar canons and that councils have no longer the right to define dogmas because councils are not commanded by Scripture; that popes have changed conciliar acts as when Siricius set aside the Nicean canon on clerical celibacy and Leo I rejected the 28th canon of Chalcedon, etc.

3. p. 244 *Gubernandi omnes homines quorum saluti Jesus Christus profuse sanguine prospexerat*, Leo XIII, *de unit.*—Bellarmine: *de rom. pon.*, 1: 19 sq., gave as among the reasons for the papal primacy that Peter was the only disciple who walked with Christ on the water and that he threw himself into the water to meet Christ after the resurrection.

4. p. 246. See the remarks of Schnitzer: *Hat Jesus*, etc., p. 42, and Smith: *Cor. of Luther*, 1: 255.—Barrow, 6: 57 sq., said that "particularly is it not credible that St. Luke should quite slip over so notable a passage, the settlement of a monarch in God's church and a sovereign of the Apost. college."—Paterson, p. 48, makes the strange statement: that "it is now generally conceded by Prot. exegesis that the rock on which Christ promised to build his church was Peter, not his confession." Referring to the Council of Jerusalem, Bp. Gilmour, p. 243, states that in Jerusalem "the Apostles and the ancients assembled under the presidency of Peter," and draws the conclusion that when the pope "presides over a council of bishops, its decisions are infallible! Tertullian, *de Scor.*, said that "every one who confesses Christ

as Peter did carries with him the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and, *de pud.*, Peter fulfilled, Matt., 16: 18, by "unbarring in baptism," etc.

5. p. 254. Matthew's exceptional use of the word "church" among the Evangelists has led Schnitzer and other modern critics to regard Matt. 16: 18, as an interpolation in the interests of the papal sovereignty. They urge that the Apostles expected the near coming of Christ and could not have represented him as having founded a form of church government and that no pope made use of the passage to substantiate his claims till Callistus. Schnitzer also lays stress upon the Pauline expression "flesh and blood" which was never ascribed to Christ except in Matt. 16: 18.

6. p. 257. See Döllinger: *Fables of the M. A.* Harnack, *Reden und Aufsätze*, 1: 7 calls pseudo-Isidor the "*verhängnissvollste Legendenbildung die in d Kirche je vorgekommen ist.*" Salmon, *The Church*, p. 455, says "Never was a case so gangrened with forgery as that for the papal claims."

7. p. 263. See Haller, p. 346. Gerson as well as Wyclif made much of the pontificate of the female pope, the papissa Johanna or Agnes, who was reputed to have ruled in the 9th cent., as an argument against papal infallibility. The fiction of Johann's pontificate was undisputed for five centt. Jewel—*Apol.* p. 71—spoke: "of Agnes as pope for two whole years in that holy see who played the naughty pack, at last going in procession about the city and in sight of all the cardinals fell in travail openly in the street."

Chapter XV. 1. p. 266. Straub, 2: 393, quotes Thomas Aquinas to the effect that "the authority to finally determine the things which belong to the faith inhere in the supreme pontiff." Thomas says: "that it belongs to the pontiff to determine what are matters of faith," Reusch, p. 5. Wyclif says, "Many simple men are deceived to believe, when the pope determines aught, it is truth and to be believed. But, Lord, was each pope more and better with God than was Peter, for Peter erred and sinned much, yea, after he had taken the Holy Ghost," Arnold's ed., 345.

2. p. 268. Manning's own words, Purcell, 2: 420, are: "on the eve of St. Peter's Day, I and the Bp. of Ratisbon were assisting at the throne of the pope and then made the vow drawn up by P. Liberatore, an Italian Jesuit, to do all in our power to obtain the definition of papal infallibility. We undertook to recite every day certain prayers in Latin contained in a little book still in my possession," etc.

3. p. 275. In the 2nd ed. of his *Hist. of Councils*, 3: 145–177, 276, 315, Hefele modified this view and pronounced Honorius' mistake a blundering use of words or a confusion of the terms "energy and will" used by the Eastern emperor. For another view, see Straub, 2: 431–44. Leo's words confirming the action of the 6th œcum. council runs "equally we anathematize Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius . . . and also Honorius who attempted to subvert the unsullied faith by profane betrayal." The act of the council was "we discard Honorius from God's Holy Cath. church" and at the same time anathematize Honorius, etc.

4. p. 277. See the careful account by Döllinger-Reusch: *Bellarmin, Selbstbiog.*, with documents. Bellarmine, in explaining his attempt to prevent the scandal that would have arisen from the circulation of the faulty Sixtine ed., boasted that by preparing the new ed., he had rendered Sixtus good for evil,

Sixtus having placed the cardinal's treatment of the Rom. pontiff on the Index.—Pastor, 10: 158 sqq., 590 sqq., says that Sixtus issued his ed. in spite of warnings that it had mistakes, and that his order that it supersede all other edd. of the Vulgate was resisted by publishers in Venice and by Philip II. Nevertheless, Pastor says that there were certain formalities—*Förmlichkeiten*—missing in the issue of the bull and on that account it is not to be treated as an authorative document.

5. p. 280. See trsl. of the bull—*vox rama*—in Hoensbroech, 1: 215, 218, and Schaff: *Ch. Hist.*, 5: 2, p. 514 sqq.

6. p. 282. Alexander's bull runs "We of our mere liberality and certain knowledge and, in virtue of our fulness of Apostolic power by the authority of the omnipotent God conceded to us in Peter and in virtue of being the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, do grant to Portugal and Spain all lands and islands already discovered and to be discovered and to the kings of those countries and to their heirs and successors *in perpetuum*. For the bull, see Mirbt, p. 246, 248. Fiske: *Discovery of America*. Schaff: *Ch. Hist.*, 5: 2, p. 468. As for the enslavement of Africans by Spain and Portugal, Nicholas V, Jan. 8, 1454, renewing his concession of 1452 to Alfonso V, and speaking of himself as "the Roman pontiff, the successor of the key-holder of the kingdom of God and vicar of Jesus Christ, who seeks with paternal concern the welfare of all parts of the world and all peoples and the salvation of every one in particular," authorized the Portuguese king "to make war for the defense of the faith against the Saracens and other infidels, to conquer and subjugate their lands and reduce to perpetual slavery their persons." Nicholas also speaks of the sale of "Guineans and other negroes who had been taken by force." Mirbt, p. 240 sqq. Hinschius, *Kirchenr*, V, 561, says that wars and enslavements of peoples and persons by papal order were carried on into the 16th cent., and gives a bull issued by Paul III. See Mirbt, p. 240, for other bulls, and his reference to Langer: *Sklaverei in Europa während d. letzten Jahr. d M. A.*, 1891.

7. p. 282. *Solem esse in centro mundi et immobilem motu locale est propositio absurda et falsa in philos. et formaliter heretica quia est expresse contraria sac. scripturæ.* etc. See, Funk: *Abhandlungen*, 2: 444, 476. For Card. Gibbons' remarks, p. 119. Nicholas V, furnishes a spicy incident in papal annals by his fear of death and flight from Rome during the cholera infections of 1450–52. He went from castle to castle seeking safety, dismissing all his secretaries but one, and seeing but few of the cardinals. At last, he issued from the castle Fabrian a threat to dispossess any one of his livings coming to him from within seven miles of the papal city. Poggio ridiculed the pope for moving about like the Scythians. See Pastor, 1st ed., 1: 330; 2nd ed., 1: 357.

Chapter XVI. Lit.—Rom. Cath.: *Trid. Decrees, xxiii and Cat.*—Bellarm.: *de cler.*, and *de laicis.*—Gibbons: pp. 376–396.—*Cod. jur. can.*, under clerici, sacerdotes, etc.—Lehmkuhl, under Ordination.—Gury: *Theol. Mor.*, pp. 488–557, 732–804.—Artt. in *Cath. Enc.* on Celibacy by Thurston, Priesthood by Pohle, etc.—Leitner, pp. 82–105, 208–272.—Prot.—Augsb. and 2nd Helv. Conf.—The Cambr. Platform, 1648, in Walker's *Creeds and Platforms.*—The Forms of Government of different churches.—Lea: Sacerd. Celibacy, 3rd ed., 2 vols., 1907.—The works of Sohm, Harnack, Hort, Hatch, Lindsay, Gore, Rashdall and Headlam. Art. Celibacy in *Dicty. of Ethics*, 3: 271–277.—

Hoensbroech: *D. Papstthum.*—McCabe: *Twelve Years in a Monastery.*

Notes 1. p. 293. The absence of the word "priest" in the N. T. for a Christ. minister is not denied by many Roman Cath. writers. Addis, *Dict.* under "Priest," says that the words "priest" and "priesthood" are never applied in the N. T. to the Christ. ministry, but adds that the recognition of all Christians as priests implies no denial of a special priesthood with distinctive functions.

2. p. 297. Bp. Headlam, *Doct. of the Ch.*, says: pp. 45, 88, 91, that "no form of church government can find any support direct or indirect in the teaching of our Lord. . . . We cannot claim that episcopacy has Apostolic authority behind it or that it is essential to the church." Hort says: "In the N. T. we find no officers higher than elders, nothing that points to an institution or system, nothing like the episcopal system of later times."

3. p. 303. Bellarm., *de cler.*, 18–24, goes at great length into the subject of celibacy and, in commending it, quotes Jerome that when Peter said "we have left all to follow thee," he meant that he had given up his wife. Leitner, p. 239, favors this interpretation. Bellarm. denied that Paphnutius said what is ascribed to him on the ground that, if he had, Rufinus would have reported it.

4. p. 304. Wyclif and Huss bewailed the lamentable conditions of priests' wives and their households. Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1220, testified that female companions were maintained by nearly all the priests of England and Wales. Gower bore a similar testimony. The adage became current for priests untrue to their vows—*si non caste tamen caute*—if not chaste, be sure not to be found out, or as Tyndale put it, "If ye live not chaste, see ye carry clean and play the knave secretly."

5. p. 306. Reviewing the hist. of the M. A., Lea says, that it is "perhaps scarcely too much to conclude that the nominally celibate clergy were largely responsible for the laxity of morals, characteristic of med. society." In his *Span. Inquis.*, 2: 251, 277, he devoted a chapter to solicitation in the confessional. Hoensbroech, 2: pp. 480, 510 sq., 599, etc., says "Celibacy is for the papacy a measure of polit. supremacy. Even today, obligatory celibacy still covers great moral misery and it is not necessary to go to South America to find it. My former relations with the Jesuit order forbid me to go more particularly into the subject." He then gives as the reasons for so few cases of priestly incontinence coming to the public notice Jesuitical policy whose iron-clad motto is, "Under no circumstances let there be any open scandal." Loisy: *My Duel with the Vatican*, p. 76, says of France, "I am inclined to think that among the French Cath. clergy, the rule of celibacy is disobeyed more often than the majority of the laity suppose, though less constantly than the harsh opponents of the church imagine," etc.

Chapters XVII, XVIII.:—Rom. Cath.—C. of Ferrara, Mirbt, 234–236.—Trid. *Decrees* VII–XXIV, *Cat.*—Bellarm., one half of his great work—*Cor. jur. can.*, 731–1273, 2214–2414, etc.—Gibbons, 254–406.—Wilhelm and Scannell, 2: 349–535.—Slater, 2: 1–361.—Leitner and Eichmann—For the M. A. Schwane-Straub: *The Church.*—Pohle: *The Sacrr., a Dogm. Treatise*, trsl. from 5th German ed., 1917.—Smarius, S. J.: *The Real Presence.*—Walsh: *The Mass and Vestments of the Cath. Ch.*, 1916.—Fortescue: *The Mass, a study of the Roman Liturgy*, new ed., 1914.—Schwertner: *The Euchar. Renaissance*

or The Internat. Euchar. Congresses, p. 366, 1926.—Thurston: *Hist. of the Holy Euch. in Gt. Brit.*—*Cath. Ency.*, XIII: 295–305, etc.—Prot.—Augsb., 2 Helv., Westm. Conff., XXXIX Artt.—Wyclif: *de euch.* and *de eccl.*, etc.—Huss: *The Church.*—Luther: *Babyl. Captiv.*—*Grund und Ursache*, etc.—Calvin: *Instt. Antidote*, etc.—Jer. Taylor: *The Real Presence* and *Transub.*, VI, 1–168.—Gore: *The Body of Christ . . . on the Holy Com.*, pp. 330, 1901.—Stone: *Holy Bapt.*, pp. 303, 1901.—*The Reserved Sacr.*, pp. 143, 1917.—Chase, Bp. of Ely: *Confirmation in the Ap. Age*, pp. 130, 1913.—Works on *dogm. theol.*

Chapter XVII. 1. p. 311. The Mennonites and other small Christian bodies preserve the ceremony of foot-washing. The Moravians have given it up. On Thursday night before Good Friday, the pope is accustomed to wash the feet of twelve beggars, a practice of which Luther said that the pontiff would show more humility in washing the feet of a single king than the feet of a hundred beggars.

2. p. 314. The XXXIX Artt. give the excellent definition that "the sacraments be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by which He doth work invisibly in us and doth not only quicken but also strengthen our faith in Him." The liberal judgment in the Angl. Ch. is expressed by Bp. Headlam, pp. 265–269, who says that the Nonconformist churches have valid sacraments because they obey Christ's command and intend to do what Christ bade. One of the propositions of the Millenary Petition, 1603, was that women be forbidden to baptize. See Gee and Hardy, p. 509.

3. p. 320. Thos. Aquinas quotes in favor of confirmation, Ezek., 3: 8, "I have made thy forehead hard against their foreheads." The R. Cath. ritual consists in the bishop making the sign of the cross and anointing the candidate's forehead with chrism which consists of a mixture of oil and balsam.

4. p. 321. Tyndale, *Obed. of a Chr. Man*, p. 277, says "What priests call confirmation, the people call bishopping," etc. The feeling in the Ch. of Engl. that confirmation has a sacramental character was expressed by the Bp. of London in an address to the Wesleyan ministers, Feb., 1919, "Confirmation is not only a form by which the young renew baptismal vows but it is the falling of the Holy Spirit on the candidate and constitutes a fresh gift."

Chapter XVIII. Notes. 1. p. 322. The original Augsb. Conf., 1530, ran that "the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are distributed to those who eat." Melanchthon's revision, 1540, adopted Calvin's view, "With the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are truly exhibited to those who partake of the Lord's Supper."

2. p. 325. Sir Thos. More in his *Response* concerning the sacraments charged Luther with "absurdities, insanities, blasphemy, scurrility, stupid ignorance, sophistry, wicked ignorance, impudent lying, and abuse of Scripture," and said that in all the four Gospels the sacrament is not called bread and wine but the body and blood of Christ,—*non vocetur panis et vinum sed corpus et sanguis.*

3. p. 336. The Revision of the Book of Common Prayer allowing the reservation of the sacrament was voted on adversely by the House of Commons, Dec., 1927. The Bp. of Exeter in a pastoral address, 1921, said that "the custom of reserving the elements logically allows the whole cultus of the

blessed sacrament, as we see it in the modern Roman church. The doctrine is as dangerous as it is revolting. If my Savior is in the pyx, am I to think that he is also in the body of the man who has just taken the communion? If the doctrine of reservation be true, then why is the Presence confined to the church and why, if I knelt outside the brick wall and the pyx was inside, does not the Presence communicate itself to me? The X-rays pass through solid matter, why not the material Presence?"

4. p. 336. Such a procession is described by Robertson, *Papal Conquest in Italy*, p. 261—which he saw at Genoa, 1882, as it issued from the cathedral, the prelates and priests gorgeously attired and the Jesuits in black. As soon as the procession gained the level square, the people threw themselves with a wild rush upon the ecclesiastics who were left rolling in the dust.

5. p. 339. More, in his *Resp. to Luther*, p. 88, spoke of the "old ulcer of Bohemia." Rokzyana at the C. of Basel, cited Albertus Magnus' work on the eucharist as having made no reference to the withdrawal of the cup. Perrone VII: 262 asserted that "the church, which is our mother, by God's appointment may for good reasons give the cup to her children or withhold it." The C. of Trent left the matter of making exceptions to the rule of withholding the cup "to our most blessed lord the pope who will of his singular wisdom do what is profitable for the Christ. commonwealth."

Chapter XIX. 1. p. 341. Hallam Tennyson in his *Life* of his father, 2: 412, says that the poet received the communion together with the members of his family in his study a few months prior to his death. Before its administration, the rector of Freshwater was told by Mr. Tennyson that he could not partake of the elements except as they were administered in the sense ascribed to them by Cranmer.

2. p. 342. Thos. Aquinas declared, *hoc sacramentum rationem sacrificii habet in quantum offertur, rationem sacramenti in quantum sumitur.* See Trid. *Cat.*, 2: 4, and Perrone 7: 311.

3. p. 344. Bp. Hooper, *Brief and Clear Conf.*, called "the mass an utter forsaking of the holy supper because it doth attribute and ascribe to itself that which appertaineth only to the blood of Christ on the cross, that is to say, satisfaction, purgation and remission of sins, with increase of grace." How different is the view of the modern Anglo-Cath., Darwell Stone, who says, "that the eucharist is an act of sacrifice in which our Lord presents his slain and living manhood." "Christ is present in the eucharist as he was present with his disciples in his incarnate life."

4. p. 345. Bp. Gilmour, p. 198, describing the Lord's Supper says "Jesus is the Melchizedek of the new law who, as king and priest, offered himself under the appearance of blood and wine."

Chapter XX. Lit.—Tertullian, *de poenitentia—Cod. can. jur.*, 870–936.—Wyclif: *Of Conf.*, Matthew's ed., 327–346, etc.—Gottlob: *Kreuzablass u Almosen-Ablass*, 1906.—Lea: *Auric Conf. and Indulgence.*—Manning: *The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif*, 1919.—Watkins: *Hist. of Penance to 1213*, 2 vols., 1920.—Köhler: *Dokumente zum Ablasstreit*, 1902.—Rom. Cath. Beringer: *Die Ablässe*, Paderb 13th ed., 1906, pp. 859.—Lehmkuhl, 2: 187–399.—Paulus: *Gesch. d Ablässe im M. A.*, pp. 558, 1923; *Indulgences . . . in the M. A.*, trsl., 1922, p. 121.—Bernard-Murray: *Guide to Indulgences*, 1898.

Notes. 1. p. 358. Attrition was recognized by the C. of Trent, XXV: 5; Alex. of Hales spoke of servile fear as the beginning or substance of attrition. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*, 2: 482, 504, calls it the dry rot of Romanism.—For Luther's statement *Grund und Ursach*, Weimar, ed., 7: 355 sqq. Slater, 2: 558, says "In this modern period of moral theology, the sufficiency of attrition without any strictly so called initial charity on the part of the penitent, as a proximate condition for the remission of sin in the sacrament of penance may be considered as established."

2. p. 364. See Wyclif, *de euch. et poen.*, Arnold's ed., 1: 80, 141, 348, 461, etc. Huss' *Six Errors* in *Monum.*, 1: 215, 217 and the *Church*, chap. 10. For Wessel, Miller's ed., 1: 271, etc. Tertullian's famous passage *de pud.* 21. runs that Peter essayed the key on the day of Pentecost and was therefore the first to unlock, in Christ's baptism, the entrance to the kingdom of heaven. Ananias he bound with the bond of death and him who was weak in his feet he absolved from the defect of strength. He used the key at Jerusalem when he declared that the Gentiles and Jews were alike saved through faith, etc.

3. p. 366. Luther's formula of absolution in his smaller cat. runs "As thou believest so be it unto thee. And I, following the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, forgive thee thy sins in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Depart in peace." The note was added that "this is meant to be a form of penance for the immature—*die Einfältigen*—only."

4. p. 369. The following are testimonies from Engl. Reformers. In his *Obed. of a Christ. Man*, pp. 205, 243; Tyndale said; "With preaching the promises, they loose as many as repent and believe. Peter brought forth the key of the sweet promises saying, 'repent ye and believe.' . . . The law of God is the key wherewith men bind, and the promises are the keys wherewith men loose." Jewel, *Apol.*, p. 60, says that "the office of loosing consisteth in this point, that the minister should offer by the preaching of the Gospel the merits of Christs and full pardon to such as have lowly and contrite hearts," etc. Latimer, *On the Lord's Prayer:* "I may absolve you in the open pulpit in this wise, 'As many as confess their sins unto God and believe that our Savior through his passion hath taken away their sins and have an earnest purpose to leave sin, as many, I say, as be so affectioned to them I say *ego absolvo vos*, I, as an officer of Christ, and his treasurer, absolve you in his name.'" Jon. Edwards has a sermon on the "Nature and End of Excommunication." In the Schmalkald Artt., Luther expressed the common Prot. view that "the keys belong not to an individual but to the church."

5. p. 376. Berenger, p. 2, says "An indulgence is a relaxation of temporal punishments due sins which the church grants apart from the sacrament of penance,—sins for which, after receiving the forgiveness of the guilt of sin, we must make satisfaction, either here, or in purgatory." He prints 300 indulgences supposedly still valid, and also a number of spurious indulgences, 121–125. An indulgence which John Wesley, Aug. 31, 1738, copied from the door of the Cologne cathedral ran, "Plenary indulgence for the poor souls in purgatory. His holiness, pope Clement XII, has granted to the church of St. Christopher in Mainz the blessed privilege that every priest who on All Souls day or any day of that octave or on two days of each week as appointed by the

ordinary, reads a mass for a Christian dying in the faith, rescues each time a soul from purgatory," *Journal*, 2: 62.

Chapter XXI. Notes. 1. p. 381. The term "order" seems first to have been used by Tertullian, *de exh. cast.*, 7, where he speaks of a distinction which the church made between the "order and the people." Probably not until the time of Gregory the Great was it the custom to speak of three orders in the church, viz.: those who preach, the ascetics, and good husbands and wives. Hrabanus Maurus in the 9th century spoke of three orders,—laics, priests and monks.

2. p. 384. The *jure divino* theory of episcopacy was introduced into the Angl. ch. during James I's reign. By the Prayer Book of 1661, none may hold office in the Ch. of Engl. without episc. consecration. All who had Presbyterian orders were removed from their benefices by the Five Mile Act. The Westm. Assembly had been relatively tolerant, pronouncing "the ordination which hath been in the Ch. of Engl. to be for substance valid" and "not to be disclaimed by any who had received it." Gore: *Ch. and Ministry*, p. 170, declares it impossible to "accept Nonconformist ministers or sacraments without cutting ourselves off from fellowship with the ancient church and from all hope of reunion on a catholic basis with, for example, the East. ch." On the other hand, Headlam, *Doctr. of the Ch.*, pp. 129, 261, says, "Of any idea that spiritual gifts depended upon transmission from the Apostles or that in ordination they transmitted grace to others which had come down to them from the Apostles, there is no evidence at all."

3. p. 388. In the *Book of Discipline*, of 1560, Knox in brusque language spoke of the old practice of ordination thus, "It is neither the clipping of their crowns nor the greasing of their fingers, neither the laying on of their hands that maketh the true ministers of Jesus Christ, but the Spirit of God inwardly first moving the heart to seek to enter into the holy calling for Christ's glory and the prophet of the kirk, and thereafter the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned and public admission make men lawful ministers of the Word and the sacraments."

4. p. 388. Leo's bull *apostolicæ curæ*, *Works*, 6: 198, 210, runs *certa scientia, pronunciamus ordinationes ritu angl. actas, irritas prorsus fuisse et esse omninoque nullas.*, Leitner, 15: 127, pronounces the decision "final, bringing to a close a long and elaborate discussion." Dr. Briggs reported that Pius X told him that Leo's decree is not an *ex-cath.* decision, *Th. Symb.*, 226, 234.

5. p. 390. Bellarm. *de cler.*, 5. 1: 3, 4, *Vocatio seu missio ministrorum non ad populum pertinet sed ad episcopos et potissimum ad summum pontificem*, etc. Hodge, *Ch. Polity*, pp. 369, 393, gives as the general Prot. view that "the right to ordain is inherent in the ministerial office . . . but all power is primarily vested in the whole ch." Headlam, p. 124, says of the early ch., that "the authority to ordain lay in the ch."

Chapter XXII. Lit.—Rom. Cath.—C. of Trent, XXIV., *benedictina* and *tametsi* in Mirbt, 331 sq., 399 sqq.—Leo XIII's *arcanum*, Works, 2: 117, 137. Pius X's *provida*, Mirbt, 503 sq.—Slater, 2: 251–367.—Lehmkuhl, 2: 466–617, "Marriage" in *Cath. Ency.*—Devine: *The Law of Christ. Marr. acc. to the Cath. Ch.*, 1908.—Prot.—Luther: *Monastic Vows.*—Zwingli: *de falsa et vera rel.*—Calvin: Instt. IV.—Augsb., and Westm. Conff.—Gore: *Question of Divorce*,

pp. 57, 1911.—Fleming: *The Ch. of Rome and Marr.*, 1912.—Works on Ethics and Dogma. Theol.

Notes. 1. p. 399. The canon law devotes more than fifty sections to marriage. Leo XIII, *arcanum*, quoting Eph., 5: 32, in the Vulgate trsl., said *Omne inter Christianos justum conjugium in se et per se est sacramentum.* A. V. Müller in his *Luther eine Vertheidigung*, etc., says that Rom. Cath. authorities look upon the marriage act as always sinful and only indulged to Christians, and that "the church knows of only one holy wife," p. 56, sqq.

2. p. 410. Of the conditions in Engl. in his day Latimer, preaching before Edward VI, spoke of "so much adultery and breach of wedlock in noblemen and gentlemen and so much divorcing that every man, if he have but a small desire, will cast off his wife and small the abuse will marry again at his pleasure and there be many that have so done. . . . There was never more lechery used in Engl. than is at this day and maintained." Jewel, *Apol.* 61, said that ever since celibacy was made law, there had been "a wonderful uncleanness of life and manners in God's ministers." Such were "the good old days."

Chapter XXIII. Lit.—Rom. Cath.—C. of Trent.: *Decrees* XXV also VI; *can.*, 30; *Cat.*, 1: 4.—Bellarm., *de eccl.*—Möhler, 443–54.—Lehmkuhl, vol. 2: under *defuncti.*—Gibbons, 204–220—Paulus: *J. Tetzel*—Abbé Louvet: *Le purgatoire d'après les revelations des saints*, Germ. trsl. 1895—Wilhelm and Scannell, 2, 535–566—Husslein: *The Souls in Purgatory*, pp. 34, 1920. Slater: 2: 453 sqq.—Hanna, Abp. of San Francisco, in *Cath. Enc.* 12: 573–80. Prot.—2 Helv., Gall. Westm. Conff., XXXIX [Artt.—Schmid: *D. Fegfeuer nach kath. Lehre*, 1904.—Salmon, p. 205 sqq.—Köhler: *Dokumente zum Ablassstreit*, 1902.—Brieger: *Indulgenzen* and R. Hofman: *Fegfeuer*, both in Herzog Real Enc.—Brieger *D. Wesen d. Ablasses am Ausgange d. M. A.*, 1897.—Lea: *Auric. Conf.*, etc.—Schaff: *Ch. Hist.* V, pt. 2, 756–787.

Notes. 1. p. 415. Bellarmine adduced for the theory of material purgatorial fire—*verum et proprium ignem*,—Gregory the Great and Augustine, but treated it as not a dogma,—*non de fide.* No pain, said Sir Thos. More, is comparable to the pain of purgatory. "Its fyre as farre passeth in heate al the fyres that ever burned upon earth as the hottest of al those passeth a feyned fyre paynted on a wall," and he described the souls as crying out to their friends on earth, "If ye pittie the poore there is none so poore as we. If ye pittie the blinde there is none so blinde as we which are here in the darke. Bethynke you what a long nighte we selye soulles endure, that lye slepelesse, restlesse, burning, broyling in the darke fyre . . . some of us manye yeres together." To such appeals five columns are devoted.

2. p. 416. The case of Innocent is given by Louvet. Bellarmine reported that the sister of Malachy, the Irish saint, made three appearances after her death to St. Malachy, the first time in a black dress, the second under a veil and the third in a white garment,—a sure sign that her release from purgatory was near at hand.

3. p. 425. A recent testimony to the efficacy of masses for the dead is given by Husslein, p. 34, who says that "St. Margaret Mary recommends as a sovereign remedy for the poor souls in purgatory devotion to the Sacred Heart and particularly masses in its honor. This saint had the greatest love for the poor souls and one holy Thursday, while watching before the blessed sacrament,

felt herself surrounded by these poor sufferers and the Lord said unto her that he gave them to her for a whole year to do for them all that she could. She endured the greatest suffering for these souls but finally beheld two of them little by little absorbed and drawn into glory, like a person merged in a vast ocean."

4. p. 426. Such a request lies before the writer, dated Dec. 20, 1924, sent out by the St. Boniface Soc. of N. Y. City and having "the approval of his Eminence Cardinal Hayes, D.D." It states that "priests cannot subsist without mass stipends" and gives a list of six different kinds of masses for a dead wife, a dead husband, etc., and also a column for the number of masses the applicant wishes to have said. The following appeal went out from St. Joseph's Protectory for Boys, Pittsb., Oct. 15, 1920. "Our holy mother, the church, reminds us each year of our obligation to the faithful departed. By our prayers, devotions and the holy sacrifice of the mass we can shorten the long period of suffering they may otherwise be forced to endure. . . . For thirty days Pope Gregory I ordered mass to be said for a monk recently deceased who at the end of the period appeared and stated that his sufferings in purgatory were over. Send the names of your deceased relatives and friends to the protectory. . . . The need for the poor souls seems never to have been more urgent. Let them not cry out to you in vain for help. . . . The soul of a relative perhaps as dear to you as life itself may need but the merits of these masses to end its term of pain and torment in purgatory." As for hell, Eugene IV, Feb. 24, 1441, declared that "the Holy Roman ch. firmly believes that no one not in the Cath. ch., Pagans, Indians, heretics or schismatics, can partake of eternal life but that they go into fire eternal prepared for the devil and his angels."

5. p. 429. The Cat. of Pius X, ans. 100, runs *bambini morti senza battesimo vanno al limbo, dove non è premio soprannaturale ne pena, percha avendo il peccato originale e quello solo, non meritano il paradiso, ma neppure l'inferno e il purgatorio.*

Chapter XXIV. Lit.—The text of the decree of the Immac. Conc. in Schaff. *Creeds*, 2: 211 sq.—Leo XIII's *encyclicals* on the Rosary, etc.—For the med. views, Schwane; Coulton, etc.—Newman: "Belief of Catholics conc. the Blessed Virgin," etc., in *Difficulties of Anglicans*, etc., pp. 26—170.—Schaff: *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 5,—Eucken: *Mittelalt. Welt.*—Bellarm.—Liguori: *Glories of Mary.*—Artt. "Im. Conc." and "Virgin Mary" in Cath. Ency.—F. H. Schüth, S. J.: *Leo xiii's Encyclicals on the Rosary.*—Ullathorne: *Imm. Conc. of the Mother of God*, Lond., 1905.—Ernst: *D. leibl. Himmelfahrt Marias*, pp. 64, 1921. Wilhelm and Scannell.—Hoensbroech: *D. Papstthum*, vol. 2: *Vierzehn Jahre Jesuit*, 1: 198–207; 2: 97–134.—McNeiry: *Saturdays with Mary*, 1921.

Notes. 1. p. 437. Jerome enlarges the comparison between Eve and Mary. He said that through Eve, we grow physically, through Mary we reign eternally. Death was invented by a woman, life by a virgin. According to Koch, Mary was not looked upon as a pattern of virginity until the days of Ambrose—*Virgines Christi*, p. 92.

2. p. 439. For Bernard, Migne, 183: 62. Albertus Magnus freely referred to Mary's *sinus, pectus, ubera* and *uterus*. Three reasons were given by Jacob de Voragine why Balaam compared "Our Lady" to a star, namely:—1. She

is adorned with beauty, 2. illumines by her light the church, and 3. continued all her life in works of virtue and never sinned. The Dominican, Eberhard of Saxony, in the 13th century wrote, *Got in sinem trone hat begehret diner schone; Da er will, o wiber krone, mit gelüste dich ansehen,*—quoted by Eucken, p. 477. Hoensbroech, *Vierzehn Jahre*, 2: 318, gives a Jesuit poem in praise of Mary's hair and an extract from a sermon on the same subject.

3. p. 448. Pasch. Radbertus in his *de partu virg.*, took the position that the birth as well as the conception of Christ was miraculous—*clauso utero*—without pain or tears or any corruption of the flesh. Ratramnus took the opposite view that Christ was born in the natural way. Maria of Agreda of Spain, d. 1665, wrote a life of Mary in which she said that the virgin's body and blood are truly in the eucharist and that every 8th day of December, she was borne up to heaven by the angels to celebrate her imm. conception.—Reusch: *Index*, 2: 253 sq.

4. p. 448. In their Engl. trsl. of Thos. Aquinas, the Dominican editors have tried to escape the charge that Thomas was out of accord with the dogma of the imm. conception, partly on the ground that when he spoke of sanctification he meant preservation from sin. The editors agree that he was probably not informed that the movement was in progress toward a full recognition of the dogma. They then quote Duns Scotus, who was born after Thomas died. See note in trsl., Part III: 2: 27–59.

5. p. 449. Newman: *Apol.*, p. 254, said "Priests have no difficulty in receiving the doctrine of the imm. conception. I never heard of one Catholic having difficulties in recognizing it whose faith on other grounds was not suspicious. I sincerely believe that St. Bernard and St. Thomas, who scrupled at it in their day, had they lived in this, would have rejoiced to have accepted it." Card. Gibbons remarks that, if Mary had been conceived in original sin, instead of being superior, she would be inferior to Eve, and that "the piety of a mother usually sheds additional luster on the son and the halo that encircles her brow is reflected upon his. The more the mother is extolled, the greater the honor which redounds to the son." As if Christ's glory was not all sufficient in itself!

6. p. 450. Bonaventura used the word "excuser"—*excusatrix*—as in his hymn:

Ave cœleste lilium, ave rosa speciosa
Ave mater humilium, superis imperiosa
Deitatis triclinium: hac in valle lacrymarum
Da robur, fer auxilium, O Excusatrix culparum.

Leo XIII, *Works* 2: 34, called Mary *auxiliatrix, opifera, solatrix, bellorum potens victrix, pacifera magna, virgo, patrona cœlestis*, etc., and said that she, who had been the administrator of the sacrament of man's redemption, became the administrator of the grace derived from Christ for all time. Pius X, in *ad diem illum*, said that "summoned by Christ to the work of human salvation, Mary merited most fittingly to become the restorer—*reparatrix*—of a lost world and so the dispenser of all the gifts without exception which Jesus won for us by his blood and death." Benedict XV called Mary *mediatrix* of all graces, and said that "all gifts which the Redeemer hath merited for us

are distributed by Mary the mother," quoting Eccles. 24: 25, "In me is all grace, in me is all hope of life and virtue. Come over to me, ye that desire me and be filled with my fruits."

7. p. 454. According to *Month*, the church has never formally approved the miracles and healing of Lourdes. For the lit. on the subject, see Thurston, in the June and July numbers, 1925. Bernadette, who was always feeble, maintained that the White Lady told her at every vision that she was the Blessed Virgin of the Imm. Conception. Bernadette habitually refused to give out certain revelations which she had received, on the ground that they concerned herself alone and had nothing to do with the church, France or the pope. Thurston speaks of a test by fire made to prove her honesty "as perfectly authentic," namely the flame of a candle which completely enveloped her hand while the hand was not burned, a test recognized by physicians who were present.

8. p. 458. Pius XI after calling Mary "the great Mother of God, the seat of wisdom and the source of piety," said: "We pray that from the national shrine of the imm. conception which is being built at the Univ. in Washington, as from the seat of her loving kindness, she may bestow upon all America the heavenly gifts of wisdom and salvation." See full trsl. in *Cath. Hist. Rev.* Oct. 1925. In calling back the "wandering sheep to the unity of the church," Jan. 1928, Pius, following his immediate predecessors, "invoked the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of divine grace, conqueror of all heresies," etc. At Vice-Pres. Marshall's death, one of the grounds which "America"—June 13, 1925—gave for praising him was that "on at least two public occasions he spoke reverently and with affection of the ever-blessed mother of our Savior." It is the general custom of Protestants to speak with reverence and affection of Mary.

Chapters XXV, XXVI. Lit.—*The Golden Legend*,—Englisht by Caxton, 7 small vols.—Butler: *Lives of the Saints*, 12 vols., 1868.—Baring-Gould: *Lives of the Saints*, 4 vols., 1907.—Delahaye, S. J.: *Les Legendes biograph.*, 1905. Critical. —*Bk. of the Saints* by Benedictines, 1921.—Holweck: *Dict. of the Saints*, pp. 1054, 1924.—Pullen: *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome.*—*Trid. Decrees* and *Cat.* on the Decalogue and Prayer.—*Cod. can. jur.*, 1255–89; 1919–2141—Bellarm.; Möhler; Gibbons, 191–205—Artt. Wetzer—*Welte:* 3: 1233 sqq. and *Cath. Enc.* on Images, 7: 665–72 and Relics, 12: 734–40.—Hefele: *Conc. Gesch.* on the 2nd Nicene C., vol. 3.—Gregory: *Bernadette of Lourdes.*—Lord, S. J.: *Story of the Little Flower, St. Therese*,—Husslein, S. J.: *The Heart of the Little Flower*, etc. 1924. Prot.-Augsb., 2 Helv., Gall., Schmalkald, *Conff.*—Calvin: *Invention of Relics*, trsl. by Beveridge 1: 288–341. — Warfield: *Counterf. Miracles*, 1918.—*Reliquien in Herzog-Hauck*, 12: 734–40.—Hase, p. 298 sqq.—Schaff: *Ch. Hist.* 3: 449–460; 5, pt. 2, p 845 sqq.

Notes. 1. p. 465. Bellarmine, *de sanctis*, 1, 14, quite able to meet this objection, said that Cornelius thought there was something divine in Peter and he was right and Peter out of modesty refused the honor to which he was "lawfully" entitled. The *Annuario Pontificio* lists all the popes down to 536 including Silverius, as "saints."

2. p. 471. St. Aloysius, according to Cepari's *Life* trsl. by Father Goldie, "was accustomed in passing through the streets to do so with downcast

eyes." A writer in *Month*, 1924, p. 159, suggests that the saint had read the Life of St. Louis of Anjou, d. 1297, an heir to the throne of Sicily, who became a religious. At his sister Blanche's marriage to the king of Aragon at Barcelona Louis "observed such strict modesty that the princess could not even obtain a glance from him." On returning to Florence, where his mother was, he said that he would not allow himself to be embraced by her and turning his face away exclaimed, "you are my mother but you are also a woman. A servant of God is not allowed to take such liberty with a woman."

3. p. 475. A shrine at Lisieux dedicated to Thomas à Becket has recently come into notice. It displays a wax figure of the abp. robed in mass vestments, which are said to have been used by Thomas at Lisieux 1170 just before he returned to England and met his death. It also displays a piece of linen stained with blood said to have belonged to the saint. A writer in *Month*, 1923, 411–17, remarks that "if Becket's visit cannot be proved, it is also difficult to disprove it."

4. p. 476. A description of the recent discovery of the bodies of St. Stephen, St. Gamaliel, St. Nicodemus and St. Abifone in the court yard of the Salesians at Jerusalem, marvellous enough to tax the most determined faith, was given in the *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1923, including an account of the entombment of the venerable saints and the history of the tomb in later centuries. It seems that Gamaliel gathered up the remains of Stephen and carried them to his country villa and placed them in the tomb which Gamaliel had constructed for himself. In due time, the site of the tomb became lost and was not rediscovered till 415 when a priest led by a vision, three times repeated, found it. At the sight or touch of the bodies of the four antiquities, many miracles were performed, but again the site was lost and remained lost till 1922. The genuineness of the recent recovery was vouched for by the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem and a number of other distinguished men. It is stated that "this glorious discovery being made known throughout the world will create a new sentiment of thanksgiving to God for his saints," etc. It is to be hoped that from now on the site will be carefully guarded and no doubt it will help the Salesians whose garden will become a place of pilgrimage.

Chapter XXVI. Notes. 1. p. 481. Hull, S. J. *What the Cath. Ch. is and Teaches.* Cath. Truth Soc., 70th thousand.

2. p. 487. In Wyclif's day, Christ's prepuce or foreskin was reported to be in two churches of Rome, the Lateran and St. Agnes,—Manning, p. 80. Hoensbroech, *Papstthum* 2: 254 says that Suarez gave the assurance that Mary preserved the material object and discussed at length whether Christ, now in heaven, has a foreskin and decides for it. The Spaniard went even further and discussed whether the foreskin is in the consecrated host and this question he also decided favorably.

3. p. 489. At the exhibition in Aachen, 1909, Mary's chemise was displayed in a glass showcase. At each side of the case sat a priest who kept taking rosaries from the hands of worshippers as they passed by and rubbed them against the garment that they might receive some of its supposed holy virtue. The chemise, as the writer saw it, was perfectly white, showing no signs of age.

4. p. 491. Thurston in three art., in *Month*, Dec. 1924–Feb. 1925 on George Marano, a Belgian, who professed to have the stigmata on her body, shows the danger of deception in regard to miraculous interventions and of mistaking hysterical states for real experiences. See also, Dr. J. J. Welsh: "Church and Cures," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Apr. 1925

5. p. 493. Janssen called the med. pilgrimages to wonder-working shrines "the travelling itch." The *Cath. Enc.* 12: 737 suggests "that many of the more ancient relics, even those exhibited in Rome, are certainly spurious or open to grave suspicion." Among the ungenuine relics the article mentions Christ's crib or *præsepe* shown in St. Maria Maggiore and the column of the Flagellation in St. Prasede. The frauds connected with the exposure of the relics of Russian saints in 1919 are not favorable to the genuineness of the Roman relics. At the opening of the reliquary of St. Tikhon Zalonsky, it was found that his "body" consisted of cardboard and some bones. The relic of St. Alexander Svirsky was found to be of wax and St. Mitrofan an imitation of a human body stuffed with cotton.

Chapter XXVII. Lit.—Rom. Cath.: *Trid. Decrees VI.*—Bellarm. *de just., de bonis opp.* pp. 400.—Möhler.—Lives of Luther by Denifle and Grisar.—Bruno, pp. 347–368. Prot.—*Augsb.-Conf.* 4.—*Apol.* 2; *Form. Conc.* 3; 2 *Helv.* 15; *Heidelb.* 60; *Gallic.* 18; *Belg.* 22; *Scotch* 12; *Dort.* 3; *Westm.* 1–6, 11, 12.—*XXXIX Artt.* 11, 12; Luther: *Freedom of a Christ. Man*; *On Good Works; Tessara; Intr. to "Romans."*—Calvin: *Instt. III; Reply to Sadolet.*—Tyndale: *Obed. of a Christ. Man; Parable of the Wicked Mammon.*—Jewel: *Apol.*—*Hist. of Doc.* by Loofs, etc.—Schaff: *Principle of Protm.*, 1846.—Wace: *Principles of the Refn.*, 1883.

Notes. 1, p. 499. This was the view of the Engl. Reformers, Tyndale, Hooper, etc. Bp. Hooper, *Later Writings*, p. 59, said "I call a justifying faith certain assurance and earnest persuasion of the good will, love and grace of God to us whereby we are assured in our hearts that He is on our side and will be a merciful Father unto us, pardoning our sins freely in his Son and by his only Son, and not for our merits or good works." Bruno says "justification by faith was an invention of Luther whose aim with the other Reformers was to decoy people under the pretext of making them independent of the priests in whose hand our Savior has placed the administration of pardon and grace."

2. p. 502. The man to whom Luther was writing, Melanchthon, was unusually timid and needed to be braced up by Luther's language, brusque but full of assurance. Smith, *Cor.* 2, 57, gives as the meaning of Luther's letter, "Be a man and a Christian. As a man you will sin but when you have committed a sin, do not be paralyzed with fear of consequences but be bold in faith for Christ died for sinners."

3. p. 503. *Der Sauerteig ist der Glaub. So dies Leben ist nicht eine Frömmigkeit sondern ein Frommwerden, nicht eine Gesundheit sondern ein Gesundwerden*, Weimar ed. 7: 337. Tyndale defined faith as "the mother of all good works, justifying us before we can bring forth any good works, as the husband marries his wife before he can have children,"—*Wicked Mammon*, p. 56, 125. The *Two Books of Homilies*, Oxf. ed., p. 37, say, "As opposed to dead faith there is another faith in Scripture which is not idle, unfruitful and dead but

worketh by charity and, as the other is called vain faith or dead faith, so this may be called a quick or lively faith" etc. Jewel, *Apol.* p. 66, wrote that "we have no meed—merit—at all by our own works . . . but a true faith is lively and can in no wise be idle."

4. p. 505. Smith: *Age of the Reform*, p. 746, draws a just distinction between the two systems when he says "The debit and credit balance of outward work and merit was done away and for it was substituted the nobler or, at least, more spiritual and less mechanical idea of disinterested morality and unconditioned salvation. The God of Calvin may have been a tyrant but he was not corruptible by bribes." What could be more intolerable than Denifle's scurrility when he represented the doctrine of justification by faith alone as "the intervening wall behind which Luther, the rascal, may have sinned as much as he wanted to sin so long as he was protected by it from being found out?" The Dominican's portrayal was as apposite as would be a biogr. portraying Washington as a tramp and a house-breaker.

5. p. 506. Here is a typical story from Wyclif's times. A rich man, Perys, did a single good deed when, with all his might, he threw a loaf of bread at a beggar saying "stop thy mouth with that." When Perys died, our Lady for this one act of charity secured for the sinner a second chance so that he did not go to hell but returned to the earth to amend his ways. The *Book of Homilies*, p. 62, gave among some of the papistical superstitions "our Lady's Psalters and Rosaries, the fifteen Oss, St. Bernard's verses, St. Agathe's Letters, masses satisfactory, stations and jubilees, feigned reliques, hallowed bells, holy pardoned beads, bread, water, palms, candles, fire and such other; fastings, fraternities, pardons with such like merchandise . . . that were made most holy and high things whereby to attain to the everlasting life or remission of sins." The fifteen Oss were fifteen prayers of "the holy virgin St. Brygitta" of which it was asserted that "Whoso say this a whole year, he shall deliver fifteen souls out of purgatory, convert fifteen other sinners to a good life, and other fifteen righteous men of his kindred shall persevere in good life, and what he desire he shall have it, if it be to the salvation of his soul." The saint had been accustomed to say the Oss in St. Paul's, Rome. "St. Bernard's Verses" refer to verses of the Psalms which the devil told the saint would certainly save him, if he read them. When the devil refused to reveal what the verses were, St. Bernard replied that he didn't care and would read the entire book of the Psalms through.

Chapters XXVIII, XXIX. Lit.—*Pol. Works of Jas. I*, 1918.—Lecky: *Hist. of Rationalism in Europe.*—Lea: *Hist. of the Inquis. of the M.A.* 3 vols., and of *Spain*, etc., 4 vols.—Bury: *Hist. of Freedom of Thought*, 1891,—White: *Hist. of the Warfare of Science with Theol. in Christendom*, 2 vols. 1896.—Reusch: *Index d. verbotenen Bücher*, etc. 2 vols. 1883–1885.—Putnam: *Censorship of the Ch. of Rome*, etc., 2 vols. 1906.—On the *Const. of the U. S.*, Story, Farrand: *Fathers of the Const.*, 2 vols., 1921—Beck: *The Court of the U. S. Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow*, 1922.—Poore: *The Fed. and State Constt.*, etc., 1877—Brewer, Justice of Supr. Court: *The U. S. a Christ. Nation*, pp. 98, 1905.—Elias, Mexican Consul-genl. in the U.S.: *The Mex. People and the Ch.* pp. 52, 1927.

Rom. Cath.: Bellarm.: *de pont. rom.; de cler.; de laicis*—Pius IX. *Syllabus* in Schaff: *Creeds.*—Leo XIII: *immort. Dei* 1885; trsl. in Ryan and Millar; *liber-*

tas, 1888, *On Americanism*, 1898, *Works* 2: 146, 168, 3: 96–120; 7: 223–233—*Syllabus of Pius X in Mirbt*, 504 sqq.—Pastor: *Gesch d. Päpste*, vols. 5, 6, etc.; Alg. *Dekrete d. röm. Inquisition*, pp. 77, 1912,—Manning: *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allgce.*, 1875 Parnell: *Life of Manning* as "politician" 2: 151–161, 605, sqq. etc.—Acton: *Hist. of Intell. Freedom*, 1907; *Letters to Mary Gladstone; Cor.*, ed. by Figgis—Gibbons; on Leo XIII, Patriotism and Politics, etc. in *Retrosp. of 50 Years*—Lehmkuhl 2: 782 sqq.—Father Hecker, *The Ch. and the Age*, 1896.—Straub: *de eccl.* 2: 54 sqq.—Paulus: *Protestm. u. Toleranz im 16ten Jahrh.* pp. 374, 1911—Guilday: *The Engl. Cath. Refugees*, 1558–1795—Ryan and Millar: *State and Ch.*, 1922, intluding Abp. Ireland's *Address*, 282–298—McNamara: *Am. Democr. and Cath. Doctr.*—Husslein: *God and Cæsar.*—Powers: *Nationalism at the C. of Const.*, 1927—Cath. Enc. *Civil Allegie.;* see *State and Ch.* Burke, O. S. P., *Cath. Civil. and the Am. Republic*, pp. 23.

Prot.-Luther: For his better views, *Von weltl. Obrigkeit wie weit ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei* and *Ermahnung zum Frieden*, Weimar ed. 11: 229 sqq. 18: 279 sqq.; Waring: *Polit. Theories of M. L.*, 1904—*Calvin: Instt.*, 4; *Def. of the Orth. Faith agt. M. Servetus*, Works 8: 453–644; *Life of Calvin* by Kampfschulte, R. C., 2 vols. 1869–99—Stevenson: *Calvin as Statesman.*—Beza: *Rights of Magistrates*—Mornay: *Def. of Liberty agt. Tyrants*, ed. by Laski, 1924;—Locke, d. 1704: *Letters on Toleration, Treatises on Govt.*—R. W. Thompson: *The Papacy and Civil Govt.* 1876.—Gladstone: *Rom. and the Newest Fashions in Rel.*; On Vaticanism, etc., 1875.—Döllinger-Reusch: *Bellarmin. Selbst-Biogr.* p. 197–sqq.—Döllinger: *Gesch. d. rel. Freiheit* in Akad. Vorträge 3: 274–300.—Schaff: *Rel. Freedom as shown in the Toler. Acts. 1889; Ch. and State in the U. S., 1889.*—Figgis: *Studies of Polit. Theory, 1414-1625, 1904.*—Thom: *Struggle for Rel. Lib. in Va.* 1900.—Köhler: *Reftn. u. Ketzerpocess*, 1901.—Lec.: *Rel. Lib. in S. Am.*, etc. 1907—Völker: *Toleranz u. Intol. im Zeitalter d. Reform.* 1912.—Faulkner: *The Reformers and Tol.*, Am. Soc. Ch. Hist., 5: 3–22.—Hoensbroech: *Papstthum*, 2: 287–293.—Zollman: *Am. Civil and Ch. Law*, 1917,—Humphrey: *Natm. and Rel. in Am. 1774-89*, 1924—Desmond: *The A.P.A. Movement*, 1912.—Mecklin: *The Ku Klux Klan*, 1922.—Friedberg: *Toleranz* in Herzog Enc. 19: 824–35.—Cadman: *Christ and the State*, 1924.—Letters by Marshall and Gov. A. E. Smith in *Atl. Monthly* 1927, pp. 540 sqq., 721 sqq.—D. S. Schaff: The Bellarmine-Jefferson Legend, Am. Soc. Ch. Hist., 8, 1928.

Notes. 517. Grisar 1: 378 takes occasion to ridicule Luther's appeal to God's Word and conscience as a trick to arouse the passions of the people against the eccles. authorities.

2. p. 518. Lecky said that "Toleration, however incompatible with some of the tenets which Protestants have asserted, is essentially a normal result of Protestantism for it is the direct, logical and inevitable consequence of the due exercise of private judgment." Bury, p. 80, 249, concedes that the "Reformation involuntarily helped the cause of liberty" although his leading position is that Christianity "suppressed freedom" a freedom it had enjoyed in Greece and Rome.

3. p. 519. In 1901, Pastor sought access to the documents of the Inquisition but in vain. On a spot near the Piazza di Cavour where the Waldensian church built by Mrs. Kennedy now stands, the great grandfather of the Rev.

Thomas Tron, a Waldensian minister in N. Y. City, was burnt together with others.

4. p. 519. For the statutes against the Recusants, see Gee and Hardy, 492 sqq. etc. Cartwright, the strict Puritan and Prof. of Divinity, Cambridge, favored the death penalty for heretics in these words: "If this opinion be bloody and extreme I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost." For a quaint description of the feeling in Engl. towards the Recusants, see Fuller: *Ch. Hist.* 9: 4.

5. p. 520. Lord Acton, *Cor.* ed. by Figgis 1: 135, says that the papal commemoration went on in Rome in spite of the appeal of Card. Montalto—later Sixtus V—who pled with Gregory to repress the rejoicing over the massacre lest the world should believe that the church was thirsting for blood. A student answering an examination question given by the writer concerning the grounds on which Servetus was burnt quaintly replied: "The burning of heretics had been a common practice. I rather marvel that Calvin had a part in burning only one."

6. p. 524. In copy-books written in French convent schools exhibited in the St. Louis Exposition 1903 were written the words "80,000 Protestants left France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and were not ashamed to carry abroad their industry and hatred of Louis XIV and their own country. . . . All impartial people acknowledge that the Rom. inquisition was a pattern of equity and mildness."

7. p. 527. The notion that Lord Baltimore was moved by a passion for religious liberty has been shown to be false by C. E. Smith: *Rel. under the Barons of Balt.*, 1899, McKim: *Romanism in the Light of Hist.*, B. C. Steiner: *Reports of Am. Hist. Ass.*, 1899, pp. 232–307, 1905, p. 111–122, etc. and Gladstone: *Rome and* the *Newest Fashions in Rel.*, p. 8, 96 sqq. Döllinger, *Papstthum*, p. 290, called Holland "a laboratory of rel. freedom."

8. p. 530. Dr. Ryan pronounces Leo's argument in the *immortale Dei* "unanswerable" and sets forth as Leo's; meaning that, where the Catholic religion is established, no sects should be admitted but that in Catholic states where sects have a footing it may be expedient to tolerate them. To the objection that if this rule were applied so as to exclude Catholics from Protestant states, Dr. Ryan replies that the prohibition of Roman worship is wrong because the Roman worship is the true worship and that no Protestant state can logically exclude Roman worship for no Protestant sect holds itself to be infallible.

Chapter XXIX. Notes 1. p. 537. Bellarmine quoted Aquinas' *regimen* remarking, however, that its authorship was a matter of dispute. Innocent III wrote to the Patr. of Constantinople *dominus Petro non solum universam eccles., sed totum reliquit seculum gubernandum.* In the discussion following Boniface VIII's bull, the most exaggerated authority was ascribed to the pope. James of Viterbo, d. 1308, dedicated his work *de regim. chr.* to Boniface as "the holy lord of the kings of the earth,"—Finke, pp. 163 sqq.; Scholz, pp. 129–253. Aegidius Colonna, d. 1316, wrote of the pope as above all law and likened him to the sea which carries all vessels and to the sun which sends his rays out to all parts. Earthly kingdoms not established by the priesthood are usurpations, Scholz pp. 32–129. Alex. Triumphus, d. 1328,

in his *summa de potest. eccl.*, declared that the pope's tribunal and God's are the same and that the pope's power is so vast that he himself does not fully know what he is able to do.

2. p. 538. Guilday, *Engl. Refugees*, p. XXIII, pronounces Elizabeth "a tyrant of the worst type, without pity, the willing tool of those who hated the church for gain's sake." Card. Allen, who did all in his power with his pen and at Philip II's court to bring about Elizabeth's overthrow, urged that the state of christendom depended "upon the stoute assayllinge of England" and appealed to the decree of the Fourth Lateran council; Haile: *Life of Card. Allen*, p. 99, 151, etc.

3. p. 539. Acton: *Cor.* pp. 55, 126, Pastor: 10: 310–14.

4. p. 541. Not till 1909 did separation of ch. and state take place in Geneva and then by a majority vote of only 860.

5. p. 551. Mr. Mahoney, known as Father Prout, writing of conditions in Rome at the accession of Pius IX says that "the finances were in an awful state . . . the trade and commerce of the country paralyzed, the cultivation of science in every department clogged and discountenanced, deep-rooted discontent among the people, corruption in every branch of the civil and some branches of the eccles. administration, stupid adherence to wornout expedients, etc. Quoted by Salmon: *Infallibility*, p. 471.

6. p. 552. Referring to the annual grant of 3,250,000 lira voted to the pope by the Italian government, Cardinal Gibbons makes the genial remark that, as the pope requires "very little for his daily maintenance, only a few dollars," there was no reason for his accepting the grant and especially as the grant meant heavy taxation for the Italian people. The cardinal represented the condition of the city after 1870 as much worse than it was under papal rule.

7. p. 557. The Bellarmine-Jefferson legend was started by Gaillard Hunt in the *Cath. Hist. Rev.* 1917. Ryan and Millar uphold it in no less than four different parts of their work, 114–120, 134–137, 160–165, 177–178, however with qualification. In his *Ch. and the Age*, written before Mr. Hunt's alleged discovery, Father Hecker traced the theory of the Declaration to the original principles of Christianity and did not mention Bellarmine. He remarked that "all republics since the Christian era have sprung into existence under the influence of the Cath. church and were founded in the ages of faith and by Cath. peoples" and then gives as examples San Marino and Andorra and the "republics of South America, although a little quarrelsome," pp. 73, 84.

8. p. 560. The Peace of Venice stipulated that the emperor should restore the papal territories he had seized. Referring to the picture at Venice, Bp. Jewel *Apol.* 4: 701 said that "the emperor Frederick came to Venice and, at the gates of the church falling down grovelling before the pope, suffered himself to be trodden on by the pope with his feet," etc.

Chapter XXX. Lit.—Coulton: *Monast. Schools in the M. A.*, 1913.—Burns: *The Cath. Sch. System*, 1908, pp. 415; *Cath. Educ.*, 1917; Bp. McQuaid: *Free Christ. Schools*, 2 addresses, Rochester, 1871, 72, *Life of Bp. McQuaid* by Zwierlein, 2 vols. 1925 sq.—Abp. Spalding: *Education and the Higher Life*, 1890.—Blakely, S. J.: *Docts. on the School Question*, 1921. Frequent artt. in "America."—*Schools* in Cath. Enc. 15: 554, 589.—Zollmann:—Adams: *The*

Ch. and Pop. Educ., 1900.—*Ch. and School* and *Rom. Cath. Par. Schools*, in Schaff-Herzog Enc. 3: 104; 10: 83. See Pius X on Modernism, 1907.

Notes 1. p. 565. In Piedmont after 30 years of Jesuit control, out of a population of 5,000,000 in 1850 only 1,000,000 could read. In the two Sicilies, the illiteracy rose to 90 percent of the population. See Thayer, *Life of Cavour* 1: 315, who says "The Jesuits found illiteracy, ignorance and superstition the most effectual textbooks for the people." The Jesuit Society by its 14th Common Rule forbids all who enter one of its grades "to learn to read or write or increase their learning, if they have any."—Barrett, *The Jesuit Enigma*, 226.

2. p. 568. In 1925 there were 37,000 Catholics attending non-Cath. colleges in the U.S.,—"America" Dec. 5, 1925. Complaint is made that such students, even where there is a Roman Cath. priest, are remiss in the performance of their rel. duties. For example, out of 888 Cath. students attending the Un. of Ill. 1924, only 25 took the special courses of rel. instruction, although these were counted as credits.

3. p. 572. Four states have approved the plan by legislative enactment. In more than 20 states the plan is being tried. In an unsigned art. in the *Atl. Monthly*, Feb., 1928, a Roman priest and professor, makes an elaborate argument against the parochial school-system on the ground that the teaching exclusively by the religious, male and female, and the appointments of the schools are calculated to narrow the minds of the pupils and incapacitate them for the full duties of Am. citizenship and he declares that his feeling is shared by many in the Roman church. Bills are pending in the two Houses of Congress for the creation of a Department of Education with a secretary who is to be a member of the cabinet. The bills are opposed partly on the ground that the proposition is along the line of centralizing in Washington powers that properly belong to the states.

4. p. 578. Slater: *Moral Theol.* 2: 321, says that "fear arising from reverence for parents and superiors is in general not sufficiently serious to make marriage contracted under its influence null and void." The *Archiv. für Kath. Kirchenrecht* 1927, pp. 178–84, discusses the circumstances under which by the *Paulinum privilegium* one of the parties to a marriage turning Catholic may claim divorce and remarry. A convenient list of the divorce laws of the different states is given in the World's Almanac, 1928, pp. 215–217.

5. p. 583. By an order from Rome, Jan., 1928, the Bp. of Providence was confirmed in his right to excommunicate the parties who are making complaint before the courts for the misapplication of monies. For the Trustee system, see Guilday, *Life of Carroll*, 2: 782–783.

6. p. 584. The principle as stated by Card. Bellarmine, *de rom. pont.* 5: 6 may be made to justify any interference in the affairs of the state, namely: "The spiritual lord has the right to command temporal lords and to administer in temporal matters for the spiritual good. For it is given to the superior always to command his inferior." *Omnis enim superior imperare potest inferiori suo.* See Döllinger-Reusch: *Bellarmin*, 192–225.

Chapter XXXI. Lit.—A. de Liguorio: *Theol. Moralis*, ed. by Gaude, Rome, 2 vols., 1905–07, pp. 722, 785.—Gury: *Casus consc.*, 1885, *Comp. theol. mor.* *Lives of Liguori* by a Redemptorist, Balt., 1855, Pollen, in Cath. Ency.,

xiv: 81—111, Van Dyke, 1924, etc.—*The Spirit Exercises*, ed., by Rickeby, pp. 234, 1915—Mirbt, pp. 276 sqq., 384–89, 395–99, 404–11, 581–84.—Slater, S. J.: *Manual of Mor. Th.*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., 1909.—Wilhelm and Scannell—Stapleton: *Explan. of Cath. Morals*, 1904.—Campbell, S. J.: *The Jesuits, 1534–1921*. Opposed to Jesuit Morals, etc. Pascal: *Lettres Provinc.*, 1657. —Is Taylor: *Loyola and Jesuitism*, 1849.—Gothein: *Loyola u d Gegenreformation*, 1895, pp. 786. Döllinger-Reusch: *Gesch. d Moralstreitigkeiten in d röm. kath. Kirche seit d. 16ten, Jahrh.*, 2 vols., 1889.—Meyrick: *Moral and Devilish Philos. acc. to Liguori*, 1887.—Trumbull: *A Lie never Justifiable*, 1893.—Boehmer: *D. Jesuiten*, 4th ed., 1921.—Hoensbroech: *Fourteen Years a Jesuit, D Zweck heiligt d Mittel*, 3d ed., 1904, *D Papstthum*, vol. 1. Superstition, Demonology, Witchcraft, etc. vol. II—Ultramontane Ethics.—Koch, *Katholiz. u Jesuitismus*.—McCabe: *Candid Hist. of the Jesuits*, 1913.—Writings of Tyrrell—Barrett, ex-Jesuit: *The Jesuit Enigma*, pp. 350, 1927.—Rockwell: *The Jesuits as Portrayed by Some non-Cath. Historians*, Harv. Th. Rev., pp. 358–77, 1914.—Cadman: *Three, Rel. Leaders, Wyclif, Wesley, Newman*, 1916.

Notes 1. p. 590. La Quintinye's letters recently discovered, written 1666 are given in full in Döllinger-Reusch, 1: 57 sqq., 2: 1 sqq. His words are *quidquid bona fide, nunquam est peccatum*. Hoensbroech says that the Jesuits of today pay no attention to the condemnation of principles by Innocent XI and other pontiffs. No pope has yet gone so far as to pronounce upon the old Jesuit maxim that no Jesuit can ever be lost, Reusch, 1: 524.

2. p. 591. Hoensbroech, *Der Zweck*, etc., p. 19, quotes the Jesuit Laymann, d. 1635, who quoting other leaders of the order, declared that when it is a question between two evil acts, the party intending to commit one or the other, "the counsel *must* be given to commit the lesser—*absolute suadetur . . . est eligere minus*. The illustration which Laymann gave is that, if a married person is determined to murder the other party, he be allowed to marry a second wife, *aliam uxorem*.

3. p. 592. According to Barrett, p. 229, Jesuits have not only approved of the execution of heretics but in the original *ratio studiorum* the regulation was laid down that "students must not go to the executions of criminals except those of heretics." Hoensbroech, *Fourteen Years*, etc., 2: 375, relates that after having attended with another Jesuit, a person of standing in the society, a political meeting held by Prince Windhorst and other Catholic leaders, the name of Prof. Beyschlag of Halle who had been delivering blows at the Catholics, came up. His fellow Jesuit shocked Hoensbroech by asking "Is there no way of attacking him in his private life?"

4. p. 594. Father Slater, 1: 465, after stating that "according to the common Cath. teaching, lying of every kind is intrinsically wrong" declares that "Cath. theologians propound their doctrine of mental reservation," and gives as a proper illustration that one on being asked "Are you going to town" replies "Yes" meaning "in imagination" this being a restriction of one's meaning in making an assertion to a proposition as modified by some addition to it within the mind of the speaker."

5. p. 596. Lord Acton's full statement runs "I should quarrel with every friend I have, in almost every camp or group, if I said all I know or half of

what I think, of that splendid sophist." The historian further says that it, required great pressure to bring Newman to make the statement that he disagreed with Liguori. Nevertheless, Lord Acton expressed the assurance that Newman thought it a sin to lie. *Cor.* by Figgis, 1:42, 59, 227. Newman, *Apol.*, 273–282, 348–363, tries to show that the papal statement that Liguori's books "contain nothing worthy of censure" is to be taken in a "legal sense" and not as a positive assertion that all his works are to be followed.

6. p. 598. Jesuits wilfully distort history. Sarpi remarked 300 years ago that the exact opposite of what Jesuits assert must be believed. Ex-father McCabe, *Twelve Years in a Monastery*, p. 233, asserts that no Cath. writer ever gives an accurate version of hostile criticism or, in describing the withdrawal of a monk from a monastery, ever gets beyond the two reasons "wine and women." Koch, who likewise speaks from his experience in the Roman church, represents the positions of Jesuitism and Ultramontanism as follows: 1. they place the idea of the church above religion; 2. they give to the keys of Peter jurisdiction over princes and nations; 3. they confuse the pope with the church; 4. they hold that religious conviction can be forced by physical means; 5. they are always ready to set aside a clear command of conscience for the authority of another.

7. p. 600. The readiness of the Jesuits to retail as true absurd stories is shown by the case of Leo Taxil, a Frenchman, who made a bet that any story he might invent about the Masonic order would be believed by the priesthood. The story he told was that the devil in the shape of a crocodile was found playing the piano in a lodge and that a woman cast amative glances at the object. The story was accepted by cardinals and translated into German by the Jesuit, Gruber,—Koch, p. 22. For lit. on the notorious deception, see Mirbt, p. 490.

8. p. 601. The charge is made by Tyrrell, Schnitzer, Koch and other ex-Catholics that the Roman church is being "Jesuitized" and that the main purpose of Jesuitism today is to fight Protestantism, as its purpose was three centuries ago.

Chapter XXXII. Lit.—Rom. Cath.: *Missale rom.*, etc., *a Pio X reformativa*, 1921.—Cabrol: *The Cath. Ch. Liturgy, Ritual and Missal*, with Engl. Vs., 1916; *Liturg. Prayer, its Hist. and Spirit*, 1922.—Batiffol: *Hist. of the Rom. Brev.*, trsl., 1912.—Schuster: *The Sacramentary*, trsl., from the Ital., 1924.—For the rosary, Holzapfel: *St. Dominikus u d Rosenkranz.*—Sullivan: *Externals of the Cath. Ch.*, 1917.—Britt: *Hymns of the Breviary and Missal.*, 1924.—Devotional works, Millet: *Manual of Prayers; Jesus Living in the Priest.*—Lepicier: *The Euchar. Priest.*—Lasance: *My Prayer Bk.*, pp. 702, Commended by Card. Gasparri.—*Manual of Prayers* with sanction of the Baltimore council.—Petrovitz: *Devotion to the Sacred Heart.*—Prot.: *Book of Com. Prayer*,—*Book of Common Worship*, Presb., 1906.—Moravian, Lutheran and other liturgies.—Jacobs: *Hist. of Luth. Liturgies*, 1896.—Fosdick: *Meaning of Prayer*, 1915; *Meaning of Faith*, 1921.—Otto: *Life of the Holy*, 1923.—Heiler, ex-Cath.: *The Spirit of Worship*, 1927.—Fendt, ex-Cath.: *D Luth. Gottesdienst d 16ten Jahrh.*, 1923.

Notes 1. p. 604. In the Breviary, as revised by Clement, names were added to the list of popes ascribed to the first three centuries by the pseudo-

Isidorian Decretals. In the section on Leo II, the reference to his having condemned Honorius as a heretic was stricken out. Satan's works to Christ "I will give thee the kingdoms of the world" were added to Christ's commission to Peter. See Döllinger, *Papstthum*, p. 223 sq.

2. p. 612. The fable is that Dominic received the rosary from Mary. Holzapfel says that the original Constitution of the Dominican order of 1228 contains no reference to the rosary although it gives prescriptions for prayers to Mary. Nor was it associated with Dominic's name in the 13th and 14th centuries. Card. Newman's prayer for a happy death invoked Mary's help, and ran "Oh, may my Lord and Savior support me in that hour in the strong arms of thy sacraments. Let the sweet Mother Mary breathe in me, my angels whisper peace to me and my glorious saints smile upon me that in them all and through them all, I may receive the gift of perseverance," etc. Ward: *Life of Newman*, 2: 368.

3. p. 613. For prayers to Joseph, see Beringer, 143, 226, 231, 281, 328, etc. Pius VII, 1814, granted an indulgence of 300 days for each time the words were repeated "Jesus, Mary, Joseph, I give you my heart and soul. Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Assist me in my last agony." Pius IX granted an indulgence of 100 days for a daily prayer to Joseph as the patron of domestic piety. Leo called upon Joachim and Mary to intercede against the party of the communists and, on another occasion, "to defend the Apostolic see against hostile sects and to procure the promotion of real loyalty to the Roman pontiff." For a litany in honor of Joseph repeated once a day, Pius X, 1909, granted 300 days indulgence.

4. p. 615. The Puritans gained a temporary triumph against images in churches, 1641, when parliament ordered "all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity and all images of the Virgin Mary taken away and abolished, and all tapers, candlesticks and basins removed from the communion table." The Westm. *Directory of Worship* called for family worship in every family where there is any one that can read the holy Scriptures."

5. p. 615. Faerber, p. 430. To what extremes Roman Cath. writers may go in their adulation of Mary, see Lepicier, who says that "we are indebted to our Blessed Lady for the institution of the blessed sacrament" and again that "it is a beautiful sight to witness at Lourdes the holy rivalry between the Mother and the Son, in that the one seems bent upon exalting the other."

Chapter XXXIII. p. 627. The writing by Dr. Schaff was his *Reunion of Christendom*, a pamphlet elaborating an address which the author made at the Columbian Exposition, in Chicago, 1893. A recent statement denying all possibility of ecclesiastical "reunion" will be found in Father Woodlock's *Modernism and the Christian Church*. Statements from the Protestant side in Harnack's *Protestantism and Catholicism in Germany*, 1907, and Smyth and Walker's *Approaches to Church Unity*, 1919.

The coalescence of all christendom under one form of human government, one form of ritual and one particularized series of articles of belief would probably be a calmnity, crushing freedom of Christian thought and liberty in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Freedom is essential to progress.

Uniformity is apt to end in stagnation. It may be that some unforseen physical calamity or some desperate social and spiritual menace may be used by the divine Head of the Church to bring together in friendly recognition and cooperation all Christians. In other departments than religion, impending dangers have been the occasion of political parties breaking up and political partizans rising to the stature of national patriots and permanent benefactors of the race, as also of bringing together in amity members of the same family who have been estranged. The "obedience" of Christ—to use a historic expression—is a higher thing than attachment to the Roman system or to the Protestant system. Of human claims to have secured a perfect "church," the same may be said that Cotton Mather, said of John Davenport, the zealous pastor of the New Haven congregation at its beginnings, "After having done all that was possible to render the renowned church of New Haven like the New Jerusalem, the Lord gave him to see that in this world it was impossible to see a church-state wherein enters nothing that defiles."

POPES

Prominently mentioned in this volume, and events occurring in their pontificates.

Anicetus 167–75.
Disagrees with Polycarp on date of celebrating Easter.

Victor 193–203.
Strongly disagreed with Polycrates on same subject.

Callistus 217–22.
First Bp. of Rome to mention Matt. 16, 18—Tertullian, d. ab. 220—Origen, 254—Cyprian, 258.

Julius I 341–52.
Synod of Sardica, 343 votes to Roman bp. appellate jurisdiction.

Damasus 366–384.
Commended Jerome's Vulgate—Jerome, d. 420—Augustine, 430.

Siricius 384–98.
First burning of heretics, 385—commended celibacy—pseudo-Clem. homilies spread the Peter legend—Vinc. of Lerins' work appeared ab. 434.

Leo I 440–61.
Founded papal primacy on Matt. 16, 18 and Luke 22, 31—rebukes patr. of Constant. of "unheard of pride" for claiming equal jurisdiction with himself—C. of Chalcedon, 451.

Gregory I 590–604.
Taught demonology and purgatory—Rejected title "universal bishop."

Honorius I 625–38.
Pronounced a heretic by 6th œcum. council, 680 and Leo II.

Stephan II 752–57.
Visited Pepin the Short in Paris and recd. from him the "patrimony of St. Peter."

Leo III 795–816.
Charlemagne crowned in St. Peters, 800.

Nicholas I 858–67.
First pope to wear a crown—excom. Photius of Constant.—pseudo-Isidorian forgery—cleavage of christendom.

Wicked Popes 904–36.
Called the period of the "Rule of the harlots"—"horrible popes," Möhler.

John XII 956–64.
"Guilty of almost every crime"—killed while committing adultery.

Urban II 1088–99.
Proclaimed the 1st crusade—offered indulgence of eternal life to crusaders losing their lives—Jerusalem taken, 1099.

Nicholas II 1059–61.
Law for electing cardinals.

Gregory VI 1044–46.
Abdicated at Sutri.

Gregory VII 1073–85
Deposed Henry IV—made celibacy mandatory—asserted jurisdiction of pope over emperor.

Pascal II 1099–1118.
Broke his vow to Henry V.

Adrian IV 1154–59.
Son of a priest—only English pope—St. Bernard, d. 1153—Arnold of Brescia executed.

Alexander III 1159–81.
Conflict with Fredk Barbarossa—Peace of Venice, 1177—Ireland given to Henry II, 1172.

Innocent III 1198–1216.
Fourth Lateran council, 1215—established the inquisition—decreed transubstantiation—summoned armies against the heretics of South France—forbade the reading of the Bible in trsll.—deposed John of England—Condemned *magna charta*—placed the ch. over the state.—Constantinople sacked, 1204 in the 4th Crusade.

Gregory IX 1227–41.
Conflict with Fredk II.—issued *vox rama*, asserting physical activities of demons with men and women.—Francis d'Assisi, d. 1226.

Innocent IV 1243–54.
Pope after interregnum of 23 months—sanctioned torture for heretics.

Gregory X 1271–76.
Thos. Aquinas and Bonaventura, d. 1274—union with the Greeks, sought at C. of Lyons, 1274.

Coelestine V 1294
Abdicated the papacy.

Boniface VIII 1294–1303.
Issued the bull *unam sanctam.*

Avignon Popes 1305–1376.

Clement V 1305–14.
Never saw Rome—bull that the wood of the cross grows—suspended the *unam sanctam* in France.

John XXII 1316–34.
Decided conflict between the two wings of the Franciscans—burned Dante's *de monarchia*—Dante, d. 1321—Marsiglius of Padua, d. 1342—Avignon the financial centre of Europe.

Clement VI 1342–52.
Cursed Ludwig of Bavaria—Black Death in Europe.

Papal Schism 1376–1417.
A pope at Avignon and a pope in Rome, each with set of cardinals—the states of Europe divided in papal allegiance—Reformatory councils of Pisa 1409, Constance, 1414 sqq., Basel, 1431 sqq.—Huss and Jerome of Prag. burned, 1415–16.—John XXIII and Benedict XIII deposed—Gregory XII resigned papal office.

Martin V 1417–31.
Papal unity restored—articles agt. Wyclif and Huss.

Eugene IV 1431–47.
Transfered C. of Basel to Ferrara.—Defined the 7 sacraments 1439.—union with the Greeks proclaimed, 1441.

Renaissance Popes 1447–1549.
Luxury, simony, nepotism, concubinage of popes—patrons of letters and restorers of Rome.

Nicholas V 1447–55.
Enriched the Vatican library—authorized Portugal to war on African peoples, subdue their lands and enslave their persons.

Pius II 1458–1464.
Set aside the decree of Constance, placing a council above the pope and threatened with excommunication any one making appeal from the pope in bull—*execrabilis*—tried in vain to revive the spirit of the crusades.

Sixtus IV 1471–84.
Nepotism flourished — sanctioned the Spanish inquisition—decreed that money and other suffrages deliver souls from purgatory—ordered discussions over the im. conception stopped.

Innocent VIII 1484–92.
Issued *summis desiderantes*, the witch bull declaring for the *succubus and incubus*—sent army agt. the Waldenses.—Bull fights on St. Peters square.

Alexander VI 1492–1503.
Father of Cæsar and Lucrezia Borgia and other children—sold cardinals' appointments—divided America between Spain and Portugal "forever"—vowed Savonarola's death.

Julius II 1503–13.
"Warrior pope"—wore armor in the camp—encouraged art—issued indulgences—called the Fifth Lateran C.—established first Am. bishoprics—Luther visited Rome.

Leo X 1513–21.
A good fellow—companied with buffoons—reaffirmed the *unam sanctam*—sold ch. honors—issued indulgences for stipulated fees—pawned his tiara—declared the burning of heretics a divine appointment—excommunicated Luther as a withered branch and another Porphyry—entitled Henry VIII "Defender of the Faith"—The XCV Theses issued, 1517.

Adrian VI 1522–23.
Called for church reform—died ridiculed by the Romans.

Clement VII 1523–34.
Skilled in political duplicity—Rome sacked 1527 by the emperor—Augsburg confession, 1530.—Engl. Act of Supremacy, 1534.—Zwingli killed in battle, 1531.

Paul III 1534–49.
Children and grandchildren in Vatican—C. of Trent, 1545–1563—called on Charles to make war agt. the Protestants, offering troops—Jesuit Society sanctioned—More beheaded, 1535, Tyndale strangled, 1536—Calvin writes his *Christ. Institutes*, 1536—Luther, d. 1546.

Paul IV 1555–59.
Established the Roman inquisition—started reforms of administration—Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley burned—Elizabeth begins her reign, 1558.

Pius IV 1559–65.
Ratified Trid. *Decrees, Catechism and Profession of faith*—Scotch Refm. estabd., 1560—Calvin, d. 1564.

Pius V 1566–72.
A "saint"—deposed Elizabeth and sanctioned her murder.

Gregory XIII 1572–85.

St. Bartholomew Day massacre, 1572, celebrated it in Rome—urged Philip II to proceed agt. England—Knox, d. 1572.

Sixtus V 1585–90

Issued bull pronouncing his ed. of Vulgate final, it had 2,000 mistakes—Bellarmine issued his great work—Engl. Cath. Refugees at Douai, etc.—Witnessed defeat of Armada, 1588.

Clement VIII 1592–1605.

Mariana issued his work on regicide—Bruno burned in Rome.

Paul V 1605–21.

The Copernican theory condemned—Thirty Years' War, 1618–48.

Urban VIII 1623–44.

Canonized Ignatius Loyola—issued bull *in cœna domini*—Galileo silenced, 1633—Protestantism in Bohemia blotted out by the Jesuits — Westminster assembly, 1643–48.

Innocent X 1644–55.

Declared Treaty of Westphalia invalid—condemned the propositions of Jansen—declared that Paul and Peter are not to be treated as equals—conflict between Gallicanism and Ultramontanism in France.

Alexander VII 1655–67.

Condemned probabilism—Blaise Pascal wrote agt. the Jesuits—Cromwell in power.

Innocent XI 1676–89.

Condemned probabilism—Louis XIV annulled the Edict of Nantes, 1685—Charles II dies a Catholic, James II turns Cath. and is dethroned—Engl. Declar. of Rights, 1689 — Locke writes — Sidney beheaded, 1683.

Clement XI 1700–21.

Declared sovereigns reign only with his sanction, Hos. 8, 4—issued the *unigenitus* bull agt. free bible reading, etc.

Benedict XIV 1740–58.

Made exceptions to marriage laws—condemned Jesuit measures—Voltaire wrote on Toleration. Jon. Edwards, d. 1756.

Clement XIV 1769–74.

The Soc. of Jesuits abolished "for ever."

Pius VI 1775–99.

Taken prisoner by Napoleon—Declaration of Independence, 1776.—The French Revolution—Am. Constitution, 1789—Alphonso Liguori, d. 1787—John Welsey, d. 1791.

Pius VII 1800–23.

At Napoleon's coronation in Paris—held a prisoner by Napoleon—renounced his temporal authority—restored the Society of Jesuits.

Les XII, 1823.—Gregory XVI 1846.

Condemned Prot. Bible societies as pests.—Oxford movement.—Newman went over to Rome, 1845.

Pius IX 1846–78.

Lost temporal sovereignty, 1870—issued decree of the Imm. conception, 1854—condemned modern institutions in the Syllabus, 1864, called the Vatican C.—issued the decree of papal infallibility, 1870—Döllinger and the Old Catholics excommunicated—Wiseman made cardinal—Manning goes into the Roman church, 1851—McCloskey, 1st cardinal in U. S., 1875.

Leo XIII 1878–1903.

Exalted Thos. Aquinas as supreme theol: authority—emphasized the dogma of papal infallibility—pronounced the Reformers "enemies of the Christian name"—declared Anglican orders invalid, 1896—denounced "Americanism," and the Masonic order as a "source of all evils"—Gibbons made cardinal, 1886—Döllinger, d. 1890—Newmann, d. 1890—pronounced I John, 5, 7, genuine.

Pius X 1903–1914.

Condemned "Modernism"—exalted "mediævalism"—denounced leaders of the Reformation as "enemies of the cross of Christ."—*Los von Rom.* movement.

Benedict XV 1914–1922.

Lauded peace but did not pronounce which of the belligerents was in the right—canonized Joan of Arc, 1920—issued the code of canon law, authorized by Pius X—Forbad Catholics connecting themselves with the Y. M. C. A.—Huss enthroned as natl. Bohemian hero and secession from the Cath. ch. in Bohemia.

Pius XI 1922–

Canonized Jogues—fixed a festival of "the kingdom" of Christ on Oct. 31, the anniversary of the XV Theses—In a bull of 1928 reaffirmed the Roman church to be the only church of Christ and pronounced any movement for the so-called "reunion of christendom" impossible for the Roman church.

PAPAL BULLS

The following are three examples of papal bulls, the first bearing on the supremacy of the spiritual power over the temporal and the necessity of accepting the Roman pontiff for salvation, the second on the destinies of the American hemisphere, the third on the attitude taken at Rome to-day to the Protestant Reformation.

The first bull, issued by Boniface VIII, 1302, during the pope's conflict with Philip the Fair of France, is called from its first words *unam sanctam*, that is, "one holy Catholic and Apostolic church:—

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God.—Compelled by our faith, we are obliged to believe and hold that there is one Holy Catholic and Apostolic church. We firmly believe and profess that outside of her there is no salvation nor remission of sins, as the bridegroom declares in the Canticles, "My dove, my undefiled is but one; she is the only one of her mother; she is the choice one of her that bare her. . . . For, in the time of the flood there was the single ark of Noah which prefigures the one church, and was finished according to the measurement of one cubit and had one Noah for pilot and captain, and outside of it every living creature on the earth, as we read, was destroyed. And this church we revere as the only one even as the Lord said to the prophet, "Deliver my soul from the sword, my darling from the power of the dog." . . . She is that seamless shirt of the Lord which was not rent but was allotted by the casting of lots. Therefore, this one and only church has one head and not two heads for had she two heads, she would be a monster, that is, Christ and Christ's vicar, Peter and Peter's successor. . . . So, when the Greeks or others say that they were not committed to the care of Peter and his successors, they must confess that they are not of Christ's sheep, even as the Lord says in John, "There is one fold and one shepherd." . . .

That in her and within her power are the two swords, we are taught in the gospels, namely, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword. For when the Apostle said, "Lo here—that is in the church—are two swords," the Lord did not reply to the Apostles, "It is too much," but "It is enough." . . . Therefore, both are in the power of the church, namely, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword,—the latter to be used for the church, the former by the church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of princes

and kings, but at the nod and instance of the priest. The one sword must of necessity be subject to the other, and the temporal power to the spiritual power. . . . Truth being the witness, the spiritual power has the function of establishing the temporal power and sitting in judgment on it if it should prove not to be good. And to the church, and the church's power, Jeremiah's prophecy applies: "See I have set thee this day over the nations and the kingdom to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant."

And if the earthly power deviates from the right path, it is judged by the spiritual power, but if a minor spiritual power deviate from the right path, the minor is judged by the major power, but if the supreme power [the papacy] deviate, it can be judged not by man but by God only. And so the Apostle testifies, "He which is spiritual judges all things but he himself is judged of no man." . . . Whoever, therefore, resists this power so ordained by God, resists God's ordinance, unless perchance he imagines two principles to exist, as did Manichæus, a thing which we pronounce false and heretical. . . .

Further, we declare, say, define and pronounce it to be altogether necessary for salvation for every human creature that he be subject to the Roman pontiff.[1]

The bull of Alexander VI was issued at the request of Ferdinand of Spain, 1493, on Columbus' return to Europe from his first voyage. The original is in the archives of the Indies at Seville. As given here it is in condensed form:—

Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most beloved son in Christ, King Ferdinand and to our beloved daughter, Elizabeth, Queen of Castile, Laon, Aragon, Sicily and Granada, most noble princes, greeting and our Apostolic benediction.

Among other works well pleasing to the divine majesty and dear to our own hearts, this certainly is the dominant one that the Catholic faith and the Christian religion, especially in our own times, may be exalted and everywhere increased and enlarged, the salvation of souls secured and barbarous nations subdued and brought to the aforesaid faith. And, inasmuch as we have been called to this Holy see of Peter by the divine goodness and know you to be true Catholic princes as indeed you have shown yourselves to be by most glorious deeds reported in almost the entire world, shunning no perils but even shedding your own blood; and, inasmuch as you have given up your whole mind and made every effort as the recovering of the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens bears witness—a feat accomplished by you with so great honor to the divine name,—we, therefore, are bound at our own instance—*sponte*—and of our own good will make grant by which you may be enabled to carry out your holy and laudable aim, an aim begun by the immortal God and to proceed to the honor of God and the propagation of the Christian empire. . . .

Now, that the kingdom of Granada has been recovered, and you have

[1] For the Latin text and full Engl. trsl., see Schaff: *Ch. Hist.* V. pt. 1, pp. 25–29.

willed to go on prosecuting your purpose and have appointed our well beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man worthy to be very greatly commended, and likewise apt for such an enterprise, with ships and men and not without great perils and expense to search diligently, in seas not before traversed, for main lands and islands remote and unknown—lands whose naked inhabitants, as your agents say, believe in one God and are accessible to the Catholic faith and, seeing that Christopher Columbus has built on one of the principal islands a fortress manned by Christians who sailed with him that they might search for other remote lands and islands,—gold spices and very many other articles of divers sorts and qualities being found in those lands,—and inasmuch as it is your purpose to bring these lands and islands to the Catholic faith in order that, with the help of the bounty of Apostolic grace you may the more abundantly carry out your purpose, we do—of our own free will—*motu proprio*—and not by any petition from you or petition presented by others for you but of our own sheer liberality—*de nostra mera liberalitate*—and with certain knowledge—*certa scientia*—and by the fullness of our Apostolic power concede, assign and give all the main lands and islands, found and yet to be found, discovered and yet to be discovered, lying toward the West, beyond a line drawn from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic and distant 100 leagues from the Azores and Cape Verde—that is lands and islands not yet discovered by any other Christian prince or in the power of any other Christian king or prince at the beginning of 1493,—and, by the authority of the omnipotent God and by authority of the vicarial office of Jesus Christ which we administer on earth, assign and grant to you and to your heirs and successors forever—*in perpetuum*—all the aforesaid lands, states, castles, places, villages with all rights and jurisdictions and constitute you and your heirs and successors, lords of these lands with full, free and unlimited power and jurisdiction. . . .

And, further, we enjoin you to send to the aforesaid mainlands and islands men, tried and fearing God, learned and expert for the training of the peoples in the Catholic faith and we strictly forbid under pain of excommunication all persons whatsoever, be they of imperial or regal dignity or of any other state and condition, to go to the lands and islands aforesaid for purposes of trade—*pro mercibus habendis*—or for any other cause without special permission from yourselves or from your aforementioned heirs and successors.

If any should presume to infringe upon this concession and decree and dare to attempt anything contrary to them, let him know that he incurs the indignation of Almighty God and of his Apostles, Peter and Paul.

The third bull, issued by Pius X, May 26, 1910, and called the Barromeo encyclical, commemorated the 200th anniversary of the canonization of Cardinal Barromeo of Milan. The following is a part of it:—

In the midst of these evils, haughty and rebellious men combined together, "enemies of the cross of Christ who mind earthly things, whose God is their belly." Bent not upon the improvement of morals, but denying the principles of the faith, they opened the way of indulgence for themselves and others or,

abandoning the certain leadership and authority of the church, they sought the destruction of all order to help the most corrupt princes and the people in the practice of looseness. And, following out the code of the wicked, to whom Isaiah addressed the warning, "Woe to them who call evil good, and good evil," they denominated their violent tumult and the ruin of faith and morals a "reformation" and themselves the "restorers" of ancient customs. But in truth, they were corrupters and, by weakening the powers of Europe by their dissensions and wars, prepared the way for the revolts and insurrections of these days, yea, by their one single assault, as it were, effected three things, theretofore not coupled together at the same time,—things which the church had always resisted and overcome,—namely, the bloody conflicts of the first age, the pest of errors within[1] and, under the pretense of fighting for evangelical freedom, the plague of vice and the destruction of order to which not even the mediæval age did go.

THE ENCYCLICAL *Mortalium* OF PIUS XI, JANUARY 6, 1928.

This papal document which appeared as the present volume was about to be issued, is of prime importance because it positively reasserts in this year of our Lord 1928, papal affirmations on questions which have divided Western christendom for four centuries. The document was intended to be a reply to the discussions going on in the Protestant world on the "reunion of christendom" and specifically to the conversations had with a group of Anglican churchmen including Bishop Gore and Lord Halifax, on the one hand, and Cardinal Mercier and a group of advisers, on the other, looking towards a nearer approach of the Church of England to the Roman communion and obedience to the Roman pontiff. Its positions are the following:

1. The visible Roman Catholic organism with its center in Rome is exclusively the Christian church. It is "the one true church which will remain forever."

2. This organism is in possession of the whole truth and from the beginning has taught nothing but the truth. The encyclical specifically insists on papal infallibility, the immaculate conception, the veneration of images, the invocation of Mary and saints, and transubstantiation.

3. These and other Roman dogmas, Pius asserts, are "at least implicitly contained in the deposit of divine revelation entrusted by God to the church."

4. Obedience to the Roman pontiff is a condition of being in or of the church.

5. The union of the Roman organism with anything else is unthinkable. The thought is "an error so great that it would result in totally destroying the foundation of the Christian faith." Pius calls upon the bishops throughout the world and "Catholics" to counteract "this evil" for the Roman organism cannot "in any way give aid to efforts looking to anything of the kind for to do so would be to give authority to a false Christian religion completely foreign to the one Church of Christ."

[1] The Latin word *domesticam* admits of an application to all social and household evils. The bull aroused a furor in Germany, the home of the Reformers, and the authorities in Rome made an effort to tone down its meaning.

6. Whoever is not united with the Roman organism "which is the mystical body of Christ is not a member of it nor does he communicate with its head which is Christ."

7. Mary is invoked "as the mother of divine grace the conqueror of all heresies and the help of Christians."

8. The distinction between "fundamental and so-called non-fundamental articles of faith" is specifically condemned.

The following statements based upon the wording of Pius XI's utterance may help to bring out more fully its full meaning.

1. Obedience to the pope in Rome is a condition of being a partaker in the Church of Christ and its benefits. In the Roman organism reside "the one sole law of teaching, the one sole law of faith and the one teaching authority." This assertion is nothing more than an amplification of Boniface's bull, the *unam sanctam* ratified by Leo X, just before the XCV Theses were posted up.

2. Pius XI has no word about faith in Christ. He quotes a number of passages from the New Testament, putting into them interpretations which seem to confirm Roman claims but never does he approach the statement of John 3: 16 that "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life." Not obedience to Christ is called for in the encyclical but obedience to the Roman pontiff.

3. The church is called the mother and teacher of all Christians. "If they desire," so Pius affirms, "to be united with Us and Ours why do they not haste and return to the true church the mistress and teacher of all the followers of Christ," quoting the 4th Lateran council of 1215. See this vol. pp. 208, 233. Of the church as so defined, the "Apostolic see is the root and matrix." Here Cyprian is quoted whose work on the *Unity of the Church* has been corrupted by Roman writers.

4. All improperly professing themselves to be Christians Pius calls "wayward children." In returning to "this Holy see" they will be returning to "the common Father of all and He will forget all the injuries they have done to the Holy see." In the use of the words "heresies" and "heretics" Pius likewise characterizes such persons and their desertion of the Roman body. The word children may be cited as indicating that after all Pius has not cast off Protestant dissenters but such an interpretation is belied by the whole tenor of the encyclical and Pius declares that all who are not in obedience to the Apostolic see "do not communicate with the head of the church which is Christ." He puts a partisan meaning into Paul's comparison of the church to the human body when he says that "it is foolish to think it could be composed of disjointed and separated members." There are indeed different members in the human body but they are all controlled by one single head and each has functions of its own.

Perhaps next in importance to the assertion that obedience to the Roman pontiff is a condition of being a member of Christ's church is the assertion that the "church is the fountain of truth" and "the temple of God so that if any one does not enter it or if any one departs from it, he is a stranger to the hope of salvation." He who reads the Scriptures will hear a great deal about Christ

and will be told by Christ himself that "where two or three are gathered together in his name there he is in the midst of them." It was his attachment to Christ and not to a system or an organism which constituted Paul's hope of eternal life. Paul was in the church because he believed in Christ. For Christ the encyclical substitutes the pope and it would be of interest to know the number of times the expression "Apostolic see" or its equivalent are used.

For 400 years, beginning with the close of Adrian VI's pontificate, the papal chair has been filled by an Italian. During this period no one of the popes lived for any considerable time away from Italy. Leo XIII at best spent a few years at European courts. No one of them has crossed the seas. The atmosphere they have breathed is Italian. An honored priest of Cincinnati, now dead, said to the writer after the issue of the bull against Americanism, 1898, "They do not understand us at Rome." Evidently Pius has again set forth the mediæval conception of the church. He is in sympathy with Leo XIII's utterances in such encyclicals as *de unitate* and *libertas* quoted in this volume in which Leo insisted that the Christian church has a single government—*regimen*—that is government by the pope and that to be in the church one must accept that government. Pius XI is also in line with Pius X's condemnations of modern scholarship and his demand that vigilance committees be set up in every Roman diocese under heaven to see to it that no books teaching otherwise than the Roman dogmas prescribe shall come under the notice of Roman Catholic students and that bishops should report once every three years that such committees are active.

Protestants teach that all belong to Christ's church who accept Christ as their Savior and Lord and seek to follow him. He is their master and they are his. Each intelligent man has full liberty to study his claims and to sit in judgment upon him whether he indeed "shall be ruler over us" or not. The words of John were written that all might read them and reading might act upon them, but not by compulsion of any human authority, "To as many as received him to them gave he the right to become the sons of God."

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